

S. A. GOVT. AND POLITICS

1989 — JUNE

# Councillor hit as defection row escalates

4th Times 11/6/89 3049

JOHANNESBURG. — The row over the defection of Johannesburg city councillor Mr Dave Verster from the National Party to the Democratic Party continued this week when he was punched by former NP colleague Mr Wallie de Waal at a Johannesburg City Council meeting.

The incident happened outside the council chamber. Mr Verster and Mr De Waal were involved in a verbal exchange when Mr De Waal hit Mr Verster in the face.

Mr Verster stepped back and said to Mr De Waal "Ek sal jou kry" (I will get you).

Mr De Waal leant toward Mr Verster again when the new deputy chairman of the Management Committee, Mrs Marietta Marx, grabbed his arm and pulled him away.

Mr Verster, sporting a scratch on his left cheek, later told reporters the incident was "unfortunate". He said it had come about after he had motioned to Mr De Waal in council that he (Mr De Waal) looked cross.

"I wanted to know why he was angry with me so I indicated that we go outside and discuss it."

Mr Verster said he would not be taking legal action against Mr De Waal. He also denied provoking Mr De Waal. It was just a grave misunderstanding, he said.

Commenting on behalf of the DP, chief whip Mr Paul Asherson said it was "understandable" that tempers would flare as Mr Verster's defection had "wreaked havoc" in the NP caucus. Mr Asherson said no court action would be taken against Mr De Waal.

The NP chairman of the Management Committee, Mr Ian Burger, said only that he "did not approve of such things".

Mr De Waal refused to comment. Sources within the NP said Mr De Waal was provoked.

Since Mr Verster's defection last Monday night to the DP allegations have been rife that he resigned from the NP for personal and financial reasons and not because of "policy" differences. — Sapa

# DP to stick to its troika

Cape Times 1/6/89 304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party yesterday withstood mounting pressure from big business to disband its leadership troika before the election.

It is understood that potential donors were using a R2-million "carrot" in a bid to pressure the party to unify under a single leader before the September 6 poll.

However, the national board of the DP yesterday apparently decided not to bow to outside pressure and agreed that the existing collective leadership structure would continue at least until a congress to be held in October.

Other important decisions taken by the board yesterday were that:

- The DP would contest seats in the House of Assembly in the coming election on a "broad front" — expected to be more than 100 seats.

- Consultations with a variety of organisations on participation in the House of Representatives and the

House of Delegates would continue on "an intensive basis".

- The DP would not hold a national congress before the election but would hold an "election rally" in Cape Town on July 22 to present the party's manifesto, tactics and candidates for the election.

A number of DP members believe that the troika arrangement is working better than expected and that fresh attempts to force the single leadership issue could open up old wounds and narrow the potential support base of the party.

A statement issued by the board after a lengthy meeting in Cape Town yesterday simply noted that the party felt that the present leadership arrangement was in the "best interests of the party".

The board noted that in terms of the merger agreement which brought the DP into being, a congress would be held on or before October 8 to decide on the leadership structure.

# Women should fight for peace

By JOSHUA  
RABOROKO

BLACK and white women have a major role to play in bringing about peaceful change in the country, delegates at a mass meeting held in Vereeniging were told.

Speakers urged women to worry about socio-economic and political issues facing the people of South Africa today.

A Nobel Peace Prize nominee for 1989, Ms Frances Kendall, said South Africa's problem could be defined very simply as one of conflict between black aspirants and white fears.

"Black South Africans have very few personal or political rights, and they have been prevented by many unjust laws from developing economically.

"White people have controlled political power ever since they arrived in Southern Africa in the 17th century. Most whites today realise that this

situation cannot continue.

"They are afraid that if they surrender political control, a hostile black government might use the political machinery of this highly centralised system to suppress white freedom and seize white property."

She said the time had come for all South Africans, black and white, to rediscover the principles of true democracy and limited government which are upheld by their forebearers, because these were the only principles on which a fair and enduring solution to the problems could be based.

The president of the Federal Independent Democratic Alliance, Mr John Gogotya, said the road ahead for apartheid to be dismissed needed a lot of sacrifices and incurred risks.

He said: "The path will be full of hazards, but we must get into it. We must

move ahead to replace oppression with justice; division with unity and hatred with love. Let us work for peace."

The meeting was called by Fida which believes that the way ahead will be a reaching out for reconciliation, for cessation of hostilities, a peaceful post-apartheid South Africa and the building of bridges

between race-groups.

Mr Gogotya said women should play a major role for peace in South Africa.

The president of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, Mrs Annetjie Classen, called on women to get involved in politics. They must help men in their fight against apartheid.

She said behind every

man's success was a woman who served as a source of motivation.

"Our men need this support from us if peaceful change is to come in South Africa," she added.

Claasen said women must also build the nation by bringing up children who would be future leaders of the country.

## First interview with foreign media

# FW says climate for talks is better

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The atmosphere for negotiations between the South African Government and black leaders had improved slightly, Mr F W de Klerk told the American public this week.

He appeared on the Discovery World Monitor television news programme in the first interview he has granted to the foreign media since becoming the leader of the National Party.

He said he had been involved in a round of talks with leaders from all walks of life, various regions and of different political persuasions. The one thing everyone had in common was the belief in the need for real negotiations.

Differences existed as to how negotiations should be structured.

Major points made by Mr de Klerk in the interview included:

- His goal was a square deal for all South Africans, which included drawing blacks into the political

decision-making process.

- The final arbiter in the political system must be constructed in such a way that no one group could dominate the others.

- An option was moving into the South African political system with the possible creation of a non-racial group.

- In theory it was possible for any person of colour to hold any position within the government as the result of proposed legislation.

## Short-term goals

- While the position of the State President would have to be revised drastically, that was a long-term goal. The priority was to define short-term and interim goals which would facilitate the ultimate goal — a Constitution which would have the support of the majority of South Africans.

- Right at the top of his agenda for discussions with President Bush would be the destructive effect sanctions were having, particularly on black South Africans.

Mr de Klerk, speaking slowly

as he chose his words carefully throughout the interview, declined to answer questions on the possible release of Nelson Mandela.

He said he was shortly meeting with the Prime Minister of Britain, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and others. And that such a matter was better discussed on a one-on-one basis in private, rather than in public.

Mr de Klerk said he believed the agenda for negotiations should be as wide as possible.

On a possible meeting with President Bush, Mr de Klerk said he expected the President would criticise his Government's policies and he knew what that would be.

However, he hoped the element of stagnation which had entered the bilateral situation between the two countries in recent years would be removed.

He said he often had the feeling of being judged on images that might have been true 10 years ago. South Africa was not getting recognition for the advances that it had made.

Star 1/6/89

304A

No decision on fighting other two Houses

# Troika will take DP into elections

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has decided to go into the September 6 general election under its present three-man leadership.

It has also decided to fight the House of Assembly election on a broad front, but has postponed a decision on whether to fight seats in the other two Houses of Parliament.

The DP's chief executive body, the national board, decided at a meeting here yesterday that no congress would be held before the election to decide whether the party should choose a single leader, as had been expected.

It said in a statement afterwards that fighting the election under the troika leadership "was in the best interests of the party".

Instead of a congress, a pre-election rally would be held in Cape Town on July 22 to present the DP election manifesto and candidates.

Yesterday's critical decision seems to indicate the DP has been unable to resolve the thorny leadership issue.

Party sources indicated that the decision to appoint a single leader had been postponed because neither the followers of Dr Zach de Beer nor those of Dr Denis Worrall, the two strongest candidates, felt confident enough of winning a leadership contest.

The decision went against a strong recommendation from the old Progressive Federal Party at its dissolution congress on April 5 that a single leader should be chosen before the election.

However, Dr de Beer last night said the decision had been taken to continue with the troika because it had been working well so far.

The national board also decided in effect to postpone a difficult decision on whether to fight seats in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

This was left to the national board's executive to decide "in the near future" after "intensive consultations" which had already begun.

It is understood the DP has been negotiating with parties in the other two houses, especially the majority party in the House of Representatives.

## Expand support

The national board also decided that in the September election the DP would contest seats in the House of Assembly "on a broad front".

"The DP will not put up candidates merely to be spoilers but where the party has organisation and support, and where the formations express the wish to contest constituencies, every effort will be made to field candidates in order to expand the DP's base of support and to lay the groundwork for winning such constituencies in the future."

The national board said as the DP was the party of the future all supporters should be given the opportunity of showing their support for the DP's approach.

They should also have the opportunity of rejecting the policies of both the National Party and the Conservative Party.

Star 1/6/87

## No date set for De Klerk visit to US

304A By David Braun, Staff  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — No specific date has been set for the visit to the US of National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

A spokesman for the US State Department said he was not aware of any specific date nor could he say if there were any follow-up statements to that issued after a meeting between Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha and the Secretary of State Mr Jim Baker in Rome.

The US administration has already announced Mr de Klerk will be invited to America before the South African general election in September.

It does not want to be in the position of hosting Mr de Klerk when he is already the State President, as that would imply a state visit complete with all the usual trimmings customarily afforded visiting heads of state.

The official position currently is that Mr de Klerk will meet Mr Baker and that there are no plans for him to meet Mr Bush in the White House.

However, the US media constantly refers to an impending White House visit for Mr de Klerk and thus far there has been no significant opposition to the idea in the US.

● See Page 6M.

# CP 'supportive' of new chairman in Boksburg

star 11/6/89

By Helen Grange

304A

Mrs Gloria Bosch, the new chairman of Boksburg's Conservative Party-controlled town council management committee, has been accused by two CP colleagues of using "unethical means" to win election.

Ousted former management committee chairman Mr Gideon Fourie and the CP chief whip, Mr TJ Ferreira, are angry about Mrs Bosch's "using the opposition" to become chairman last Friday during a special meeting to remove a CP defector from the management committee.

The 19 votes Mrs Bosch received included votes by National Party and independent councillors.

Boksburg mayor Mr Beyers de Klerk said every CP councillor, apart from Mr Fourie and Mr Ferreira, was fully supportive of the new chairman.

"I also don't agree with the way she got elected, but I must add that I admire her sharp tac-

tics," said Mr de Klerk.

"She used the opposition to her advantage.

"The CP caucus is for the most part very happy about the change and we are backing her all the way."

Mr de Klerk added that Mrs Bosch was a staunch CP supporter and would probably make the CP "even stronger" in the town council.

The reason for the willingness of the chairman of the Reiger Park management committee, Mr Butch Jantjes, to negotiate with Mrs Bosch was because she was more "level-headed" than Mr Fourie, said Mr de Klerk.

"Gideon (Mr Fourie) was very emotional and never used to listen. He was young and full of fire. Mrs Bosch is older and she is more capable of listening to argument," he said.

This did not mean she was "soft" on CP policy.

"She is a hardliner and a very capable CP councillor," said Mr de Klerk.

## Idasa suspects Govt pressure

CAPE TOWN — Certified copies of financial and project documents of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative (Idasa) have been given in terms of the Fundraising Act to the Department of National Health and Population Development. (3049) star

Idasa director Dr Alex Boraine said yesterday he was beginning to sense there was a campaign against Idasa which has come under fire for involvement on campuses of Afrikaans universities. — Sapa.

Star 1/6/89

304A

## Lack of courage lost PW chance of reform – Tutu

DURBAN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu last night paid tribute to the State President for embarking on reform, but said he had lacked enough courage to abolish apartheid and bring about a new South Africa free of racial discrimination.

"He missed the golden opportunity of ushering in a new dispensation for all South Africans," Archbishop Tutu told the opening session of the Anglican Provincial Synod in Durban.

"I am willing to pay tribute to Mr P W Botha, though he might consider it the kiss of death," the archbishop said in his charge (address).

President Botha, who stepped down recently as National Party leader, is due to retire later this year after the elections in September. He has ruled South Africa since 1978.

Archbishop Tutu, an advocate of sanctions to force South Africa to dismantle apartheid, told the Synod: "We must destroy apartheid before it destroys us."

He said he was not "wedded to sanctions" adding, "If we can bring about the end of apartheid without sanctions I would be the first to say 'Hallelujah'."

He would call on the international community to "put its sanctions programme on hold" if the South African Government granted the demands of anti-apartheid groups and was ready to enter into negotiations with authentic black leaders.

Archbishop Tutu was part of a group of church leaders and government critics who met US President George Bush in Washington recently and presented a peace plan for South Africa.

### NOTHING GAINED

"We did not go to ask for more sanctions," he said. "We went to ask for help to get negotiations going that would bring an end to apartheid and to usher in the new South Africa."

"Nothing is gained by vilifying us," he added. "It will only be when we and others regarded as authentic leaders and representatives of our people say so that the world will be convinced about what is taking place in this country."

The Archbishop urged the government to abolish the death penalty and called for an amnesty for those on death row.

Cape Times 1/6/89 (304A)

# Elections 'a charade'

Political Staff

THE general election on September 6 was a charade which would hardly deal with the critical question of political power for all South Africans, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday.

With only 11 years to go before the 21st century, people like he and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi were not able to take part in the election in the land of their births, he said.

He stopped short of directly calling for a boycott of the election by those entitled to vote.

"How can fellow Anglicans who have the franchise still want to participate in a charade which will hardly deal with the critical question, the question of political power for all South Africans?"

In his charge to the three-yearly provincial synod in Durban of the Anglican

## Real question missed — Tutu

Church in Southern Africa, he said that on September 6 the country would go to the polls for "a fatally flawed tricameral Parliament".

"In 1989, eleven years before the coming of the 21st century, it is possible for someone like Chief Buthelezi, much admired by many, not to take part in a general election in the land of his birth, the land of his forebears.

"In 1989, eleven years before the 21st century, it is possible for the Archbishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa not to take part in a general election in a country of his birth.

"In 1989, eleven years before the 21st century, it is possible for 73% of the population of South Africa to be excluded from a general election in the land of their birth.

"How could this even remotely be called democratic?" Archbishop Tutu asked

● Archbishop Tutu yesterday paid tribute to the outgoing State President, Mr P W Botha.

He admitted, however, that President Botha "might consider it the kiss of death".

He said: "We must honour him for his courage and wish him well in his forthcoming retirement.

"He missed the golden opportunity of ushering in a new dispensation for all South Africans.

"Sadly, he lacked the convictions of his courage, to adapt an English expression."

# Youth challenge to Van Gend

## Political Staff

3047 THE Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, Mr Jan van Gend, is to be challenged for the party's nomination for his seat by a DP youth leader, Ms Michelle Guttler, 25.

Ms Guttler, the national president of the DP youth, confirmed yesterday that she would be seeking the DP nomination in Groote Schuur, one of the safest DP constituencies in the country.

Mr Van Gend has been the MP for Groote Schuur since 1987 when he won the seat unopposed for the old Progressive Federal Party.

Cape Times 11/6/87  
A Cape Town city councillor, Mr Arthur Wienburg, may also seek the DP nomination in Groote Schuur.

Despite the challenges, it is generally expected that Mr Van Gend will win a nomination contest.

The most serious challenge to him is likely to come from Ms Guttler, who is clearly mobilising youth support behind her candidature in a constituency where a number of University of Cape Town students are registered.

Ms Guttler, a teacher and MA graduate of UCT, said her con-

cern for young South Africans had made her decide to put her name forward in Groote Schuur, which had a number of young voters, not all of them students, who shared a common frustration with the political situation in South Africa.

"An enthusiastic, motivated candidate who has been through the ranks of UCT, who understands the particular dynamic of campus politics and who can identify with the concerns and needs of students, could successfully mobilise the energy and commitment of the UCT community," she said.

# TUTU TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT BOTHA

**I'm not wedded to sanctions he tells Natal synod**

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu last night paid tribute to the State President for embarking on reform.

But said he had lacked enough courage to abolish apartheid and bring about a new South Africa free of racial discrimination.

"He missed the golden opportunity of ushering in a new dispensation for all South Africans," Tutu told the opening session of the Anglican Provincial Synod in Durban.

"He spoke about reforming apartheid instead of destroying it."

"I am willing to pay tribute to Mr P W Botha though he might consider it the kiss of death," the archbishop said in his charge.

Botha, who stepped down recently as National Party leader, is due to retire later this year after the whites-only general elections in September. He has ruled South Africa since 1978.

During his time controversial legislation, including the influx control laws and the pass laws, have been repealed.



ARCHBISHOP TUTU

But laws governing group areas, separate amenities and population registration remain.

Tutu, an advocate of sanctions to force South Africa to dismantle apartheid, told the synod: "We must destroy

apartheid before it destroys us."

He said he was not "wedded to sanctions" adding, "if we can bring about the end of apartheid without sanctions I would be the first to say 'alleluia'."

"I am committed to non-violence and I am committed to negotia-

tion," he added.

He would call on the international community to "put its sanctions programme on hold" if the South African Government granted the demands of the anti-apartheid groups and was ready to enter into negotiations with authentic black leaders.

# POWER FOR BLACKS

## Erosion of Areas Act paving the way



JOHN KANE-BERMAN

THE erosion of the Group Areas Act will pave the way for blacks to participate in the central government, Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations said.

Addressing a gather-

By MZIKAYISE  
EDOM

ing of members at a function to celebrate the organisation's diamond jubilee (60 years), Kane-Berman said change in South Africa often took place "on the ground" before it was recognised in law.

He said government threats of drastic action to enforce the Group Areas Act had not materialised.

"The steady erosion of the Act meant its repeal was inevitable. However, it will not be repealed until it has virtually ceased to operate in practice," he said.

He also said blacks, by their action on the ground, were disproving the claim so assiduously propagated in some circles that the state of emergency had eliminated all non-violent opposition to apartheid, leaving only revolution and sanctions as the alternatives.

Kane-Berman said it was inevitable that sooner or later, apartheid in government schools would be eroded

# Group areas become central general election issue

CAPE TOWN 11/6/87

WHILE the 1987 general election was dominated by security concerns, the elections of 1989 are clearly to be fought primarily over the issue of the Group Areas Act.

The issue is posed much more clear-cut than security: the Conservative Party wants to roll back residential desegregation; the National Party envisages the controlled opening up of "free" residential areas, while the Democratic Party and the extra-parliamentary movement are promoting the open city concept.

The Government justifies its policy on the grounds that the views and interests of all communities have been taken into account. As far as its own constituency is concerned it finds itself on the horns of a dilemma. According to two extensive opinion surveys, three-quarters of its primary support base, the Afrikaners, and more than half of all whites reject any changes in the Group Areas Act.

## Similar opposition

At the same time world opinion strongly demands the abolition of the Act as evidence of the Government's sincerity about moving away from apartheid.

One could argue that whites displayed similar levels of opposition to the abolition of apartheid measures such as the restrictions on black labour or interracial sex and that this opposition quickly dissipated after the Government had repealed the relevant acts.

However, the NP parliamentarians I spoke to strongly disagree with the notion that the Group Areas Act falls in the same category. They point out that group areas is indispensable for the functioning of the constitution and the concept of own affairs.

Moreover, abolishing group areas represents "a reform that will for the first time affect the private investment of the white electorate. No one

can as yet predict what the effect on house prices of the opening up of white residential areas will be. In Hillbrow, for instance the average evaluation of houses and flats repossessed by building societies dropped by 25% in four years while in Mayfair property prices rose by more than 161% in the first four years after Indians had started to move in.

## CP confident

Furthermore the NP dare not mishandle group areas since it is for the first time considering the CP seriously as an alternative government. I have met no NP parliamentarian who does not fear for his seat should the government abolish the Group Areas Act.

CP parliamentarians, on the other hand, feel confident that Group Areas is the issue which will sweep them into power. Ideologically it perfectly suits their demand for racial exclusivity and control over territory. Recent

studies show that whites do not in the first place object to blacks or coloured people moving in because they fear overcrowding or a drop in property prices. By far the strongest sentiment is: "We don't want to mix." Whites argue that it is a case of "soort soek soort", as the Afrikaans saying goes.

## All black

In South Africa this is usually associated with an apartheid mentality. However, comparative studies show that it is a worldwide phenomenon. In the United States this has been documented with some precision. It was found that initially white householders declare that they won't mind if a black with an income similar to their own moved into their block. However, the attitudes change when the talk turns to numbers.

Researchers have found a consistent pattern: on the whole, white families will stay — and no new ones will continue to move in — so long

as the black ratio remains below 8%. But if the black proportion reaches, say 20%, at least a quarter of the whites will leave the neighbourhood and no new whites will move in. The next step is that blacks take over vacant houses and that the area soon becomes all black.

If it had a choice the Government would clearly have loved to retain the Group Areas Act. However, the pressure of world opinion and of black numbers have forced its hand. The Government's dilemma is that since the beginning of the century whites have been completely dependent first on the legal order of apartheid for preserving the racial character of their residential areas. The richer whites have the means to maintain residential exclusivity but the poorer sections may vote in increasing numbers for the CP.

## Negative effect

As a compromise measure the Government has introduced the concept of free settlement areas which is supposed to regularise existing mixed areas and create some new ones. However, the American experience leaves one with little doubt that these areas will quickly become overwhelmingly black.

In South Africa this will have an extremely negative

effect. People who are not white will believe that they are once again being excluded from the main stream of white society as a result of racism. They will demand total "liberation" rather than an incremental process to which the Government would want to resort.

The attitude of "all-or-nothing" is usually taken by the vanguard or leadership of extra-parliamentary groups. However, recent surveys show that the rank and file do not overwhelmingly take a similar stand. A survey by the Human Sciences Research Council shows that 40% of Indians and 48% of coloured people want the Group Areas Act scrapped, 32% and 24% respectively support the Free Settlement approach, while a fifth wants to retain the Group Areas act unchanged.

Nearly 70% of both the coloured people and Indians surveyed felt that it was not possible for the Government to scrap the Group Areas Act entirely, or were uncertain whether it was possible for it to do so.

One hopes that as the general election gathers pace a rational discussion of the group areas issue will not be the first casualty. There are obviously no easy answers. The responses of the coloured people and Indians in the surveys cited above indicate that they know this.



Pattern of  
Politics  
BY HERMANN  
GILIOME

3647

## LETTERS

### Medals for all, please

From M F BLATCHFORD (MFB and Bar) (Observatory):

I SUGGEST that we all follow the State President's example in having ourselves awarded medals.

Even though we may no longer have any money, at least we will then have something to treasure.

### High profit margins are fuelling inflation

From STAN WALKER (Cape Town):

QUITE rightly much ado is being made about inflation and the tumult and the shouting must grow not die.

However most people are not on the right tack in blaming the Government for their threadbare pockets. The

"magnificent" results is by huge and unnecessary increases in prices.

On being tackled about their high prices, everybody blames everybody else for what they call "increased cost inputs" and piously say "but what good boys we are — our increase is 2% below the inflation rate and our

Box 11 CAPE TOWN 8000

Ken Owen  
column  
oversimplifies  
police action

From Lt-Col. S van ROOYEN, SAP public relations division (Pretoria.)  
IN HIS May 29 column Ken

## THE ECLIPSE of President

P W Botha and the rise of a second generation of NP reformers dominated the pre-election parliamentary session. What tends to be overlooked is that major developments on the economic front, including deregulation and the first privatisation legislation, will significantly reduce government's stake in the economy.

It's been a hectic four months, in which the country's largest steel-maker was prepared for privatisation, the airways were opened and government began to cut the fat off the bureaucratic calf by selling off cleaning, gardening and catering services.

Perhaps most importantly, Sats and the Post Office were forced to begin operating like any other company as a prelude to privatisation.

Having committed itself to reducing government's stake in the economy, the NP has set in motion a series of measures to effect this that will be very difficult to turn back.

During those same four months, President Botha's stroke led to a political struggle which ended with him getting his marching orders.

Chris Heunis, his trusty lieutenant, finally capitulated and recognised that at least some people don't want their life regimented on the basis of their skin colour. He attempted to incorporate this new acceptance into a thoroughly complicated constitutional module, was snubbed and then resigned.

It was also a four month-period in which new NP leader F W de Klerk dropped the cloak of conservatism in which he had wrapped himself to get into a position of power. De Klerk made a series of statesmanlike speeches in which he pledged fairness and justice for all and called for a great Indaba, saying the only way to find out what the NP was prepared to do was to negotiate with it.

During those four months, too, corruption and alleged corruption led to the resignation of one Cabinet minister, the barring of another from parliamentary proceedings, the resignation of two MPs and the dismissal of

# Can De Klerk and his 'soft Nats' hand out fairness for all?

MIKE ROBERTSON in Cape Town

a host of officials, many of them from Gerrit Viljoen's "grand apartheid" Development Aid Department.

On a political level, De Klerk has capitalised on the fact that the NP caucus was fed up to the gills at being reduced to mere voting fodder as an increasingly isolated President Botha, surrounded by a coterie of unelected security officials, effectively emasculated the party.

De Klerk used the party to oust Botha, and at least in the foreseeable future the support of the party will be his strength.

But given the "verkramppte" label attached to De Klerk prior to his election as party leader, it is difficult to predict where he will take it.

Con Botha, De Klerk loyalist and front-runner for the Natal leadership of the party, talks of a "new generation, a more open style of government and new pace for reform".

Dawie de Villiers, new Cape leader and the man set to play Heunis to De Klerk's Botha, talks of a second generation of reformers, a generation which shares the ideals of those in opposition but injects a dose of pragmatism. A generation prepared to jealousy protect the rights of whites in the belief that fairness and justice should apply to all, but equally prepared to jettison privi-

leges attained at the cost of other people.

De Klerk himself talks of a constitution which provides for participation for all without domination. He rejects majority rule as unjust and says the mere protection of language, cultural and religious rights of whites is insufficient.

On issues of general interest, the NP under De Klerk is prepared to work for a system that achieves joint decision-making on the basis of consensus. Where consensus cannot be achieved, an institution that can act as a trusted referee will have to intervene. This trusted referee will not be the President's Council, he has said.

At the same time, his NP believed that groups should have total control over affairs of intimate importance to them.

To sum up, the NP under De Klerk, according to the words of the new leader and his most loyal allies — and that's all we have at the moment — differs from the NP under P W Botha in that:

□ It will allow everybody — not just whites, coloureds and Indians — a say in decision-making on matters of national importance;

□ It supports the idea, first raised by Heunis, of a "free association group" in which those who do not want their life determined by the colour of their skin will be allowed to receive political representation up to the highest level;

□ It believes the President's Council, loaded in favour of whites, is not an adequate arbiter in situations where consensus on issues of general interest cannot be achieved;

□ It believes South African society has reached a stage of maturity, where the concepts of justice and fairness now become of paramount importance;

□ It believes white protection can only be guaranteed if they retain control of matters which are of intimate importance to the white group; and

□ It is younger, led by a generation grown accustomed to reform, believes there has been an over-emphasis on security and favours a more open style of government in which elected representatives, not officials, run the show.

Labour Party spokesman Peter Hendrickse succinctly, if a little unfairly, summed up the De Klerk NP by saying: "They are a generation which believes in the humane application of apartheid".

For brevity's sake, they are probably best described as the "soft

Nats" — defined as those who believe in representation for all without domination on matters of general interest and white control of what they perceive to be white own affairs. In other words, Nats who are soft on apartheid.

This is true of everything they have said in the past session, but untrue in one respect. They are forcing through the Alteration of Boundaries of Self Governing Territories Bill, which overturns Supreme Court decisions and gives the President vast powers to enforce the "hardest" Verwoerdian-style apartheid in issuing proclamations to change homeland boundaries.

In its original form this Bill also sought to deny people in affected areas — such as Botschabelo, near Bloemfontein — the right to challenge government's edicts in court. That measure was dropped, but the Bill which is now set to become law via the President's Council contradicts everything De Klerk and the "soft Nats" have been saying about justice and fairness for all.

A part from this Bill, the soft Nats have not ventured beyond principle in spelling out their vision for a new SA. But given that P W Botha is still President, and that an election is in the offing, this is not surprising.

Heunis did, in a speech that for once spelt out the confusion that is the NP. He spoke of a President elected by all, a constitutional system in which numbers do not count but "consensus mechanisms" do, an indirectly elected all-race Parliament made up of representatives of bodies controlling group and "non-group" own affairs at various levels and a confused mish-mash of structures at local government level.

It was described by De Klerk as exploratory. For SA's sake, one hopes so.

Heunis loved structures. But it is doubtful, as some hope, that these ideas will go with him now that he has resigned.

A party which has consolidated itself through patronage and has not hesitated to use oppression to repel its opponents will not easily believe that the future can be secured by limiting the power of government.

## Victims of apartheid are 'vanquishing the system'

THE victims of apartheid were steadily vanquishing the system, SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman said last night. 6/Dec 11/6/84

He told a gathering of members to mark the SAIRR's 60th anniversary that rank-and-file black South Africans were destroying the pass laws and eroding the Group Areas Act by simply moving into white suburbs, even though this was illegal.

"What SA has been experiencing amounts to grassroots civil disobedience on a mass scale by ordinary people, in spite of the risk — and reality — of arrest."

The civil disobedience had gone unnoticed by local and foreign media, by foreign governments and even by political organisations purporting to represent those grassroots people. (304A) (429)

Kane-Berman said government was not the only participant in the change process. "Indeed, change is too important to be left to a government whose heart is not really in it anyway." — Sapa.

## Publishing firm wound up

~~304A~~ SUSAN RUSSELL 6/Dec 11/6/84  
JOHANNESBURG company Fashion Publishers (Pty) Ltd was placed under final liquidation in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

When the application for the provisional winding up of the company was brought in April by Citylab (Pty) Ltd, Fashion Publishers was incorrectly cited as trading as Femme Magazine — an upmarket magazine edited by Susie Jordan — and received wide publicity.

The court yesterday also granted an order amending the citation to delete any reference to Femme Magazine.

In an affidavit, Elisa Becker, a director of Emme Publications which publishes Femme, said Fashion Publishers had never traded as Femme Magazine.

"The position was that until about 1987 Fashion Publishers had been the publisher of Femme magazine with Susie Jordan as editor," Becker said.

"From approximately September 1987 Emme Publications commenced publishing Femme Magazine."

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Tutu says PW missed a great chance

304A

B/Dan 11/6/85

# 'Botha lacks courage'

DURBAN — Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday paid tribute to President P W Botha for embarking on reform, but said he had lacked enough courage to abolish apartheid.

"He missed the golden opportunity of ushering in a new dispensation for all South Africans," Tutu told the opening session of the Anglican Provincial Synod in Durban.

"He spoke about reforming apartheid instead of destroying it."

"I am willing to pay tribute to Mr P W Botha, though he might consider it the kiss of death," Tutu said.

Botha, who stepped down recently as NP leader, is due to retire after the general election in September. He was elected Prime Minister in 1978 and later became executive President.

During his office controversial legislation, including the influx control laws and the pass laws, have been repealed. But laws governing group areas, separate amenities and population registration remain.

Tutu, an advocate of sanctions to force SA to dismantle apartheid, told the synod: "We must destroy apartheid before it destroys us."

He said he was not wedded to sanc-

tions. "If we can bring about the end of apartheid without sanctions I would be the first to say Alleluia." He added he was committed to non-violence and negotiation.

He would call on the international community to "put its sanctions programme on hold" if the SA government granted the demands of the anti-apartheid groups and was ready to enter into negotiations with authentic black leaders.

Tutu was part of a group of church leaders and government critics who met US President George Bush in Washington recently and presented a peace plan for SA.

"We did not go primarily to ask for more sanctions," he said.

"We went to ask for help to get negotiations going that would bring an end to apartheid non-violently and to usher in the new SA."

"Nothing is gained by villifying us. It will only be when we and others regarded as authentic leaders and representatives of our people say so that the world will be convinced about what is taking place in this

country, and what should take place."

During the talks, he said, President Bush asked the church leaders whether he should meet new NP leader F W de Klerk when he visits US.

"We said he should be invited to the US but a White House visit should be linked to clear conditions being met in SA first." Tutu did not specify any conditions to the Synod.

He urged government to abolish the death penalty and called for an amnesty for those on death row.

He said the fact that a number of those on death row had been convicted of political offences merely increased political and racial tensions in the country.

"It (the death penalty) does very little to dissuade people against involvement in the armed struggle against apartheid. The government has increasingly criminalised what in a normal society would be legitimate non-violent opposition to an iniquitous system."

He condemned detention without trial, violence "by those who perpetrate an evil and oppressive system such as apartheid or those who seek to overthrow it". He also called for the release of those still in detention.

Tutu appealed to the warring sides in strife-ridden Natal to try to end the carnage. — Sapa.



● TUTU

# DP will fight polls with 3 leaders

THE DP has decided to fight the general election with three leaders.

It has also decided to contest the white elections on a wide basis, possibly fielding more than 100 candidates. No decision has been taken on whether to contest the Indian and coloured elections.

In a statement issued after the national board met yesterday, the DP said it had decided to continue with present leadership arrangement until after the September 6 elections.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said there was great enthusiasm for what the triumvirate had achieved, and most board members felt this was the best way to contest the elections.

His fellow leader, Denis Worrall, said he welcomed the decision.

"The triumvirate was originally adopted as a way of consolidating membership, and

B/Dan 1/6/89

MIKE ROBERTSON

it has clearly worked.

"People who have come to our meetings will have seen that the three of us supplement each other very well. I believe it will win us votes."

The board said a rally to present the DP candidates and manifesto would be held in Cape Town on July 22.

In terms of the merger agreement, a congress would be held before October 8 to decide leadership structures and define the party's political strategy.

The DP had decided to contest the white elections on a broad front, and could field more than 100 candidates, Worrall said.

The board said the NP was the party of apartheid and the past, and had shown

□ To Page 2

## DP fight

8/Dan 1/6/89  
itself incapable of bringing about genuine constitutional negotiation. As a result, confidence in the economy was evaporating, with disastrous consequences.

The DP was the party of the future, and believed voters all around SA should have the opportunity to show their support for its approach.

The party would not put up candidates merely as spoilers. But where it had the organisation and support, and formations wished to contest constituencies, every ef-

304A □ From Page 1  
fort would be made to field candidates.

In doing so, the DP's support base would be broadened with a view to winning such constituencies in future elections.

The board noted that consultation was being made on the Indian and coloured elections. It had decided that these consultations should continue.

DP candidates would be decided in the week after June 10.

● Comment: Page 6

## Marais stands by statement on whites

PETER DELMAR

DEPUTY Finance Minister Org Marais said yesterday he stood by his "whites have not become poorer" statement and said he had no specific plans to release a new statement clarifying his controversial speech to Parliament earlier this month.

NP leader F W De Klerk was recently reported to have said Marais would make a further analysis and interpretation of his claim that whites had not become poorer in the last 20 years.

Marais' statement was contradicted by opposition MPs and economists and has threatened to become a major issue in the

September general election.

De Klerk said Marais would issue a statement within "the foreseeable future".

Marais said yesterday he routinely investigated economic issues raised in Parliament or the Press as deputy finance minister and as a member of the NP's Information Committee.

However, he said it "could be" that further illumination was required and that he would prepare another statement.

● Comment: Page 6

## De Klerk tells US the great indaba could come soon

CAPE TOWN — NP leader F W de Klerk has told a US TV audience the great indaba on a new constitutional future could be set up soon.

He added on Tuesday night's World Monitor show, broadcast to the East Coast: "There would have to be drastic changes in SA with a square deal for all."

De Klerk said:

(304A)

### Political Staff

- ☐ The great indaba would have to have an open agenda with no preconditions; 8/10/11/6/87
- ☐ White domination would have to end; and
- ☐ He did not regard the rightwing onslaught as a great threat.

De Klerk also confirmed a meeting with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was on but said nothing had been settled about his going to the US.

He added the NP was going into September's general election seeking a mandate for orderly change with "a square deal for each and every section of the population".

## **'Reject Nats to unite SA'**

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer last night urged voters in this year's general election to reject the National Party and to support policies which would bring all South Africans together in a common patriotism. (304A)

Speaking in Sandton, Dr de Beer said more and more whites realised that apartheid had come to the end of the road, that all South Africans were mutually interdependent, and that democracy was "our only hope". — Political Reporter.

Du Plessis challenges report's objectivity

# Ex-Minister sues Advocate-General

Star 2/6/89 304A

Pretoria Correspondent

The former Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, has sued the Advocate-General, Mr P J van der Walt, following a report tabled in Parliament in April. Mr du Plessis claims that when he had earlier appeared before the Advocate-General, he was told he was not fit to serve as a Minister.

The former Minister, in his application for a review of Mr Justice van der Walt's investigation into his and his son, Johann's, business interests, said he had been forced to resign from the Cabinet as a result of the Advocate-General's investigation.

In an affidavit attached to yesterday's application in the Pretoria Supreme Court, Mr du Plessis explained why he had resigned as a Minister.

## Harmful

"I did not believe the respondent (Mr van der Walt) would bring out an impartial and objective report because I have accepted, as a result of the respondent's behaviour, that he would bring out a harmful report regardless. I did not want the circumstances, which have resulted, to continue."

Mr du Plessis said the report had caused him incalculable and irreparable harm and was the result of "irregularities, non-compliance with the rules of natural justice, gross unreasonableness and prejudice". In his report the Advocate-General had found that while Mr du Plessis had not committed any criminal offence, he was indirectly involved in suspect business deals, particularly with regard to his son's business transactions.

In his 60-page affidavit, Mr du



Mr du Plessis ... report caused him incalculable and irreparable harm.



Mr van der Walt ... told Mr du Plessis there was no charge against him.

Plessis said he became aware at the end of August 1988 that some of his possessions had been stolen. He had laid a charge of theft with the police, and Mr J G Morsner was identified as a suspect.

After some of Mr du Plessis's possessions had been found with Mr Morsner, Mr Morsner's legal representatives told the police Mr Morsner would refer certain documents to Mr van der Walt.

Mr du Plessis said his legal representatives had immediately contacted Mr van der Walt on September 10 1988, offering to co-operate.

On December 7 1988 Mr du Plessis had appeared before the Advocate-General. He said his testimony was mechanically recorded but his legal representatives were told the following day that no transcription was available as the machines were faulty.

According to Mr du Plessis, the Advocate-General had told him there was no charge against him, only accusations.

During the questioning Mr du Plessis said he had been confronted and questioned about documents "which I saw for the first time" and confronted with the testimony of several witnesses whom he did not know had already testified.

"During the course of the investigation, I was not only confronted with 'facts' by the respondent but also had to react on the moral-ethical aspects of actions," he said.

He said Mr van der Walt had asked him "out of the blue" about the Quinto issue — an application for diamond concessions.

The respondent had then behaved in "the most eccentric and surprising" manner.

## Stopped

"The respondent stopped the proceedings, became pale and tense and continued the conversation joltingly."

"He told me that despite my legal representative's objections, he already accepted that my behaviour was inappropriate; that I wanted to mislead him with the knowledge of wrong statements."

"At the same time he told me I was not capable to serve as a Minister of the State or in clean administration."

Mr du Plessis said Mr van der Walt had told him the State President had "already inquired about his findings" and asked that he should be informed before the report was tabled in Parliament, that I had to resign as a Minister, that I should resign that afternoon and tell the State President of my intention to resign and that he would accompany me to the State President to explain the position to the State President."

## Instructed

Mr du Plessis said he had gained the impression that the Advocate-General "wanted to destroy my public life".

Mr du Plessis said he had instructed his legal representatives after his first appearance on December 7 1988, and after his second appearance on January 18 1989, to ask for Mr van der Walt to recuse himself.

But Mr du Plessis said "in no veiled manner, it has been insinuated that the respondent would look until he found something to make a finding against me".

According to Mr du Plessis, the Advocate-General's report had resulted in the Inspectorate of the Receiver of Revenue launching a special investigation into his affairs and his appearance before Parliament's pension committee regarding the report and his pension.

The Advocate-General has 14 days to lodge a reply.



Mrs Barbara Bush yesterday

## Thatcher, I say it is time began dialogue

Star 2/6/89

The Star Bureau  
LONDON — President George Bush and Margaret Thatcher agreed yesterday to take realistic steps by the South Africa encourage dialogue within the country.

The leaders, who spent more than two days in intensive discussion at Downing Street, agreed to the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela as the vital kick-off point for such an initiative.

Both are keen to see a resolution of the problems which plague southern Africa and the international kudos awaiting those who bring an end finally to South Africa's inter-racial strife.

Mrs Thatcher is understood to have said to President Bush that she has high hopes for the future under Mr F W de Klerk, who is due to take office this month for talks with the British.

American and British leaders want to know from him how he plans to bring South Africa out of the political doldrums of President Botha's phased departure from office.

They are also keen for an explanation of the week that he wants a "squad" of Africans of all races.

Mrs Thatcher and President Bush stressed their

## New phone metering system welcomed

Star 2/6/89

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Consumer bodies today welcomed concessions made on the metering of local and certain trunk calls, and said a metering period of five, instead of three, minutes was "much more reasonable".  
Reacting to the announcement last night by the Minister of Home Affairs and of Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, in Cape Town that the metering period of three minutes for a local call unit would now be extended, consumer bodies said they were grateful.

## ELDERLY

We are very pleased that the Minister has increased the metering period because that is what we had asked for," said the president of the Housewives' League of South Africa, Mrs Lyn Harris.

She said: "We feel that five minutes is a much more realistic time and we are pleased that the Minister has finally acceded

to our request."

The new concessions are:

- The metering period of three minutes for a local call unit announced in the new metering system is now extended to five minutes.

- The metering period of a 20c call from a public telephone is now extended to five minutes from the present three minutes.

- The metering of local telephone calls, dialled after hours, is now being adjusted as follows: From 6 pm to 10 pm it will be 7.5 minutes and from 10 pm to 7 am the following morning, 10 minutes. From 1 pm on Saturdays until 7 am on Mondays the metering period will now also be 10 minutes. The metering periods were previously 4.5 minutes and six minutes.

- Trunk calls over distances less than 50 km will now also be metered in units of five minutes, instead of 72 seconds.

The new system will be introduced in the PWV and surrounding areas on July 1 and 2.

Mrs Barbara Bush yesterday delighted photographers by k

# Thatcher, Bush say it is time SA began dialogue

Stu 2/6/89

The Star Bureau

LONDON — President George Bush and Mrs Margaret Thatcher agreed yesterday that it was time for realistic steps by the South African Government to encourage dialogue within the country.

The leaders, who spent more than two hours in intensive discussion at Downing Street, agreed that the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela was the vital kick-off point for such an initiative.

Both are keen to see a resolution of the conflicts which plague southern Africa and are aware of the international kudos awaiting those who help to bring an end finally to South Africa's internal dilemma.

Mrs Thatcher is understood to have told the US President that she has high hopes of new initiatives under Mr F W de Klerk, who is due in London later this month for talks with the British Premier.

American and British leaders want a chance to assess President Botha's successor face-to-face. They want know from him how he plans to pull South Africa out of the political doldrums created by President Botha's phased departure from office.

They are also keen for an explanation of his promise this week that he wants a "square deal" for South Africans of all races.

Mrs Thatcher and President Bush yesterday

## force-fed' ric acid

— Bail was set at million for Mr Ricky miss Shelia Smith, ac- force-feeding their h-old son, Quinten, ric acid.

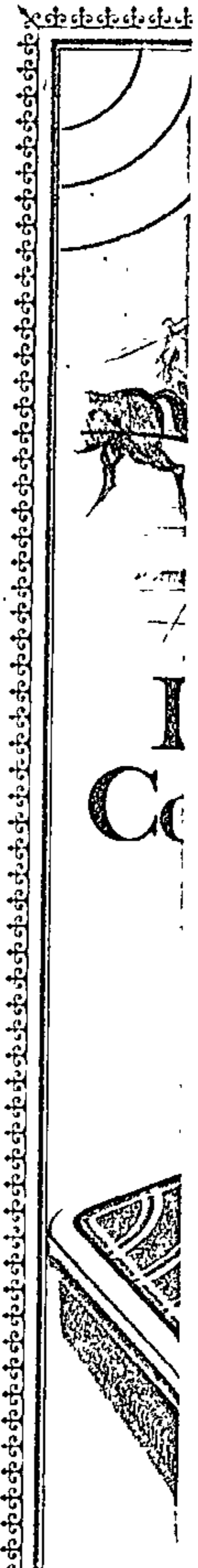
le allegedly wanted lawsuit claiming the ula was tainted. —

stressed their "special relationship" as they faced the press.

President Bush said the links President Reagan had forged with Mrs Thatcher would continue and the British Premier added that Britain prided itself in being foremost among the US allies.

At a glittering dinner at Downing Street last night, Mrs Thatcher assured President Bush that he could "always count on Britain."

● See Pages 4 and 11.



8/2/6/89

304A

Leader 'can expect criticism of CP'

# Treurnicht to meet with FO official

By Chris Whitfield, The Star Bureau  
LONDON. Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht will meet an official from the Foreign Office here during his five-day British visit which starts today.

A Foreign Office spokesman confirmed yesterday a "middle-ranking" official would meet the South African politician. He added that "we obviously maintain links with all sorts of political organisations".

Dr Treurnicht can expect to be told his party's policies undermine British opposition to sanctions, particularly after incidents such as the attempts to reintroduce petty apartheid in CP-controlled municipalities.

It will be Dr Treurnicht's only official meeting with a British Government representative. British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher declined to meet him.

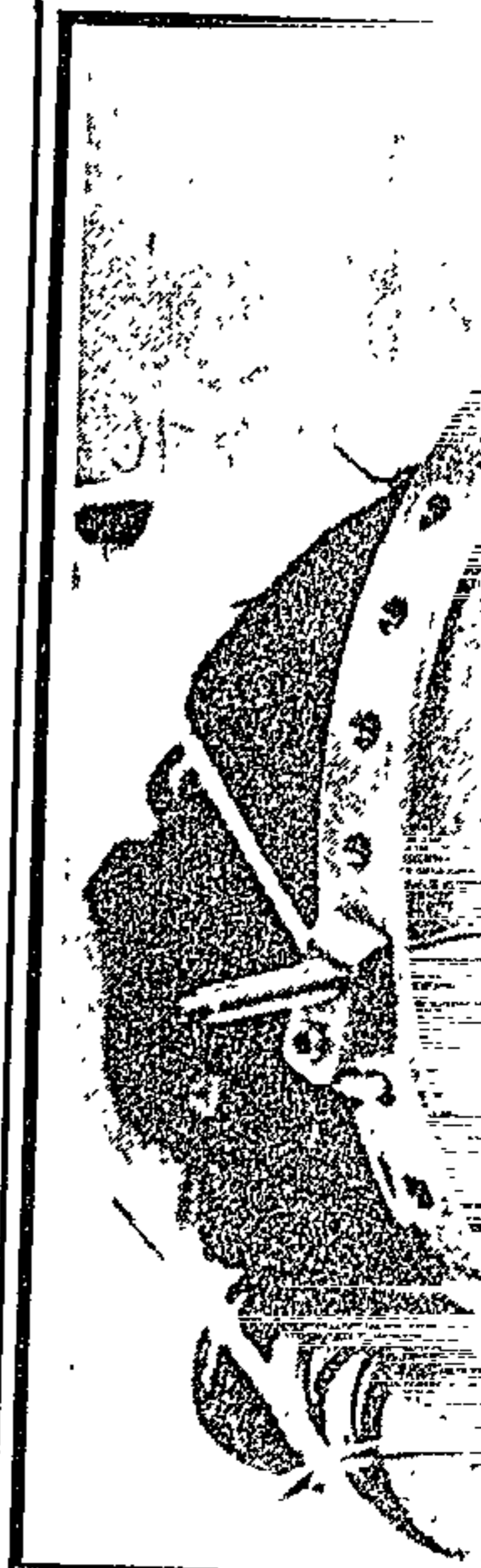
Both the Foreign Office and the pub-

lic relations company handling Dr Treurnicht's visit said they could not disclose where or when the meeting would be held.

It will be squeezed in between a number of interviews with pressmen and private meetings with businessmen and British Conservative Party MPs. On Monday evening, in the only public function of the visit apart from a press conference, he will be the guest at a dinner being hosted by the Monday Club.

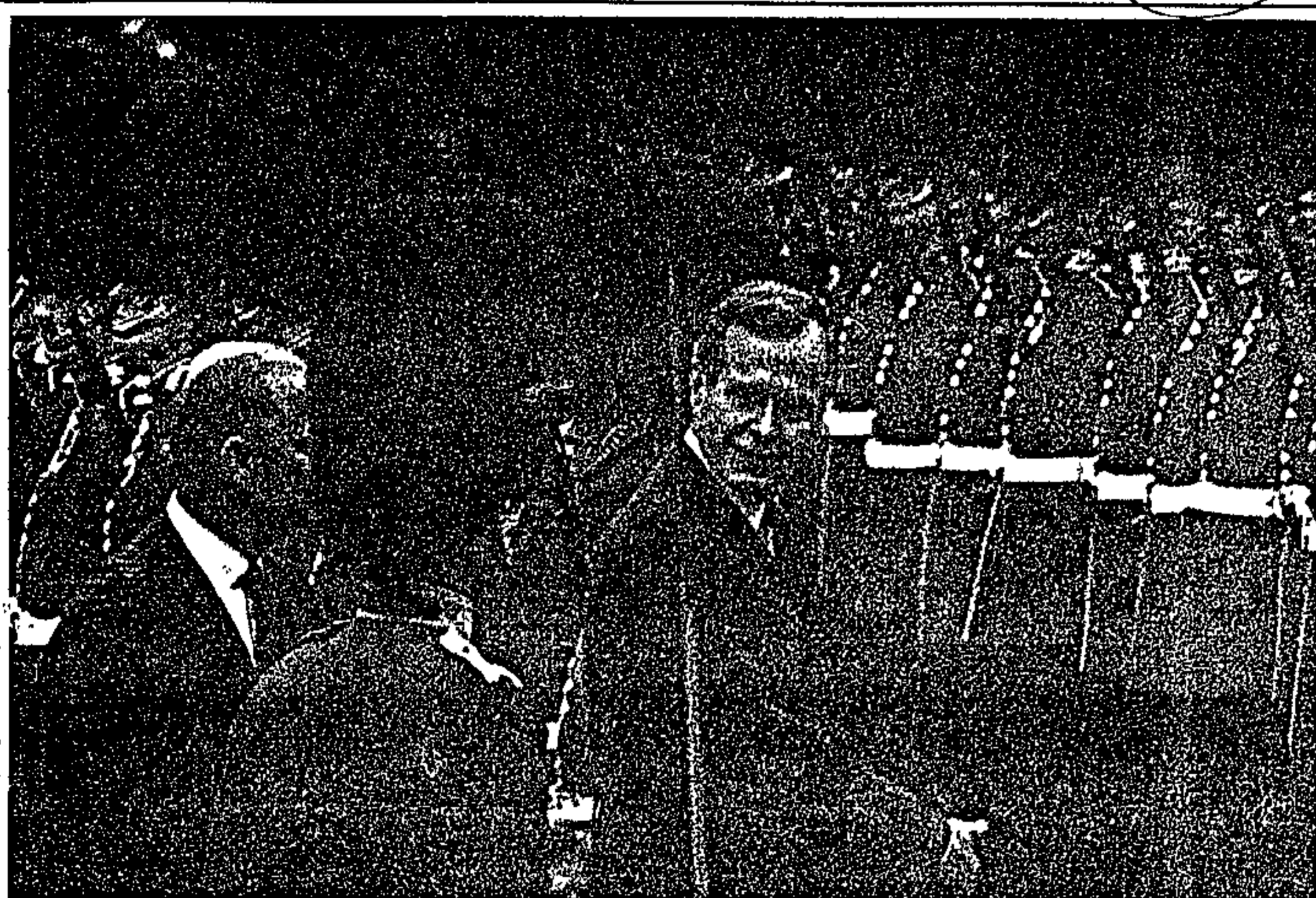
The next day Dr Treurnicht leaves for Paris for five days before returning to South Africa.

Behind-the-scenes work for his London trip has been done by a network of conservative Britons. They include public relations consultant Mr Andrew Smith, London representative of the right-wing Stallard Foundation, and Mr Christopher Forster, chairman of the Anglo-South African Fellowship.



# No changes, say the Nats

THE TIMES 2/6/89 304A



**BUSBIES FOR BUSH** Guardsmen resplendent in their black busbies and red jackets stand to attention for President George Bush, who arrived at Buckingham Palace yesterday. Mr Bush and Prince Philip inspect the guard before lunching with Queen Elizabeth. ● Bush, Thatcher agree on arms plans — Page 7.

Political Correspondent

**THE National Party has ruled out any policy changes before the election — In spite of pressure from British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.**

Mrs Thatcher and President George Bush discussed South Africa during their talks in London yesterday and it was learnt last night that Nat leader Mr F W de Klerk will definitely meet Mrs Thatcher later this month.

He will be faced with certain demands from her, which are understood to include the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and other key political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and progress towards an all-party "indaba".

But the NP caucus is firmly opposed to changes before the September poll and Nationalist politicians have scorned the possibility.

In addition, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, has stated repeatedly that the "revolutionary climate" is too high for the emergency to be lifted at this stage.

## 'Year of Boksburg'

Meanwhile Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night that the NP refusal to repeal the Separate Amenities Act was clear proof that the government was "so welded to racist apartheid".

He said 1989 was "the year of Boksburg" and if ever the NP had been presented with an opportunity to do something "really good" for the country, this was it.

"All they needed to do was repeal the Separate Amenities Act but they didn't," he told a Sandton meeting.

IAN HOBBS reports from London that Mr De Klerk will meet Mrs Thatcher in three weeks time, according to senior British and South African political sources.

A spokesman for Mrs Thatcher's office said last night that she expected to meet Mr De Klerk "before long" but refused on grounds of security policy to confirm or deny the claim that he would arrive in London on or around June 23.

Mrs Thatcher has repeatedly made it clear that she expects a pay-back from the South African government for her refusal to impose sanctions.

BBC radio said Mrs Thatcher explained to President Bush yesterday that she "hoped to draw SA government leaders into negotiations" on a package deal to release Mr Mandela into an atmosphere of non-violence.

President Bush emphasised to Mrs Thatcher that his administration was still constrained by Congress on South African policy and he welcomed her central role.

He reportedly told her this had paid off handsomely when she was on hand in Windhoek on April 1 to help avoid a collapse of the Namibian peace effort.

Mrs Thatcher told Mr Bush that she was determined to continue her meetings with the "new generation" of South African leaders.

Sydney Cape Times

## Court told of police anti-ANC hit squads

THE TIMES 2/6/89

By RONNIE MORRIS  
Supreme Court Reporter

MR BONGANI Jonas yesterday told the Supreme Court he had agreed to join a police unit known as the A-Team, which was composed of former ANC members whose work was "to kill their former ANC colleagues".

Further claims made by Mr Jonas, 30, in the Xengeni terrorism trial were that:

● Security police had "consulted" with accused Ms Jenny Schreiner "so as to create an Olivia Forsyth".

● He was shot by a policeman in the hip from five metres when he was arrested, and another later stood on the wound.

● He was taken up Table Mountain in the cable car by security police, to the Sea Point beachfront and other outings when it was thought he would give evidence for the state.

● Police removed a suit and shoes they bought him, as well as soap and a wash-cloth given to him when he refused to testify as a state witness.

### Asked for protection

Mr Jonas, 30, was giving evidence at an inquiry to determine whether he had just excuse for his refusal.

## Schoolboy killed by stray shot during row

Staff Reporter

A 16-YEAR-OLD Belhar pupil was killed by a stray bullet last night when a firearm went off during an argument between two brothers, police said.

Garth Butterson, 16, of Disa Road, Belhar, was hit in the chest and died instantly. He was a Std 9 pupil at Belhar High School.

His father, Mr Brian Butterson, said Garth had gone to a house in Jasmin Street early in the evening.

A group of young people were talking and listening to music in the garage.

According to Major Jan Calitz, a police liaison officer, one of the guests had picked up a firearm just after 7pm and was inspecting it when the alleged owner told him to put it down.

An altercation followed during which a shot was accidentally fired, hitting Garth, he said.

## ANC hijack man gets 15 years

DAR ES SALAAM. — A white man, Bradley Richard Stacey, believed to be South African, was sentenced yesterday to two 15-year prison terms for carrying grenades and explosives on board a Soviet aircraft which he reportedly tried to hijack to Johannesburg.

High Court Judge Nassoro Muzavas passed the sentence on Stacey, 30, alias George Hodges, who pleaded guilty in a closed court two days earlier.

Police say the May 18 flight from Angola was carrying 200 ANC members to Moscow for training and that Stacey tried to divert the flight to Johannesburg before being shot by a Soviet security man.

Stacey, who appeared in open court with a bandage on one shoulder, was sentenced to 15 years in prison on the explosives charge and 15 years for assaulting a Soviet citizen. The terms are to be served concurrently.

Stacey said in court that he would appeal against the sentence, saying: "I must be home within 10 years." He did not say where his home was.

Tanzanian authorities have been extremely secretive about the case, but security and ANC sources have said Stacey was a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

They said Stacey approached the cockpit of the plane waving a hand grenade and saying he wanted the flight diverted to Johannesburg because there was a "communist" on board who was badly wanted by South African police.

The hijacking was foiled when a Soviet security man shot Stacey in the chest. They said they believe Stacey was an undercover agent working for the South African government. — UPI

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## NP's man gets help from the mine

A COMPANY in the Anglo American Corporation stable gave "active help" to a National Party candidate in the Standerton municipal by-election last month.

A Standerton inhabitant, Bart van de Steen, told the *Weekly Mail* that the New Denmark Colliery had "transported, put up and taken down" the mine tent for the NP near the polling station. He also said that food was prepared by colliery kitchen staff for the NP camp.

The Conservative Party candidate in the election, Gert Koch, said he had also been told that workers from the mine, a subsidiary of the Anglo American Coal Corporation (Amcoal), had helped the NP on the day of the election.

In a statement, Amcoal representative James Duncan said "that certain equipment and staff of the New Denmark Colliery were used without full authority during the recent Standerton by-election. Those involved have been disciplined or counselled, and steps have been taken to prevent a recurrence of the incident".

Duncan said it was against company policy to make donations in cash or kind to political parties.

The NP candidate, Hennie Kotze, is the chief timekeeper at the colliery. He has since been dismissed for reasons unconnected with the election allegations.

Koch won the election for the CP by 33 votes.

2-8/6/89

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# Hitting where it hurts

(304A) Email 2/6/89

After its painful fructification — which sometimes tended to emphasise division rather than unity — the Democratic Party (DP) has turned sharply on the Nats' soft underbelly. This is its progressive enfeeblement of the economy and its socialist bias masked too often in free-market rhetoric. If F W de Klerk's response is anything to go by, the DP's arrows have found their mark.

Only a week after Denis Worrall harried De Klerk about his economic views, which drew an angry response, Zach de Beer has accused De Klerk of "we-know-what-is-good-for-you" socialist economic measures aimed at "redistributing" taxes paid by ordinary folk — among them widows and pensioners living on fixed incomes — to rich farmers and luxury consumers buying fancy homes and cars.

Twenty percent of the farmers in this country produce 80% of agricultural output. That makes the most efficient farmers big businessmen and the rest unworthy of subsidies. There is no housing shortage for whites, who benefit most from housing subsidies. That makes them relatively well off. Nor are those buying on HP necessarily buying essentials.

After having had the courage to acknowledge only a few weeks ago that interest rates need to rise in the face of excess

demand, De Klerk is now advocating some relief through additional subsidies. That is economically inconsistent.

Any protection for any sector will prolong the difficult — and in some cases painful — adjustment necessary to curb excess demand. De Klerk, it seems, acknowledges the need for amputating a limb, but wants to do so inch by inch. The more he offers subsidies to succour potential Nat voters, the more and the longer we will all suffer.

Government has created the excess demand in the economy which is fuelling inflation, making it difficult to repay foreign debt; it has encouraged the erosion of savings and is impoverishing the elderly who live on fixed incomes. It has done all this by taxing excessively, spending prolifically and keeping the cost of money (that is, interest rates) artificially cheap. It can't blame that on the panic of foreign bankers, the misguided notions of sanctioneers and the dismay of disinvestors.

If De Beer and Worrall do nothing else but point out the practical inconsistencies in the Nats' application of their so-called capitalism, they are bound to win increasing popular support. But of course they need also to give vigorous public expression to their own economic vision. ■

~~2/6/89~~ Mail 2/6/89

~~2/6/89~~ 304A

three new SA trade missions in Africa this year as evidence of "growing real contacts with the outside world."

Babb says: "Africans now recognise Johannesburg as their continent's New York. And it is through increased contacts with Africa that SA will break its isolation from the Western world. The winds of change have become a change of winds." He says one of his goals is to see SA join SADCC, the nine-member conference of African states whose aim is to reduce dependence on SA. While this is unlikely until SA has majority-rule government, the SADCC is known to trade with SA "under the table," as Nafcoc's Sam Motsuenyane puts it.

Meanwhile, black economic empowerment rather than diplomatic maneuvering, is seen by many as the true answer to sanctions. Blacks now earn nearly 30% of the national income.

Assocom and JCI economist Ronnie Bethlehem says that share would be 35% by the year 2000 in a sanctions-free economy. However, it will in fact drop to 25% during the next decade should sanctions continue. The black population will, meanwhile, jump from 72,6% to 76,2%.

The answer, he says, is to place more of SA's economy in black hands: "There is no way a growing economy can be maintained in the face of sanctions unless there is a massive absorption of blacks into the economy."

## CITY VISITORS' FUNDS

### Invisible spree

Government critics — inside SA and abroad have been making full use of Johannesburg City Council's controversial R1,3m Foreign Visitors' Programme (FVP). This emerges from the furore over the secretive nature of the fund, which Democratic Party (DP) leader in the council, Tony Leon, has suggested could be abused under cover of the justification that divulging details would harm the security of the country.

New information about the FVP, which is run by the National Party-dominated council Management Committee (Mancom), has been released to the *FM*.

Leon recently slammed the FVP, implying it was a freebie system for overseas "buddies" of Nat councillors. However, senior NP councillor Cecil Long maintains the programme has always operated with the active support of the defunct Progressive Federal Party (PFP) and councillor Ann Quail now represents the DP on it. NP council chiefs have accused their critics of political expediency. The *FM* was unable to get the DP to respond.

The programme made headlines recently when the media uncovered a secret FVP event — the 10-day, R60 000 visit to SA by six Americans as guests of the city's controversial Traffic & Security chief, John

Pearce. Their itinerary included holidaying at the luxurious Mala Mala game reserve and staying at an exclusive city hotel.

The visitors excited further ratepayer scepticism by maintaining strict press silence — at their own request, according to the mayor. Town Clerk Manie Venter refused to release their itinerary for "security reasons."

Long tells the *FM*: "We have nothing to hide. We are not the Klu Klux Klan. We are for open, clean administration." He claims the FVP idea originated with former PFP councillor Harold Rudolph (now an Independent), and former PFP caucus leader Sam Moss. Further, the DP's Quail hasn't refused her appointment to the FVP committee. Invitations are carried out in consultation with bodies such as the SA Foundation, Assocom and FCI, says Long.

Long says that by April the fund had spent R797 000, 60% of budget. He lists only in general terms some of the beneficiaries of the programme, saying he cannot provide their names because the "interests of the country" could be damaged by giving SA's enemies "a stick to hit SA."

Among the council's visitors have been Belgian senators, German mayors and MPs, the deputy mayor of Paris, the leader of the International Huguenots organisation, Dutch MPs and mayors, US members of the House of Representatives, the former governor of Australia, the previous head of Nato, US civil rights leaders including a friend of



**DP's Leon ... freebies for buddies**

Jesse Jackson; and senior people from Malawi, Gambia, Senegal, Zimbabwe, and other African states, which Long won't identify.

Long says the programme has been supported by the councils of Durban and Cape Town. The money is "a small amount to be paid for informing overseas people, who can now come and see for themselves."

Durban and Cape Town officials insist they do not operate FVPs, except to oblige the Johannesburg council. A Durban council

spokesman said R170 000 was set aside this year for entertaining guests, while the Cape Town council said they allotted R191 225 towards their civic hospitality fund. Both pointed out that their entertainment budgets are strictly controlled, and that expenditure reports are open to public scrutiny.

But Marietta Marx, deputy chairman of the Johannesburg Management Committee says reports on the FVP visits are placed on "closed" management committee agendas to protect visitors.

The Cape Town and Johannesburg councils say their entertainment programmes do not include much more than lunches, or visits to city sights such as Table Mountain. Durban's mayoral secretary Barry Armstrong says Durban spent its R170 000 mainly on domestic functions. And Cape Town council PRO Ted Doman says any item of entertainment expenditure above R10 000 has to be specially approved, and any item is open to discussion by the full council. This often happens.

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## GENERAL ELECTION (304A)

### Changing the guard

A massive "renewal" in the composition of the white House of Assembly is expected in September's general election. As many as half the 163 MPs in office when parliament adjourned last week may not be back.

So far at least 32 MPs have already said — or are expected to soon announce officially — that they will not stand for re-election either because they are retiring or being appointed to new posts. All but five of them are Nats. They include seven General Affairs Cabinet ministers, one Own Affairs minister and a deputy minister. The latest minister to quit is Own Affairs Health Minister Piet Badenhorst. Last month he denied rumours that he would not stand again for parliament.

The five non-Nats who will definitely not be back are the NRP's Ralph Hardingham; the former PFP MP now sitting as an independent, Marius Barnard; and the DP's Helen Suzman, Ray Swart and John Malcom — who was expected to announce his

retirement this week. All 22 of the CP's elected MPs are again available for nomination, according to party spokesman Clive Derby-Lewis.

Between 30 and 40 Nat seats are expected to be won by the two opposition parties, with the majority going to the CP. The prospect of losing seems to be the main reason why so many Nats are reluctant to stand again. Nomination struggles in a number of constituencies will also account for a handful of sitting MPs. Those expected to be ditched include the NP's Harry Dilley of Simon's Town and Sam Bloomberg in Bezuidenhout.

The prospect of a revival of a vibrant opposition party to government's left with the birth of the DP has sparked considerable interest among aspirant politicians. The party appears set to field a range of "name" candidates that could prove major drawcards. They include TV personality Carole Charlewood, former SAAF chief Bob Rogers, Idasa director Wayne Mitchell, former women's army college commander Hilda Burnett (formerly Botha), former Nat Cape MEC Teunis Schlebusch, athletics administrator and former wine farmer Jannie Momberg, a senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Kobus Jordaan, and leading businessman David Gant.

So far the CP's "name" candidates include former Transvaal rugby captain Corrie Pypers and former Nampo GM, Piet Gous.

Of the 166 elected seats at stake, early predictions are that the CP will win between 40 and 50, the DP between 25 and 30 and the NP between 86 and 101. The NP currently has 120 elected seats, the CP 22, the DP 19, and the NRP one. There is one independent member and three vacancies all of which were NP seats.

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Charlewood ... among the DP's big 'name' candidates

# DE KLERK DAZZLES IN US TV

**P**RESIDENT-DESIGNATE Mr F W de Klerk made his debut on American television in his capacity as National Party chief this week, and judging from his performance he would be well advised to give more of the same.

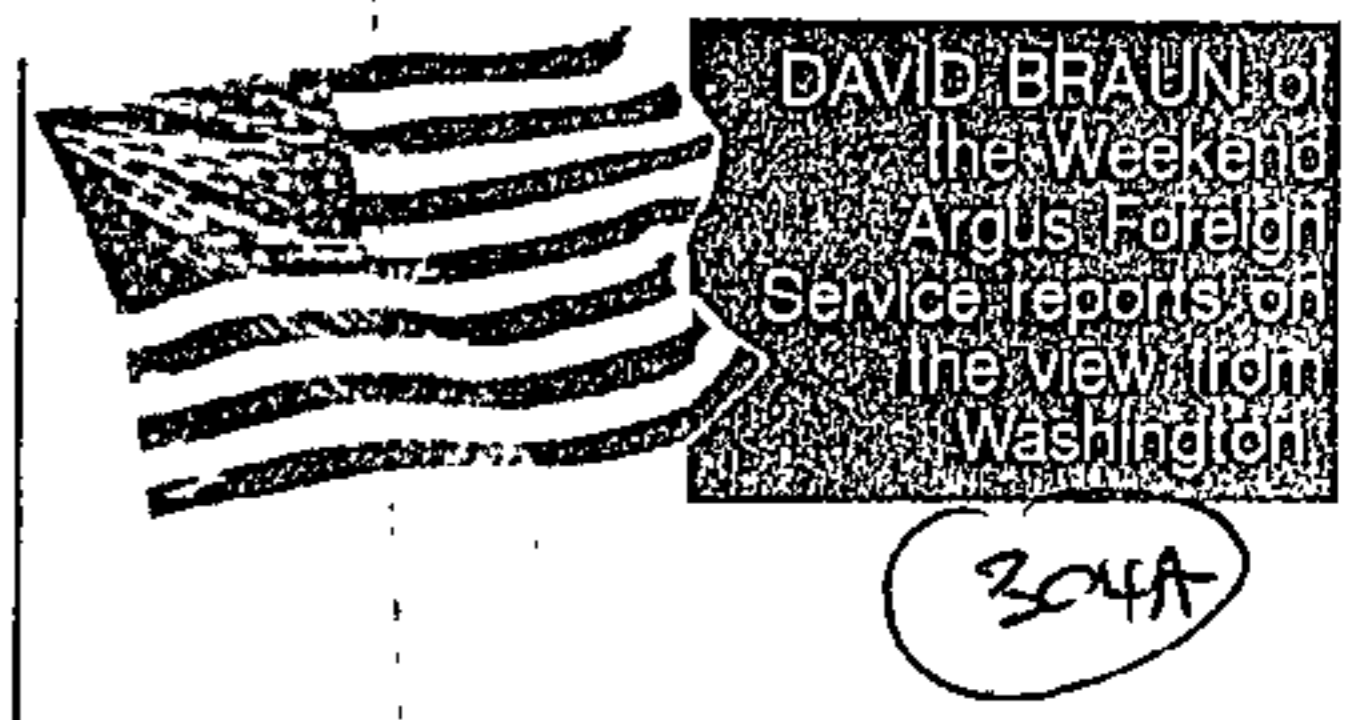
The differences between Mr de Klerk and Mr P W Botha on camera are enormous.

Whereas the current President makes no secret of his contempt for the media in the very few interviews he gives, Mr de Klerk appears courteous, earnest and willing to answer all questions to the point.

Conspicuous by their absence are the admonishing finger, the smirk off camera at aides in the wings after delivering some petty jibe aimed at the media or foreign meddlers, and the arrogant manner in which Mr Botha manages to convey to his interviewers that they know absolutely nothing about what is being discussed.

Much of Mr Botha's lousy media image was due to the incompetence of his media advisers. Presumably they were never aware, or they simply did not care, that Mr Botha's arrogance on television was propaganda manna for American networks which chose the worst bits to make the point that South Africa's white leaders were pompous, arrogant and downright thuggish.

**P**RESIDENT Botha used to order media photographers to stop taking pictures of him 10 minutes after he started delivering a speech. "I know what you are up to and I'm not going to have it," he once told cameramen who were snapping away. He had heard that photographers waited for the most unflattering gestures and facial expressions so as to portray him in the worst possible light. Strangely, it never seemed to bother him that the television cameramen at the back of the hall remained squarely focused on him, recording each ges-



**I**T is early days still for Mr F W de Klerk, but so far the Russians are not overly impressed.

Their view of him is in sharp contrast to the impression Mr P W Botha made on them. Although only an initial view, it is significant in its revelations of Soviet expectations.

To them Mr Botha was the strong, almost heroic figure. Pictures of him on his white horse evoked images of Boer General Christiaan de Wet, who features on their wall of fame, and of their own Peter the Great.

While Mr De Klerk's friendlier, more flexible style seems to be exciting hopes at home and abroad, reports reaching Stellenbosch's Institute for Soviet Studies indicate that the Russian attitude is much more sceptical.

Clearly he is being watched with an eagle's eye by Soviet analysts. But so far these academics as well as Moscow's Africa specialists seem doubtful whether he is the man to lead South Africa out of the woods.

In assessments published in the Stellenbosch Institute's publication *Soviet Revue*, he is seen as being too vague, a man of words rather than of action, and as a leader who shows no sign of being prepared to venture beyond the failures of the Botha era.

A statement by him which seems to have drawn particular attention in Moscow is: *My aim is to create a new South Africa, fundamentally different, free from all antagonisms of the past, of any forms of domination and oppression ... the domination of the whites as it exists today must disappear.*

**T**HE sharpest criticism comes from Dr Boris Asoyan, one of the Kremlin's top specialists on southern Africa, who also gave a comprehensive analysis of President Botha's leadership in a long article published in the Soviet Union in 1987.

He says: "The pathos of this statement makes one believe that he has advanced a strategic programme. And regrettably this appears to be true. Regrettably, because this "positive" programme lacks one, but very important, even vital element, which brings to naught the outward progressiveness of Frederik de Klerk's statement.

"The new leader of the National Party did not say a word (and, judging by the tone of his statement, did not want to say anything) about the role and place of the African National Congress in the current political picture of South Africa."

"He did not even hint at the interest of the ruling party (and Frederik de Klerk obviously spoke on behalf of the party) in creating conditions for a dialogue between the two main political forces of the country."

"On the contrary, answering a question about the possibility of talks with the ANC, he repeated that "we do not hold talks with those who resort to violence". He added that his party would never accept the "one-man-one-vote" principle.

Dr Asoyan then asks what good a programme would be that rejected the possibility, not to mention the "necessity", of talks with "the lead-



# BUT Russia scept of Nat leade

ing force which advocates the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of justice in South Africa".

**N**OTING that Mr De Klerk is regarded as the main candidate for the presidency, he suggests that if that is to be the NP's programme under its new leader, then South Africa's political leadership has no long-term political goals and the crisis of the NP is deepening.

"If the statement reflected Mr De Klerk's personal views only, then it is doubtful that he would lead the white community further than his predecessor did."

Dr Asoyan sees Mr De Klerk as a leader who fails to meet the expectations of even the white community by being unable to offer "a new formula as a solution to old problems".

"The only new points in his statement were pathos and eloquence, which is not enough in the current political conditions. His statement sounded too gentle for the right-wingers, insufficiently radical for the liberals, and palliative for the black majority ...

"The continued replacement of positive actions with loud but empty verbiage may prove



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DAVID BRAUN of the Weekend Argus Foreign Service reports on the view from Washington.



ture and every inflexion of his voice.

Mr de Klerk's first foreign television interview was like a breath of fresh air. He sat comfortably with his legs crossed and not once did he wave a finger. He listened intently to the questions without interrupting and then he answered clearly and concisely, with just a hint of a smile and a twinkle in his eye now and then.

All in all his image was of the kinder and gentler type that President Bush has tried to cultivate since becoming America's President. Mr Bush gets a very good press because of his accessibility to the media and his informality and spontaneity. Americans love the down-to-earth folksy way the Bushes are running the White House and the Presidency.

Mr de Klerk, however, was not only impressive for his image. What he said was of enormous importance in that he made all the right noises Americans have come to expect of him.

He used words such as "drastic change" and "square deal for everyone". He said in theory it

was possible for any person of colour to hold any job in the government, and he stressed the need for "real negotiations".

If these are the phrases he is going to continue uttering on American television screens it is almost a certainty he will be invited to the White House (right now the official US position is that although he has been invited to the US later this year to meet Secretary of State Mr James Baker, there are no plans for him to meet President Bush).

Mr de Klerk is an experienced and intelligent politician. He would be wise to continue moulding his media image the way he has started.

In the final analysis of course image will count for nothing if all those fine words he uttered turn out to be empty of substance.

After 10 years of Mr P W Botha, Mr F W de Klerk's advent as the new Nationalist leader and likely next President has awoken considerable interest here and in the capitals of the super powers. What impression is he making?

## a sceptical leader

Dr Asoyan sees Mr De Klerk as a leader who fails to meet the expectations of even the white community by being unable to offer "a new formula as a solution to old problems".

"The only new points in his statement were pathos and eloquence, which is not enough in the current political conditions. His statement sounded too gentle for the right-wingers, insufficiently radical for the liberals, and palliative for the black majority ...

"The continued replacement of positive actions with loud but empty verbiage may prove

catastrophic for South Africa. There are ever fewer chances for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. By postponing radical reforms, the leaders of the NP risk evoking a giant force of counter-action which they would not be able to repel."

GENNADIYH GERASIMOV, head of the information directorate of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, says he would like to think Mr De Klerk's statement indicates a growing realisation in South African ruling circles of "the need to abolish the racist system of apartheid, which is the source of the unending

contradictions in the region".

He, too, regards Mr De Klerk's eloquent and soothing tongue as not enough to deal with the South African situation: "The Soviet Union would welcome specific steps to give practical effect to the intentions voiced by Frederik de Klerk. How the statement of the NP leader is put into effect we shall, of course, judge from actual deeds."

These sentiments are shared by Yuri Yukalov, head of the African administration division of the Soviet Foreign Ministry "Moscow took note of some of the statements made by Frederik de Klerk. But it would rather prefer to see real deeds"

He claims there have been "no promising signs" of a change in the South African situation.

Soviet academic Vladimir Tikhomirov has called for a joint approach by the Soviet Union and the United States to seek a peaceful settlement in South Africa

He suggests that a joint declaration by the two super-powers, outlining basic principles and objectives, could be "a major positive factor". It could identify the following principles and objectives which had been repeatedly and publicly supported by the leaders of the two countries:

- Apartheid must be eliminated;
- Africans should be granted political rights;
- Neither the USSR nor the US intend to establish their domination in southern Africa,
- South Africans themselves should determine the character and structure of the future state,
- Neither the USSR nor the US intend to interfere with the process of settling the conflict in South Africa and they believe this settlement should be of a peaceful nature;
- The USSR and the US reject all attempts to establish priority of an external force in southern Africa and express their readiness to recognise a future democratic South Africa as a non-aligned nation and to maintain broad political, economic, cultural and other relations with it; and
- The USSR and the US declare the inadmissibility of interference by any country and, therefore, express their readiness to act as guarantors of the security system in southern Africa.

TIKHOMIROV also suggests that the USSR and the US could co-sponsor an international scientific conference attended by leading organisations and movements of South Africa. Such a conference could draft a proposed settlement and a programme of action for a future democratic government.

The two powers could offer "good offices" in talks between various political forces in South Africa with a view to seeking a political settlement.

"The system of apartheid must be done away with, and the sooner it happens the less black and white South Africans will have to suffer," he says.

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## IT WORK?

**The Democratic Party's decision this week to keep its three-man leadership for the September election has been welcomed by some and criticised by others. The question is, can it work?**  
**FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.**

The Conservative Party and its extreme right-wing allies are in an even worse position when it comes to leadership. The image of the CP's political friends like Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and others has been severely tarnished by the Wit Wolwe debacle and other incidents in right-wing politics. A question widely asked is: Who is the ultimate boss of the right-wing movement and where will he lead the country?

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan says that although the party's leadership is to be reviewed in October, in terms of the merger agreement by its components, the three-man leadership has been highly successful so far. This has been shown by public response to the party and by huge attendances at its meetings.

"Many people, including important decision-makers, who were initially strongly critical of collective leadership, now say they are convinced we have done the right thing. The three of us are working together very well as an integrated unit," Mr Malan said.

The three together had succeeded in creating a total identity for the new party in a way in which no single leader could have done.

The DP's opponents had clearly hoped for a division in the party over the leadership issue. They would have liked to have a single DP leader because it would have been easier for them to concentrate on one person in their efforts to discredit the party's leadership. But this was not to be, and the opponents are clearly disappointed.

Mr Malan believes it would not have been wise for the DP to enter the election campaign

with a single leader. "You don't change horses in midstream, especially not if it is clear that you are moving forward. We are busy crossing the river and we are doing well. It would have been a blunder to shoot two of the horses."

Proof that the party's three-man leadership was doing well was to be found in overcrowded halls countrywide where they had been addressing public meetings. Some meetings were attended by more than 2 000 people. The measure of public enthusiasm at political meetings of the DP had probably not been seen since the 1980 republic referendum campaign, Mr Malan said.

"We have not only drawn massive public support, but have also been signing up new party members at the rate of 100 a day — and that without any co-ordinated recruiting drive."

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the decision to continue at this stage with the three-man leadership was "a necessary step to consolidate the membership of the new party. It has worked and we believe it does draw extra voters. There is a tremendous sea-change and a fluidity in our politics, largely due to economic circumstances and to the fact that people are looking genuinely for alternatives. We are now entering a period of practical politics."

The key election issue was not going to be constitutional promises, but the government's record which was "a rotten record. What matters in the election is not style of leadership, but substance."

DP co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said the decision to continue with the troika had been taken because it had been working so well to date.

## What the new DP stars say



Mrs Burnett



Lt-Gen Rogers



Mrs Charlewood



Mr Jordaan

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE Political Staff

going down. To solve the economic problem, we must first solve the political problems."

Many people in South Africa seemed to think the economic problem could be solved without finding a political solution. The fact was that South Africa needed overseas co-operation and could not stand alone in the world. The country needed investment.

General Rogers said he had thought previously that the National Party was on the road to reform — "but it suddenly came to a grinding halt."

"One cannot exist on one's own in the modern world. If you want to be a member of the family of nations, you must abide by certain rules. It is as simple as that."

MRS Hilda Burnett, a member of the Democratic Party's national board, said she was previously a member of the National Party and voted for the NP in elections.

She had voted for the new constitution in the referendum which preceded the introduction of the tricameral system.

"I believed then it was a step in the right direction, but the right direction has still not

materialised. Instead we have the three-chamber parliament with all its 'own affairs' and further confirmation of a policy of separate development."

Mrs Burnett, who comes from an Afrikaans family in the Free State, said she believed the DP's policy offered hope for peace and reconciliation in South Africa.

Rejecting Nationalist criticism that the DP was "soft on security", she said one of the DP's basic principles was the rule of law and the maintenance of law and order. When law and order was threatened it was necessary to look at the cause of the threat.

Far from being "soft" on security, the DP's policy for peace and reconciliation offered a peaceful and secure future.

"My standpoint is that I am looking for a peaceful future, for a less deeply divided society. I am concerned about the future — I have children and grandchildren and we all intend to stay," says Mrs Burnett.

She is in favour of maintaining a strong professional defence force, supplemented by an effective citizen force.

She served as commanding officer of the

NADP women's college at George from 1973 to 1978, after which she was posted to army headquarters in Pretoria where she became senior staff officer (women) with the rank of colonel. She retired in 1982.

DR Teunis Schlebusch, a former president of the Cape Province Municipal Association and former mayor of Queenstown, resigned from the National Party in November last year.

He was elected unopposed as National Party MPC for Queenstown in 1977 and served in this position for more than three years. After that he decided not to make himself available for re-election.

Among the reasons he gave last year for quitting the NP was that he no longer had confidence in certain NP leaders, especially the then Cape leader of the NP, Mr Chris Heunis.

Dr Schlebusch also found he could not support the NP's regional services policy and had lost confidence in the NP as a result of broken promises affecting his constituency.

Confirming that he had made himself available as a DP election candidate, he said he did not believe the National Party had the ability to get South Africa out of its dilemma.

Dr Schlebusch said that when he recommended some years ago that the integration of local authorities and of residential areas be made possible, he came up against strong resistance in the National Party and was accused of being "too liberal".

After quitting the NP, Dr Schlebusch joined Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party, which is now a component of the DP.

"I believe the Democratic Party's policy offers a better future. People must be brought together and must not be separated. Racial prejudice must be eliminated," Dr Schlebusch said.

# THE



# DP



# TROI

**T**HE Democratic Party's constitutional adviser, Professor Marinus Wiechers, believes the advantages of the present three-man leadership far outweighs any disadvantages in the system.

He says collective leadership may be something new in South African politics, but has proved to be effective and highly successful in some European countries. Not only that, but it also offers scope for further widening the party's support base.

Critics of the system, on the other hand, say they can't see how a party can fight an election with three leaders. Who must the voters listen to and whose word must they believe?

It is also criticised on the grounds that it could make the party vulnerable to malicious attempts by political opponents to sow division in its ranks. The leaders could be played off against each other in attempts to show that they speak with different voices.

Professor Wiechers says the nature and role of the DP in bringing together different elements in opposition politics lends itself to a system of collective leadership. It fits in with a new political culture within which the DP would have to search for alliances and new patterns of political co-operation.

Contrary to the government's policy of co-opting others into a single political structure under a single leader, the DP's whole approach is to extend its political power base and influence through partnership. This is reflected in the present "troika" arrangement under which different components of the party are brought together under collective leadership.

The same partnership basis has proved a growing political force in SWA/Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) over the years. There, too, a system of collective leadership was maintained and could accommodate new party-political formations on a partnership basis.

**A**NOTHER major advantage is that it enables people to identify more easily with a new party which consists of various components. In the DP's case, the party is still in a process of consolidation, with people from different political backgrounds getting to know one another. They find it more easy to identify themselves with the party when its top leadership includes a leader of their choice who represents the component to which they belong.

However, the strength of a political organisation, according to Professor Wiechers, is to be found in the first instance in its grassroots support. And so far all indications are that the DP has maintained the total support of its components under collective leadership. Had there been a single leader when the party was launched, this might not have been the case.

Critics of the "troika" leadership have expressed fears that it could leave the party wide open to attacks from its opponents seeking to divide the party. It is argued that Nationalist propagandists, for example, would have a field day trying to play one leader off against another. Malicious attempts could be made to discredit the party by trying to show that it speaks with three different voices, thereby causing confusion among its supporters.

It is also claimed by some critics that the DP's decision to enter the election campaign without a single leader is a sign of indecision and uncertainty in the party's leadership.

**T**O this the answer from a senior DP source is that since the party's formation it has proved that the three-man leadership works well and is drawing unprecedented attendances at public meetings countrywide. The three leaders have also shown that they are in agreement on all basic issues.

As for fears that the three-man leadership is open to a propaganda onslaught from political opponents, the spokesman says such fears are unfounded. At this stage — so soon after the merging of its three components — the party would have been more vulnerable under a sin-

gle leader. Hostile propagandists would then have tried to divide the party by claiming that elements or factions of the party are not happy or cannot identify themselves with the leader.

A further advantage of the system of collective leadership is said to be that it offers scope for linking up with extra-parliamentary groupings, thereby broadening its support base.

DP sources say the success of the party's three-man leadership so far is clearly seen by the Nationalist establishment as a serious threat to the NP — hence the early Nationalist attempts to discredit the DP's decision.

Meanwhile the NP itself has a far greater leadership problem if collective leadership is to be seen as a problem at all. The NP is entering the election without clarity about its own leadership — it has an ex-leader (President P W Botha) who is still the boss in terms of the country's constitution, while it is unclear how much say the party's elected leader, Mr F W de Klerk, really has.

Attempts by Nationalist commentators to discredit the DP's leadership should, therefore, be seen as a transparent bid to draw attention away from the NP's own leadership dilemma.

# CAN IT WO

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# And what the ne

**T**HE crucial question of South Africa's security is one of the issues that made Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, former Chief of the Air Force and Korean war hero, decide to back the Democratic Party.

"The country's position is absolutely critical and I believe our future security is at stake," he said this week.

General Rogers is among prominent personalities who have come forward to make themselves available as candidates for the DP in the September 6 general election.

Among them are Mrs Hilda Burnett, former head of the SADF training college for women in George; Dr Teunis Schlebusch, a former Nationalist MPC; Mr Kobus Jordaan, a former senior government constitutional negotiator and former Nationalist senator; and Mrs Carole Charlewood, an award-winning SABC-TV producer.

General Rogers, who now lives at Knysna after retiring from the Air Force in 1979, said that while he believed the country was in a critical situation, the government did not seem to have any plan to solve the country's problems.

Confirming that he had made himself available as a DP candidate, he said he believed the DP offered a more secure future.

"One of my biggest worries is the way things are going at present. It's not going to help simply to keep on plugging the holes without going to the cause of the problem," he said.

**T**HE DP was looking at the cause. Security was not only safety at the country's borders, but also involved the country's future prosperity and its ability to guarantee a safe and prosperous future.

Solutions could only be found by involving all people, black and white.

"The economic situation is critical and is



Mrs Burnett



Lt-Gen Rogers

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE

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"I believed then it was a step in the right direction, but the right direction has still not

# Slabbert may stand in Stellenbosch

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By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THERE are growing indications that Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, the former leader of the opposition, will indeed stand for the Democratic Party in the Nationalist stronghold of Stellenbosch in the September 6 election.

This follows a big registration drive in the constituency, where more than 2 000 new voters were enrolled since the DP was formed eight weeks ago.

The party's director of organisation, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday that when the DP was formed on April 8 the three merging parties only had about 80 members in Stellenbosch.

A student branch had been formed in addition to the town branch, Mr Ross said.

The enthusiasm for the DP in Stellenbosch, fuelled by the mounting speculation that Dr Slabbert would be the party's candidate, could well persuade him to decide to stand in the seat.

Dr Slabbert, who initially said he was not interested in standing for Parliament, but then said he was considering a DP offer to stand in Stellen-

bosch, could not be contacted yesterday as he is overseas.

But in yesterday's issue of Vrye Weekblad, Dr Slabbert was quoted as saying he was "strongly considering the offer" and would make his decision known in the next few days.

DP sources said they expected a decision by Dr Slabbert soon, but added that no firm deadline had been set for this.

However, there is a mounting sense of expectation within the party that Dr Slabbert, one of the most popular white politicians in South Africa, will stand for the DP in Stellenbosch.

DP sources say it is accepted that he will continue to be involved in his extra-parliamentary activities.

Earlier this week the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine, said officials of the organisation would not be allowed to stand for parliament because it was non-partisan.

However, he specifically excluded Dr Slabbert, Idasa's policy director and one of its founders, from this.

Vrye Weekblad said yesterday it was almost inevitable that Dr Slabbert would stand in Stellenbosch.

# DP firm on group areas

PETER FABRICIUS Political Correspondent

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CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has reacted angrily to suggestions that it has "gone soft" on group areas, or, for that matter, free settlement areas.

Mr. Tian van der Merve, the DP group areas spokesman, said this week the party re-

maintained "implacably" opposed to group areas.

## Free settlement policy 'inadequate'

He said it had made this clear in a resolution on group areas which was passed by a group areas conference of city and town councillors last weekend and ratified as official DP policy by the DP national board in Cape Town on Wednesday.

The DP group areas policy was the same as that of the old PRP, he said.

The DP policy resolution had expressed "unequivocal opposition to the group areas system" and concern for the damage it had done.

It has also stated that the Free Settlement Areas Act was "inadequate to undo the harm caused by the Group Areas Act, cannot satisfactorily deal with urban problems created by demographic pressures and housing shortages", and was "badly flawed in terms of the prescribed procedures".

However, both the DP now and the PRP before it, had accepted that the Free Settlement Areas Act could be used to open up whole municipal areas if the Group Areas Act could not be scrapped.

### Municipal areas

The PRP federal council had resolved in November last year that it would "use the mechanisms created by the Free Settlement Areas Act to have whole municipal areas opened to all, rather than only pockets within municipal areas".

The DP had taken the same approach because, like the PRP, it believed most of the problems which would be caused by the Free Settlement Areas Act were related to opening up small areas or pockets within cities.

The DP group areas policy ratified this week, had stated that "the creation of isolated small free settlement areas will place such areas under extreme population pressure, thereby aggravating racial insecurity and tension and creating major

socio-economic problems". Mr van der Merve said these problems could be overcome if whole cities or towns were opened.

Whether this was done by suspending the Group Areas Act throughout a city — as the Cape Town City Council wants to do — or declaring a whole city a free settlement area, was immaterial.

Though it is clear that the DP has not changed its position as far as whole cities and towns are concerned, it is the approach to small pockets being opened within cities, that is putting it on the spot to some extent.

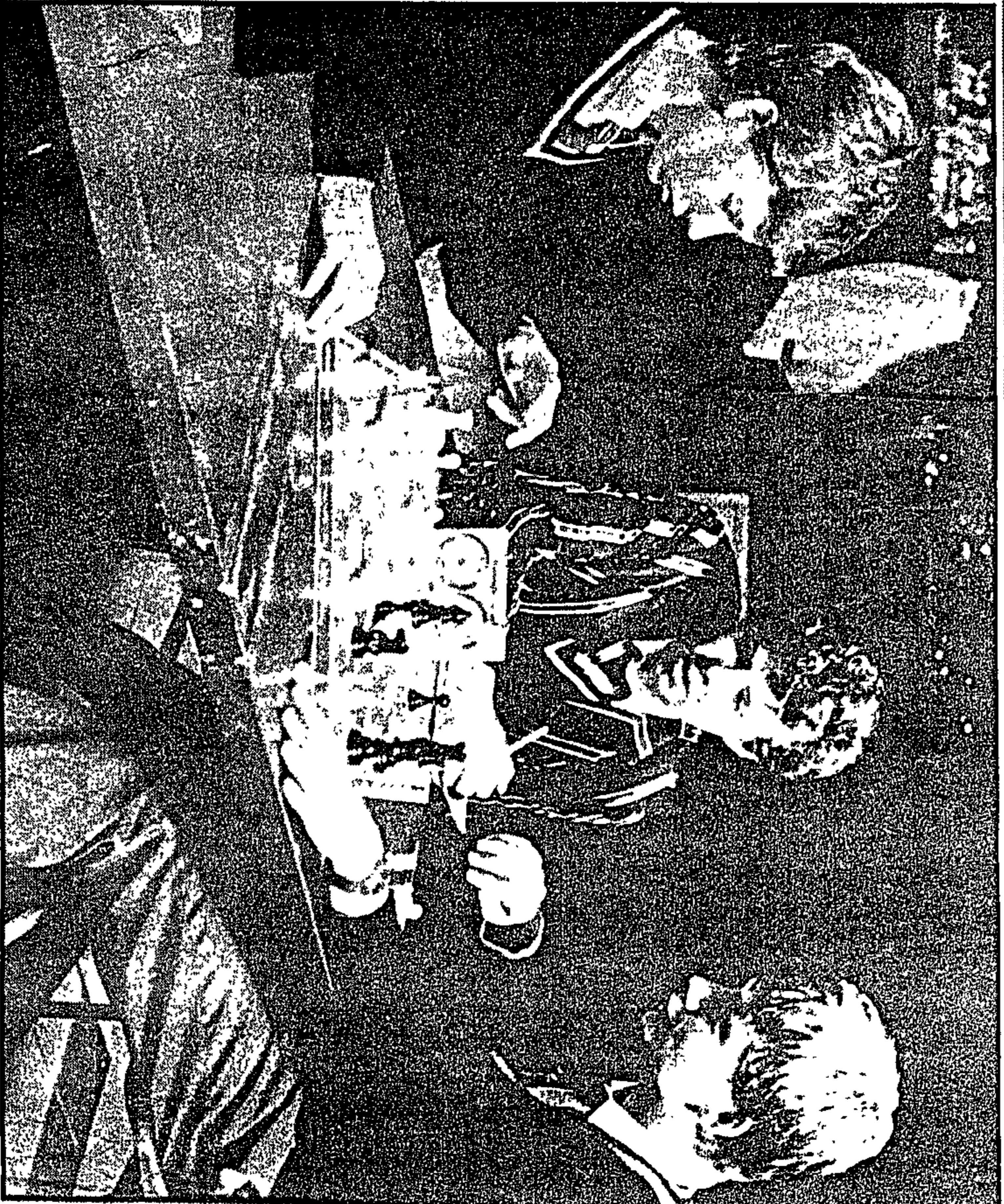
This emerged at the Johannesburg city councillors conference where DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said that voters were tending to interpret the DP's opposition to opening of areas as a form of protection of affluent whites against less affluent blacks.

And DP leader in the Johannesburg city council Mr Tony Leon had remarked that many people in affluent Johannesburg suburbs were prepared to lead the way in opening up their suburbs.

Mr van der Merve said in an interview after the conference that the DP's approach would be that, although DP city and town councils themselves would not apply for isolated pockets to be opened, they could in certain circumstances support such applications by others.

This was not really a change in policy, as the PRP had been "silent" on this question. Mr van der Merve said the DP's approach was that, if it appeared that its policy guidelines could be met in opening up a pocket, it would support the application.

## Moving 24-hours ahead as lads plot Guinness record



BENKIGHTED CHESS: It was a long night for three boys from the Florida Park High School (from left) Justin Fox, James Fox and James Carolin — and there was still a long way to go today in their bid for a new world record and a place in the Guinness Book of Records. Here they are gearing up for their midnight start to the bid for a world record of the most moves made in a 24-hour period, at the Westgate Fountain Court. The boys are raising funds for a chess tour to Natal in July.

● Photograph: HERBERT MABUZA.

# Black economic power seen as sign of hope, but not the answer

AS South Africa's seemingly intractable political problems grow in size and urgency, the expanding economic power of black people is identified as a sign of hope.

The phrase "black empowerment" meaning primarily but not exclusively economic empowerment, is increasingly on the lips of key political actors and observers.

Professor Brian Kane, director of the University of Cape Town, reflects the belief that black economic empowerment is the answer to the unemployment crisis, especially in the informal sector which he says may constitute as much as 40 percent of the economy.

His optimism is reflected in the title of a recent article, "The Hidden Hope" where he writes:

"What is underway is a process of redistribution of income, away from the enfranchised to the voteless. It is going to the blacks."

His colleague at UCT, Professor Francis Wilson, is less hopeful. Even if all discriminatory apartheid laws are rolled back, blacks will be hard put to end the imbalance of wealth without the intervention of the State.

Mr John Kane-Berman, director of the Institute of Race Relations, sees evidence of black economic empowerment, but does not, however, push the point too far, and identifies it as the panacea for South Africa's ills.

He enumerates some manifestations of emerging black power: the growth of black trade unions, the rise in black consumer power and the arrival of black entrepreneurs, particularly in the taxi industry.

He talks of how factory managers can no longer act as dictators, of how blacks have hit back via consumer boycotts against Conservative Party-controlled councils which have tried to turn the apartheid clock back, and of how black taxi drivers have taken over major sectors of the transport business.

"It is a process by which South African society is transforming itself fundamentally, socially and economically, despite statute books piled six-foot high with apartheid laws," he says.

Mr Kane-Berman recalls only six years ago, in 1983, legislation was tabled to drive the minibus industry off the streets.

He readily acknowledges that greater black economic power does not automatically lead to increased political power.

"To translate economic power into political demands backed by economic power is a risky business," he says. "The people who have to take the risks are the blacks."

Ordinary black people have, however, taken risks before, he says, he refers to the settlement of blacks in whole areas of Johannesburg in defiance of the Group Areas Act and their wholesale refusal to heed the now discarded pass laws.

Mr Kane-Berman, a strong opponent of sanctions and disinvestment, argues that black economic empowerment, and the potential political leverage which it gives blacks, is best advanced by economic growth.

The way to encourage it is not, as some American Congressmen seem to think, through financial donations; the way to kill black entrepreneurship is to create a "dependency syndrome" in which blacks become dependent on foreign handouts.

"Economic growth is necessary but is not a sufficient condition for black empowerment," Mr Kane-Berman says.

"Black economic empowerment rides on the back of economic growth," he adds, recalling how economic expansion in the 1960s forced many companies to train black people to do skilled work because no whites were available, and how those same blacks exploited their irreplaceability to enhance their power still more.

Dr Duncan Innes, associate professor of industrial sociology at the University of Witwatersrand and editor of the informative *Innes Labour Brief*, offers a different perspective.

No one can disagree with the principle black economic empowerment, given the fundamental imbalance of wealth between the white and black communities, he says.

"But a lot of advocates of black economic empowerment are overly optimistic about its impact," he adds, noting that there is often heavy reliance on spectacular black achievement in the informal sector of the economy.

He points to the black taxi industry, the extensive about it being evidence of "burgeoning black entrepreneurship," needs to be balanced by the large percentage of perhaps 40 percent which are white-owned and where the black driver is an employee, not an owner.

Dr Innes cites another situation where all is not what it seems: the sudden appearance of mobile food vending units gives the appearance of black entrepreneurship because they are staffed by blacks and cost a lot of money. However, 80 percent are owned by whites.

Similarly, he says, of trust funds, even if many black hawkers are not interlopers, small scale generating funds, even if they come from foreign countries, is overwhelming.

"Most of them work for white farmers," Dr Innes contends that foreign companies and governments should be encouraged to make funds available for black empowerment. But these funds should be administered by trusts, unions which trade unions should be represented on, and subject to strict auditing, he adds.

South Africa will not grow as long as there is apartheid. Its immediate future is that of a Third World country with little capital for growth. In these circumstances, the arguments in favour of trust funds, even if they come from foreign countries, is overwhelming, Dr Innes says.

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## ENTERTAINMENT

### New book mirrors unhappy exiled poet

304A

Star 3/6/89

# Desperate' Breyten

PARIS — South African writer Breyten Breytenbach, in his early 50s, is revealed in his new book published this week as "truculent and desperate".

He is embittered by "1 001 memories of exile, treason, love and creativity", according to the publisher's dust-jacket blurb.

Breytenbach has chosen a curious vehicle for his thoughts, which are unravelled at a snail's pace and with a certain obscurity, in this new book published by Editorion Grasset.

The title of his 371-page novel "Memoire de Pousiere et de Neige" (Memory of Dust and Snow) gives some idea of what the reader will discover — a No-man's Land, as he refers to it himself.

The narrator is a Meheret, a pregnant Ethiopian journalist whose lover, Mano, a coloured man, has returned to his native South Africa on a secret anti-apartheid mission. He is arrested for a murder that he has not committed, and sentenced to death.

Undoubtedly Mano is Breytenbach, and this part of the book shines with a brilliant political analysis of the various anti-apartheid movements in South Africa.

It describes his clandestine meetings with these opponents of the present regime — a Dr Yama, one

Professor Oupa Coetzee, who teaches Afrikaans at Western Cape University and a Mr van Wyk. There is also a young chain-smoking woman student referred to as Ma Fille.

Mano's mission — which is clearly that of Breytenbach — is to test the divergences between anti-apartheid movements and the communists, as well as differences between militants at home and abroad.

Interestingly, Mano says his mission was organised by "the party" — the communists.

Breytenbach has always maintained that he has never been a communist.

Dr Yama tells him: "I am going to astonish you. The revolution does not necessarily have to be made by the Left."

Dr Yama also doubts the value of Mano's mission, and hints that the party has organised others ...

#### Afrikaner guilt complex

The implication is that Breytenbach discovered that his short-lived secret visit to South Africa was not all that welcome.

Mano, as was the case with Breytenbach, is apparently betrayed. The suspected traitor in the book

is called Barnum, married to a Frenchwoman and living in Paris. She does not like Mano and her husband talking Afrikaans together, and encourages Barnum to betray Mano.

Barnum describes himself as "the bastard brother of God" and is a kind of alter ego to Mano. Another suspected traitor is a giant Zulu named Ka'afir.

Another thread is Mano's own possible self-betrayal. But a large part of the book is devoted to Meheret's reminiscences of her childhood in Ethiopia. It is so vivid that presumably Breytenbach has visited the country himself.

There are numerous highly critical references to Afrikaners. They are described as "sentimental, cunning, clumsy and filled with a guilt complex".

Ka'afir says at one point: "How can one not hate Afrikaners? South Africa is a dream country because taboos are stronger there and hypocrisy greater. A man can pass his entire life in prison just because he has pronounced the words Enough and Freedom."

Breytenbach has left his beloved Paris, and was last reported living in West Berlin on a scholarship.

He complained in a recent French television interview that he was having difficulty making a living. His new book, which one French reader described as having a "dense style" is unlikely to become a best-seller and solve his financial problems.

# CAN THE DP's TROIKA EXERT THAT CHARISMA?

**I**N opting for three leaders rather than one, the Democratic Party is putting extraordinary faith in the quality, insights and enthusiasm of its potential voters.

It is a drastic break with a political tradition in this country that has often tended to make political parties revolve on their leaders rather than the reverse.

One thinks of the powerful figures most certainly of Smuts and Verwoerd and the way they personally influenced the course of their parties and altered the history of the country. And, that by no means excludes the force of character and individual impacts of any of the others — Louis Botha, Hertzog, Malan, Strijdom, Vorster and, least of all, P W Botha.

One sees the importance attached to leadership even now in the way the National Party is struggling to get F W de Klerk to move out of the P W shadow and the way his image is being nurtured as the new leader.

No doubt, the cry in the weeks and days leading up to the election is going to be give F W de Klerk a chance!

**I**N any case, it might have been advisable for the ruling party to use the advent of a new, clean-faced leader to get some distance between itself and its own past.

To ask the voters simply to give the party another chance would be a bit much after four decades, especially considering the economic plight and political confusion its racial policies have caused the country.

## INSIDE POLITICS



W/C M645 3/6/87  
by LEON MARSHALL  
306R

For all the explanations and rationalisations offered by the DP hierarchy for sticking with three leaders, it seems that, had the risks of discord been smaller, they, too, would have much preferred a single leader.

However, now that the party is seemingly committed to its course, the question is to what extent the new "culture" away from centralised leadership that Mr Wynand Malan, in particular, likes to speak of will make up in pushing power for what the absence of a single, strong leadership figure is going to cost the DP in pulling power.

How strong is this new culture? In fact, is it real?

**J**UDGING from the audiences the DP "troika" has been drawing in all parts of the land, there certainly is something astir. People do not go to political meetings in such numbers outside election time, what with television and all other forms of relaxation.

Then again, SABC TV might well be what is sending them there.

However, one hears not only from Democrats, who can be expected to talk that way, but also from Nationalists, admittedly those who are not complete strangers to

the Democratic way of thinking, about a new political expectancy that is in the air.

Economics certainly is contributing to it. So is the spectre of a country isolated from the international world. And so, it is claimed, is the wish among many voters — particularly the younger generation — for a new beginning, something that could revive hope in the future.

Hamstrung as the Nationalists evidently are by the rightwing threat, there are those among them who hope that, while keeping suitably vague about policy and detail, Mr de Klerk could be built into the kind of figure that would appeal directly to that growing section of South Africans who crave a new beginning.

To them, the so-called "new culture" is nothing as complicated as a group of people favouring movement away from centralised leadership. They see it simply as a sentiment away from the "old culture", that of racism and failure.

It seems, therefore, the DP would be making a big mistake if, in overestimating this so-called new culture, they by the same token underestimated the De Klerk challenge.

The fact that it has three leaders is a complication. Not only does it dilute that vital, yet indefinable, thing called charisma which voters seem to seek in their leaders. It also increases, dangerously, the onus on the party leadership to project that unity of purpose which its opponents are going to be only too eager to bring into question at every opportunity.

# Time to make a

PEOPLE are angry. One can feel it!

It is there among people one meets in the street. It is there when one sees the housewife shopping in the supermarket or at the corner convenience shop. It comes from the pensioner who is battling to make ends meet.

Stand in a queue to pay for a purchase and the man in front of you sees the GST added to the price. Talk to a friend who has just paid income tax.

The politician who stops people in the street to find out what voters are thinking gets a bitter reaction. In years of public life, one has seldom experienced such an electric atmosphere on the state of the economy.

## Punch drunk

In the past, one has sometimes felt that people were punch drunk and hardly reacted to price increases. That is not the situation today. It is not resignation anymore, or even resentful acceptance; it is simple, straightforward anger.

The targets are those in authority who have managed the economy; a deputy minister who tries to justify and explain a situation by comparing statistics as they were at carefully selected dates becomes a symbol of those in authority whom it is believed do not really care.

The name of Dr Org Marais was known to relatively few people, but in a matter of days has become the symbol of an attitude which does not care for those hit by the economic problems of the day.

Whether his statistics are right or wrong is not relevant, or that he has to defend his government against attacks from other politicians. What is important is that he seems not to care about the plight of people and this is what has made them even angrier.

The people are used to excuses that the fault lies with the gold price, with the dollar, with sanctions and boycotts. They have heard them all before. Yes, these things do affect the economy, but there is much more than those factors.

## Know better

Why do we have to read a year later admissions by those in authority that they perhaps should have acted earlier or differently and had they done so things would be better? After all, those in authority should know better; that is why they have been put there, and they have teams of expert advisers to guide them.

The economic troubles have come at a time when some people's leadership positions have reigned in situations which have cast shadows over them.

This has not been restricted to politicians; a number of public servants are either under investigation or have been suspended. There have been activities by such individuals, some in high places, which add to public anger.

To make matters worse, some of those who have left office have done so with seemingly large golden handshakes.

Combine price rises with the politicians and public servants under investigation and these large payments, then the anger is easily understood.

## In power

The questions which require answers are: How did South Africa get into this mess and how do we get out of it?

One of the problems is that one political party has been in power for more than 40 years.

While the present Official Opposition, the Conservative Party, attacks the government on its economic policy, if it were to get into power there is no doubt that South Africa's economic

## Harry's 11 pointers to SA's woes

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr. Harry Schwarz lists 11 pointers to the inflation crisis and elaborates...

- ☐ One party in power for 40 years!
- ☐ Economic policies dictated by elections.
- ☐ Unco-ordinated fiscal and monetary policies.
- ☐ Inadequate control of money supply.
- ☐ No adaptation to drying up of foreign loans.
- ☐ Excessive State spending.
- ☐ Failure to encourage productivity.
- ☐ Duplication of services.
- ☐ Consumer exploitation.
- ☐ Administered prices and control boards.
- ☐ Failure of educational system leading to bottlenecks of skilled labour.



situation would deteriorate not only further but dramatically.

The CP is really an alternative on race issues only, an utterly unacceptable alternative to black, coloured and Indian South Africans, to the world at large and, one hopes, to the majority of white South Africans.

The liberal opposition, while courageous and tough and presenting viable alternative economic policies, has not in the past been within reach of power. It has been kept out of power solely on race and security policies. Government as a whole urgently needs new blood.

The second reason is that for years now economic policy has been influenced by elections. Almost every year, over a long period, there have been elections of one kind or another and, in an endeavour to woo voters, policies have been tailored to please them rather than to deal effectively with economic issues. Elections are bad for economic management.

## Overcompensate

Third, there has been inadequate co-ordination between fiscal and monetary policy. The two should work together, but often the one has had to overcompensate for failure of the other.

Fourth, there has been inadequate control over the money supply, and what's often forgotten is that the effect of excess growth in the money supply is normally felt only 12 or 18 months after the event.

Fifth, there have been serious problems created by the drying up of foreign loans and a need to keep the current account of the balance of payments in surplus, irrespective of the phase of the business cycle. But policy makers have failed timeously to adapt to a new situation, while lip service is paid to the policy of inward industrialisation incentives as a by-product of other policy objectives.

Failure to turn the economy around and the reality of a new situation has limited economic growth and when demand has grown, it has been dampened to protect the balance payments.

Sixth, we have had continuous excessive expenditure, despite promises to restrain a proportion of the gross domestic product absorbed by the State has remained unacceptably high.

## Encourage, reward

Seventh, there has been a failure to adequately encourage and reward productivity. This has helped to fuel inflation.

Eighth, there exists a duplication, triplication and more of State services, too many departments doing the same thing costs more. Departments each of Health and Education are an undesirable luxury.

Ninth is the issue of consumer protection. There is inadequate protection of the consumer in market conditions are inadequate to ensure fair competition and so keep down prices. Financial reports of companies in the consumer market keep appearing. Profits racing ahead of production. The same quantities sold with higher margins.

Tenth are the handling of administered prices and the control boards. The authorities set market-related prices when there is no price unrelated to world conditions for and that is fixed. Prices go up when there are shortages but also when there are surpluses. Basic laws of economics are turned on their heads.

Produce is exported at a loss and the consumer bears the burden, and yet production of the same export at a loss continues.

Eleventh are the bottlenecks of skilled labour which still occur at the same time as large unemployment of unskilled persons, the product of decades of past neglect in education and training, which are frequently of

# to make a noise!

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Failure to turn the economy around and accept the reality of a new situation has limited economic growth and when demand has grown it has been dampened to protect the balance of payments.

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Produce is exported at a loss and the consumer bears the burden, and yet production of the the same export at a loss continues.

Eleventh are the bottlenecks of skilled labour which still occur at the same time as there is large unemployment of unskilled persons. This is the product of decades of past neglect in education and training, which are frequently of such a

nature that they do not equip children to meet challenges in the world. Technical and vocational subjects have received insufficient stress.

The list can go on and on. But what do we do about it now?

First and foremost, the authorities must take the public into their confidence. Their co-operation cannot be obtained without absolute frankness and openness on the nature and extent of our problems.

Then we need to control the money supply and co-ordinate fiscal and monetary policy.

Government must not only call on people to live within their means, it must itself do so and State spending must be cut.

Priorities for expenditure must be correctly assessed. Waste and duplication must be terminated; *apartheid is expensive and causes inflation. The price is too great to pay to have a concept which is unacceptable.*

We need to accept the reality of a country which cannot get foreign loans and to a far greater extent encourage local industry both for consumption at home and for export. Inward industrialisation must become a reality instead of a buzzword.

Buzzwords are now the fashion. Deregulation and privatisation are two others. Correctly implemented, the processes will help, just talked about they mean nothing. Privatisation the wrong activity or let an enterprise fall into the wrong hands and costs will go up. Deregulation must permit and encourage legitimate enterprise, not create opportunities for exploitation.

### Create wealth

Exploitation is an issue requiring urgent attention. If one dares utter the word, there is an outcry that one seeks undue intervention in the market.

The truth is that if the free enterprise system is to achieve complete acceptability, it must be seen not only to encourage entrepreneurship and create wealth, but also offer opportunity and protection, and that true competition exists to prevent exploitation.

There is a feeling among consumers that prices are being put up by many businesses because there is no resistance to price increases. Often inflation is the excuse, not the cause. Increased profits are made not because of greater efficiency or turnover, but because margins are increased.

The published accounts of some companies need some explanation on this issue if this conclusion is not to be drawn.

Consumers need to stand up more for their rights and the government should be helping them. The time has come for people to let their voices be heard if they feel they are being exploited.

Not all businesses indulge in these practices. On the contrary, those who do are the exception. But public opinion is a strong weapon and it must express itself. Not all landlords exploit, but those who do, particularly those who exploit the elderly, should be exposed. Consumers must become more pro-active.

In the end, however, it is up to the government to take action to fight inflation. Not alone, but in co-operation with the private business sector and the public. After all, the Reserve Bank owns the printing press, it prints the money, it puts it into circulation.

The authorities can control credit creation. The government decides on State expenditure and taxation and this is where the key to the problem rests.

So, while there is anger, this is not enough. Ask questions, call people to account. After all — this is our country — it is our economy, it is our rand which is losing its value. It is we who are going through a tough time!

# Too soon to talk of the Sickie and Kruithoring

Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh investigates Moscow's new attitude towards South Africa at first hand



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SOUTH AFRICA playing footsie-footsie with the Russians, and/or vice versa? The very idea seems inconceivable. For one thing, it could put the whole "total onslaught" industry out of business.

Yet for months commentators have been speculating along such previously unthinkable lines. It began to look as though a South Africa increasingly spurned in the West was willing, out of desperation or spite, to turn East and sup with the Red devil himself in its search for allies.

Soon the speculation acquired the status of conventional wisdom and as often happens in a country where the grasp of reality is in inverse proportion to the distance from the subject under discussion, we even began to hear about soaring visions of Moscow and Pretoria restoring diplomatic relations and the USSR leaning heavily on the ANC to moderate its methods.

I returned this week from a fortnight in the Soviet Union and it is my impression that glib talk of a Moscow-Pretoria axis is foolishly extravagant and counter-productive to new possibilities that could indeed open up — if approached with subtlety.

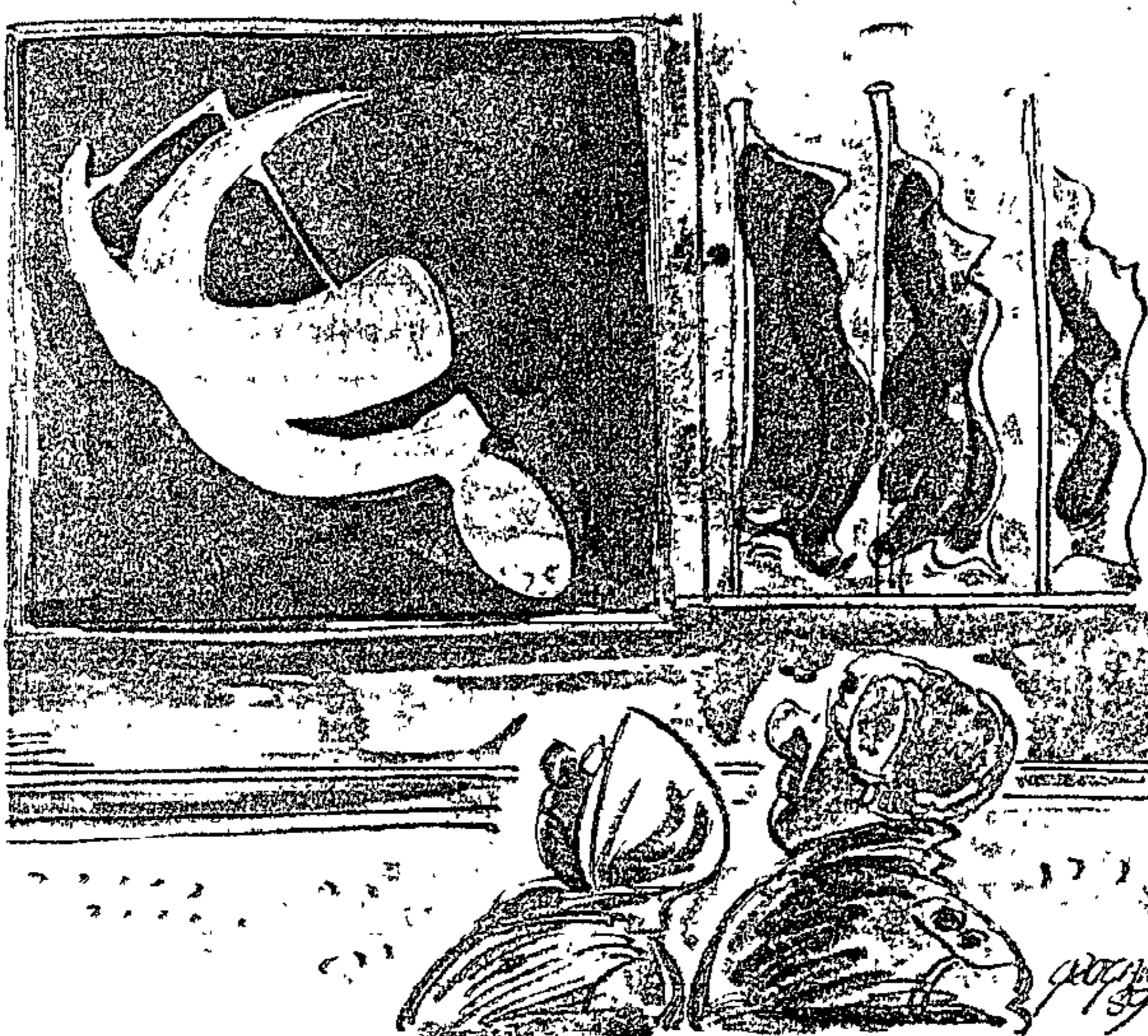
While it is true that the Russians ARE taking a fresh look at southern Africa — as, under perestroika, they are looking anew at virtually everything under the sun — we would be greatly mistaken to expect an early, fundamental change in policy towards our region. It is much too early for that.

Now this is not to say that there is no change at all in Russia. It is everywhere. The visitor is compelled to suspend all stereotyped views of that country as he witnesses at first hand the exuberance with which Russians are striving to create a wholly new country under Mikhail Gorbachev's three-pronged second revolution of perestroika (restructuring), glasnost (openness) and demokratizatsiya (democratisation).

## Crucial

I shall deal with these momentous events in another article next Sunday. For the moment, let us address Moscow's attitudes towards the South African question. They are of crucial importance because, in spite of the clamour within and beyond its borders, the USSR remains a superpower and its reach is long, as we recently saw in Angola-Namibia.

While it may be premature to talk about a substantive switch in Soviet policy towards South Africa, one is nevertheless justified — and we



Science, in the Institute for Africa Studies.

Furthermore the ANC, whose Moscow office has quasi-diplomatic status, is regularly consulted, either through the Solidarity Committee or senior officials of the Central Committee.

It is from individuals in this interlocking network of official and semi-autonomous agencies that some new sounds about South Africa have lately emanated, their origins owing as much to the general atmosphere of let-it-all-hang-out glasnost as to the more formal revision of geopolitical views that forms part of Mr Gorbachev's restructuring.

And it is not only inside South Africa that there is a measure of uncertainty in interpreting these new sounds, in March a heavy-weight ANC delegation led by its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, visited Moscow, apparently to seek clarification and to do a spot of lobbying.

Subsequent statements reaffirmed solidarity between the USSR and the ANC. The document issued after a session in the Kremlin with Mr Anatoly Lukyanov, Mr Gorbachev's No 2, declared that there had been unanimity about the desirability of the "elimination

possibility of similar teamwork on South Africa?

"Why not?" said Mr Yukalov.

"We liked the non-confrontational approach of the two superpowers in Namibia-Angola. Neither of us was advantaged; we simply collaborated to help the local people to sort things out."

He repeatedly stressed that it was up to South Africans themselves to work out democratic solutions for their country — but he had no doubt that the ANC would play a major part in seeking them. The USSR had no wish to prescribe economic systems.

## Problems

Had things advanced to a point where Foreign Minister Pik Botha might be able to visit Moscow?

"The time is not yet ripe," said Mr Yukalov emphatically. However, he did not exclude the possibility of dialogue at a diplomatic level about the political problems of southern Africa.

Carefully regulated visits by South Africans outside government (recently a few journalists, academics and others, including UDF and Idasa teams, have been admitted) would be used to expand contact.

Did he have a time frame for normalisation of relations?

"But we have an additional goal — we would like to see political dialogue that involves all the people begin."

"Whites should not be afraid of radical steps and blacks should understand that whites also need protection, not for their privileges, but for their legitimate interests."

"The white population need not

lose property that was honourably acquired."

Like so many others in the Soviet Union, Mr Gromyko stressed his belief that South Africa could not escape the consequences of the great wave of reform that was sweeping the world, even China.

"The way you develop — capitalist, socialist, semi-capitalist or even something of your own invention — will be resolved by your own people."

"Of course, we would prefer socialism, but after 70 years we know how difficult that is to achieve."

Russians, said Mr Gromyko, were trying to understand South Africa better. They realised apartheid was not an imposed phenomenon, it went back into history.

## Relations

"But that is why it is so necessary to get rid of stereotypes."

Only a round table of De Klerk, Tambo and Mandela can change things.

And Chief Buthelesi?

"He is part of the political life of SA."

Diplomatic relations?

"If the time comes, we are two countries that could have beneficial bilateral relations."

"But this is a long-range goal. Without an end to apartheid and without ANC participation at the round table, nothing is possible."

"So, whether it becomes a middle-range goal depends on South Africa."

Unsurprisingly, the views of Solidarity Committee spokesmen were somewhat more uncompromising — but here, too, I encountered a highly sophisticated understanding of South African

□ To Page 18

P. T. D.



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While it may be premature to talk about a substantive switch in Soviet policy towards South Africa, one is nevertheless justified — and we must be careful about nuances here — in saying that there is a new flexibility in Moscow's approach.

Notable, too, is the detailed and sophisticated knowledge of South African affairs displayed by Soviet Africanists. In many cases, I found them to be as well, and even better, informed about the complexities of the issues and more subtle than, say, some American congressional aides allegedly specialising in the same field.

How Soviet policy is made is a process of Byzantine complexity, which Pretoria's policymakers would be wise to master if they wish to avoid making the mistake of seizing upon the personal views of individual officials or academics (now, under *glasnost*, frequently and openly expressed) as the formal policy of the USSR.

The conduct of day-to-day foreign policy remains firmly in the hands of specialists in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its Africa department somewhat incongruously housed above a poorly stocked food store across the street from the ministry headquarters on Smolenskaya Square, a towering, ornate example of post-war Stalinist gigantism.

However, where matters of broad policy are concerned, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of which Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is a member and which contains a number of African specialists on its staff) also has a powerful say.

Important input also comes from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the body which is primarily concerned with liaison and aid to Third World liberation movements (including the ANC) and which contains on its staff a number of superbly well-informed specialists on southern Africa.

In addition, policymakers take account of studies conducted by expert researchers in various institutes in the USSR Academy of

ed, either through the Solidarity Committee or senior officials of the Central Committee.

It is from individuals in this interlocking network of official and semi-autonomous agencies that some new sounds about South Africa have lately emanated, their origins owing as much to the general atmosphere of let-it-all-hang-out *glasnost* as to the more formal revision of geopolitical views that forms part of Mr Gorbachev's restructuring.

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tion of apartheid by political means".

However, some observers thought it significant that the statement did not contain the usual, almost ritual, reference justifying the armed struggle.

During my visit I met many of the most prominent Africanists. Here are some comments of just a few:

Mr Yuri Yukalov is the man who directs southern African policy in the Foreign Ministry, where he is one of the top 10 officials. He reports to the Deputy Minister Anatoli Adamishin, whose portfolio includes virtually the whole Third World.

Mr Yukalov is an amiable, self-assured man with laughter lines around his eyes. Every inch the diplomatist, he served tea (Russia's most ubiquitous beverage) and biscuits in his office

## Optimism

Had there been any difference of opinion between his government and the ANC during the recent meetings?

"We are of the same views; both the ANC and my government would prefer a political settlement in South Africa rather than a military one," said Mr Yukalov.

"But the ANC is nobody's puppet."

He had lately developed "reserved optimism" about the prospects of peaceful change in SA, but he was distressed that up to now "we have only heard a few good words but very few good deeds".

"We welcome the words, but we would like to see some action..."

After Russia's experience of collaborating with the United States in settling the Angola-Namibia question, was there a

powers in Namibia-Angola. Neither of us was advantaged; we simply collaborated to help the local people to sort things out."

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Did he have a time frame for normalisation of relations?

"The onus is not upon the USSR — it is up to South Africans."

"We have lived without

each other for a long time and the USSR could carry on doing so.

"It is the patience of the people inside South Africa that is running out."

"Apartheid is the root of the tension in the region and we are concerned about it."

"Our global policy is to reduce regional tensions."

"South Africa has a choice — to become part of the international community or to become a third-grade power."

"A South Africa without apartheid and with democratic rights for all could become an economic leader in the region. We could do good trade with each other."

Listen to Mr Anatoly Gromyko, son of the former Foreign Minister and director of the Institute for African Studies:

"All over the world, including the USSR, old clichés are being thrown away."

"But not only the USSR needs *perestroika* — South Africa does too," says this equally amiable man with an uncanny likeness and the same Bob Hope nose as his father who conducted Soviet foreign policy for almost two decades.

"The communist ghost is something that exists in the minds of the SA Government — they are faced with an African nationalist movement that desires full citizenship in its own country."

"You are facing Africans, not the Soviets. But, under the pretext of fighting communism, Africans are being killed."

"We would like apartheid to simply wither away rather than fight it."

Observing that the ANC came into being before the Soviet revolution in 1917, Mr Gromyko said: "We have supported the ANC, we do it now, and we will do so in the future."

radical step understand (protection, n but for their "The white

# Acid Uys

told: No

shows for

Mandela

By CHARIS PERKINS

SATIRIST Pieter-Dirk Uys flies to Europe this week to perform in an international theatre festival — but the audience he wants most is languishing in a South African jail.

The acid-tongued playwright wants to put on a show for Nelson Mandela.

He recently petitioned Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee for permission to perform at Mr Mandela's residence in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl.

The request was refused — with no reasons given. But Uys won't be put off that easily.

"I have re-applied for permission," he said this week. "And I will keep on re-applying until I play for Mandela — or until the Department of Justice supplies good, solid reasons why I may not."

## Serious

"This is supposed to be a democratic country after all, and we should expect sound reasons for the Government's decisions."

Uys plans to put on one of his latest serious works, *Just Like Home*, for South Africa's best-known prisoner.

"It is a play about being in exile, about people away from home — just like Mandela," he explained.

He said he had long pondered performing for Mr Mandela — "after all, he hasn't seen a play for 27 years".

"I would like to be optimistic and believe that Mandela will make it to *Just Like Home*'s opening performance in Cape Town in two months' time."

"But I don't think he will be able to — he's probably too busy," he said with twinkling eyes.

Uys flew to Namibia this week to launch his one-man show in Windhoek. "It seemed like a good place."

"It is free. And there's no state of emergency."

## PERSPECTIVES 3

THE central question in South Africa is not whether we are going to become a one-nation state but what kind of one-nation state it will be.

It is very likely that in this area F W de Klerk will seriously begin to explore the idea, and search for allies for the new one-nation state in South Africa, and also hope that many concerned whites searching for new symbols of national unity will be pulled into the "new debate".

It would be a strategic error if mass-based organisations remained aloof from this debate or assumed that it will die and wither away because "the masses" or "the people" or "some historical inevitability" will not tolerate its existence.

Two current developments will underscore this point.

The first is the stagnation and even decline of the South African economy. Contrary to conventional wisdom on this issue, I believe it will strengthen the state's search for allies of its view of a one-nation state.

It will of necessity offload the costs of economic decline on those who cannot or will not be incorporated.

The state will try to marginalise those organisations and leaders who challenge its concept of the one-nation state.

It is in this context that the extraordinary stupidity of a non-reflective and crude sanctions-isolation campaign will become exposed, particularly when its major consequence will be to weaken those who struggle for a nonracial democracy and strengthen those who oppose it.

In a period of increasing unemploy-



**F van Zyl  
Slabbert**

## Quest for a new State

ment, economic stagnation and stable poverty, the powers of patronage of the state become stronger, not weaker.

The second current development is the international commitment to a "political solution" in South Africa, as exemplified by the USSR, USA and Britain and its European Community partners.

The revolutionary paradigm has been abandoned for the time being and

been substituted by "the long haul to negotiations". Of necessity this means a re-evaluation of existing structures and above all, a renewed interest in "the whites".

Can they, will they, are they going to change? Any "reasonable" response will almost automatically be inflated beyond its potential. Already "let's give FW a chance" has become the catch-phrase for the 1989 election, not only inside, but outside South Africa.

The shift from partition to integration has fundamental implications for whites as well as for the future of those structures created under apartheid.

This shift opens up a fertile new strategic "area" for those committed to a nonracial democracy in South Africa. But it will involve a new exploration of structures and opportunities that may challenge hallowed strategies and tactics of the past.

The search for new symbols of unity and nationhood among most whites is real. The transient nature of the structures created by the apartheid/separate-development state is no longer questioned.

However, even if the battle for a one-nation state in South Africa has been won, the struggle for a nonracial democracy has to be renewed and invigorated.

The '70s saw the collapse of the partition state. The '80s saw the shift to the integrated state. The '90s will see the battle for the nonracial democratic state.

# Peer assaults DP stronghold

S/Times 4/6/87

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

THE National Party is moving into the Democratic lion's den by putting up a candidate for the coming election in Houghton.

Well-known Johannesburg businessman Dr Shlomo Peer will stand for the NP against the most probable DP candidate, *enfant terrible* Tony Leon.

Mr Leon, leader of the DP in the Johannesburg City Council, has already won the first stage of the nomination contest to become Mrs Helen Suzman's successor.

Final confirmation is expected on Thursday, when the party takes a decision on its candidates.

By nominating Dr Peer, the NP has indicated that it is



**Dr SHLOMO PEER**  
To contest Houghton?

not going to surrender meekly in constituencies considered to be safe DP strongholds.

Dr Peer, 64, who retired as executive deputy chairman of Anglo American Assur-

ance in 1963, is respected in local and international business circles and has been active in NP politics since the early '80s.

He is a member of the board of the SABC and a senior member of the South Africa Foundation.

Under the retiring Mrs Suzman, Houghton has become almost a symbol of the old Progressive Federal Party and it is widely expected that the DP will retain it with a comfortable majority.

In the 1987 election, an NP candidate polled 4 700 votes against Mrs Suzman's 8 700 — one of the largest PFP victories.

Finality on candidates for both the NP and DP is expected to be reached by the

end of the week.

In a number of NP-held constituencies, three and four-cornered nomination battles for DP candidacies are expected.

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said this week a former chief of South African Air Force operations, General Wally Black, was expected to be nominated for the party on the South Coast.

If nominated, Gen Black would be the third senior military officer to come out in open support of the DP.

Former chief of the air force General Bob Rogers is expected to be the DP candidate in Humansdorp and the founder of the Women's Army College, Mrs Hilda Burnett, will stand in George.

304A

# Van Zyl Slabbert signs up for DP

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

FORMER PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert has signed a Democratic Party nomination form for the Stellenbosch constituency. (304A)

But anxious party officials will not know for some days whether South Africa's most sought-after politician will allow his name to be forwarded as the candidate for the September 6 elections.

Dr Slabbert is in Europe until June 14 and he will let the party know by telephone of his decision. Yesterday he was unavailable.

He signed the nomination form — at the request of the Stellenbosch DP constituency committee — before he left for Europe and after intensive consultations inside SA.

It is understood he will also be speaking to foreign backers of his Institute for Democratic Alternatives in South Africa (Idasa) about returning to active parliamentary politics.

The former Stellenbosch academic's on-off relationship with parliamentary politics has drawn much interest since February 1986 when he resigned as PFP party leader.

Disillusioned with parliamentary politics, he left to found Idasa.

5/7 Times 4/6/89

# FW about-turn over Natal

A FIRST major step towards what could be a regional settlement in Natal — even along the lines of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba — has been taken, with the Government backing off from earlier policies.

This week, Natal MEC Peter Miller announced that the Government would be suspending the introduction of the controversial Regional Services Councils in Natal.

The intention was to replace them with Metropolitan Services Boards negotiated at the (KwaZulu/Natal) Joint Executive Authority.

The move has been warmly applauded by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Min-

## Sunday Times Reporters

ister of KwaZulu, who also praised Mr F W de Klerk, new NP leader, for his conciliatory line. (304A)

Chief Buthelezi disclosed in a speech yesterday that six days after his May 27 meeting with Mr De Klerk, the latter had backed off from the Government's insistence that it would implement RSCs in Natal immediately.

Speaking to a meeting of the Inkatha Central Committee in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi stopped short of saying Mr De Klerk had overruled Mr Heunis, the outgoing constitutional affairs minister.

On May 24, Mr Heunis rejected a KwaZulu demand for a moratorium on the introduction of RSCs, which Inkatha has consistently opposed. *S/Times 4/6/89*

Chief Buthelezi disclosed that when he and Mr De Klerk met he gained the impression that Mr De Klerk "really did want to talk" and wanted to move towards meaningful negotiations.

"That is progress in anybody's language," he said.

He asked, however, whether one swallow made a summer.

Chief Buthelezi said he might meet Mr De Klerk again "in the not-too-distant future".

IT was more a case of "Dr Who?" than "Dr No" when CP leader Andries Treurnicht slipped like a phantom into Britain this week to begin a tour launching his new image as a globe-trotting elder statesman.

● "Not so", said the Foreign Office, when told the CP leader would be holding a meeting with a "middle-ranking official".

● "Who are they?" asked the Institute of Public Relations when told the British PR firm of A V R Smith Associates would be handling publicity for his trip.

● "We know nothing about it," said the House of Lords, when told a major Press conference was planned there tomorrow.

● "Never heard of them," said Tory MP John Carlisle when told of the "Anglo-South African Fellowship" which is said to be hosting Dr Treurnicht's visit. Mr Carlisle is chairman of the British-South Africa Group in the House of Commons.

### Bemused

Equally puzzled was the South African Embassy which said: "We haven't got a thing to do with it — try someone else."

Telephone calls to Andrew Smith, whose name appears on press releases issued by A V R Smith Associates, were met either by an answering machine or a receptionist.

"I don't know anything about them," said the bemused receptionist.

"I've got lots of different companies here. As far as I

# UK leaders deny they'll be meeting Treurnicht

By JEREMY BROOKS: London

know it's a one-man outfit. I'm sure he'll call you back."

But the firm's number is not listed in the London phone book. It is not even in the directory.

The high point of Dr Treurnicht's visit is allegedly a Press appearance at the House of Lords tomorrow morning.

"Every one of our conference rooms is booked and he doesn't seem to be appearing in any of them. Perhaps it's a private meeting we don't know about," said an official there.

A Foreign Office spokesman said no meeting with their officials — as was reported in Pretoria — had either been asked for or arranged with Dr Treurnicht.

All of which left the Anti-Apartheid Movement slightly deflated. Earlier it had fired off a statement beginning "No Truck with Treurnicht!"

and urging Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe to wash his hands of the visit.

In contrast, preparations were going ahead for an imminent meeting between Mrs Margaret Thatcher and NP leader F W de Klerk, now widely rumoured to be set for about June 23.

Mrs Thatcher has already met Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Economic Affairs Minister Barend du Plessis.

"The Prime Minister has made very clear her keenness to meet the next generation of Afrikaner leaders in South Africa — and her desire in particular to meet with Mr De Klerk," said a spokesman at 10 Downing Street.

### Broadcast

And a Foreign Office man added: "We'll only tell you when it's going to happen, when the time is right. Until then — partly for public order and security reasons — we're keeping quiet."

A brief interview with Dr Treurnicht and CP spokesman Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was broadcast yesterday on the independent radio station LBC.

Dr Treurnicht said separate development — in the form of granting independence to black states — was no different from the creation of different nations in Western Europe. The British pioneered the policy by granting independence to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, he argued.

### Criticise

The CP would concentrate on the "reform issue" — which was certain to lead to black domination — in the months ahead, he promised.

Mr Derby-Lewis strongly criticised calls to release Mr Nelson Mandela. He said the world had stayed silent during the long imprisonment of former Nazi leader Rudolf Hess.

"Here was the man who flew to England to try to make peace. Mandela is the man who tried to effect mayhem and destruction, and yet they wouldn't release the peacemaker," he said.

trip

Riddles of Dr No's

STimes 4/6/89.

3044

# 'EQUAL BUT SEPARATE' IS F.W.'S (OLD) RECIPE FOR THE

By LESTER VENTER  
Political Correspondent

THREE important players in the open-ended set piece on South Africa's future — the governments of President George Bush and Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Mr F W de Klerk's National Party — publicly believe Pretoria is committed to dismantling apartheid.

Both Mrs Thatcher and Mr Bush's most important functionary, Secretary of State James Baker, have said so.

And Mr De Klerk underlined the issue this week in an American television interview on the eve of a visit to London and Washington. He told his foreign audience that "drastic changes" were to come in SA.

The emergence of these attitudes is a decisive moment for South Africa — because they have dragged into the political arena a follow-up question on which Mr De Klerk may yet stand or fall.

It is simply this: What is Mr De

Klerk's vision of a future South Africa? And what sort of society does he envisage in an "apartheid-free" nation?

The quick answer: Nobody really knows.

Mr De Klerk has not — at least since becoming leader of the NP and State President-designate — spelt out the consequences of his interpretation of Nationalist policy.

Furthermore, if recent NP election strategies are anything to go by, he is not likely to do so before the polls on September 6.

This gap in the political pronouncements of F W de Klerk became all the more noticeable recently when his now-

disenchanted colleague, Mr Chris Heunis, did just that.

Mr Heunis gave the most detailed exposition heard so far of what Nationalist policies imply in practice. Along the way he struck a crack in the dyke which the NP has used to keep the races apart.

He said the Government would no longer insist on compulsory racial classification.

## VISION

While Mr De Klerk dismissed Mr Heunis's speech as "exploratory", he didn't replace Mr Heunis's specifics with any of his own.

So what does Mr De Klerk really believe?

The most detailed exposition of Mr De Klerk's views was given in an address to the Swiss-South African

Friendship Society in Zurich in 1986.

There he detailed a vision of black South Africans acquiring full autonomy over their "own affairs" and giving political expression to this by electing ministers' councils (as the whites, coloureds and Indians now have in Parliament).

The black councils (or council) would then join counterparts of the other three race groups in forming an umbrella Council of State to administer "general affairs".

Since that speech Mr De Klerk has said nothing to contradict this.

Indeed, at Vereeniging on Friday he again returned to old verities, spelling out the essential components of his political vision. These included:

- Own power bases for separate ethnic groups;
- Negotiations and co-operation between the leaders of the groups

(hence no possibility of a universally and directly elected leadership corps).

- An "own community life" for each group;

● A non-racist community in which all discrimination is phased out and where it is not negative to belong to one group.

Mr De Klerk has also referred more than once to the NP's 1986 federal congress in Durban as having laid the foundations of current policy.

## HINT

There a Nationalist vision emerged of a SA in which every citizen, black and white, had a vote. These votes would, however, be exercised in separate, "parallel" democracies according to the "own affairs" concept.

This has always been — and still appears to be — Mr De Klerk's and the

NP's bottom line: South Africans will enjoy equal freedoms, but they will be separate.

The equality of the freedoms will be ensured largely by the elimination of "harmful discrimination". Here much has already been achieved.

Mr De Klerk has hinted at an important qualification — softening the rigid system of compulsory racial classification, as Mr Heunis put forward.

But Mr De Klerk has been quite clear about one thing — the South Africa he envisages rests on the maintenance of separate residential areas, schools and political structures.

Just how all this differs from what the world considers apartheid — and how those who consider themselves its victims see it — is something Mr De Klerk will be explaining very carefully in London, Washington and at home in coming months.

NEW SA

# Heunis: Reformer

3049

S/Twe. 4/6/89

## With his hands tied

"WHAT" it is asked, "is the similarity between P W Botha and Naas Botha?"

Answer: Whenever they get themselves into trouble, they pass the ball to Heunis.

If one looks back at the Heunis years of moving and shaking, this is true.

Trouble-shooter par excellence, our infatigable and ebullient Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning has more often than not had to bear the brunt for everything that went wrong in high places.

Not only did he undertake the thankless task of preventing rumblings in the upper echelons of Parliament and Government. He also had to explain and justify his elaborate reform plans to a sometimes sceptical Cabinet, a largely smug and passive caucus and of ten incredulous and ignorant party congresses.

Worse, he had to convince the omnipotent tortoiseshell of bureaucrats and officials of the changing times and

### Marinus Wiechers

of Unisa, looks at the legacy left by departing Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis



needs.

Although the outcome of the present constitution, with its tricameral system of government and executive presidency, is highly questionable, it did finally and irreversibly break the almost insurmountable colour bar in our highest institutions of government.

A brief glance at some of the most important changes brought about by Mr Heunis bears witness to his energy and his almost incredible grasp of the affairs of government.

He built up a vast department which drew some of the country's most outstanding minds and, in the pro-

cess, dismantled that outdated colonial empire of Bantu Administration.

In the face of severe opposition, he created new institutions, such as Regional Services Councils and the Co-ordination Council for Local Governments. He passed extensive legislation in order to bring these institutions in line with their white counterparts.

### Myth

More than anything else, Mr Heunis's lasting contribution to a new SA was his destruction of the Verwoerdian myth of a white republic in the midst of surrounding black independent states.

Also, through the scrapping of the law prohibiting so-called political interference, he removed the supreme absurdity of classic apartheid which prevented South Africans from associating freely for political purposes.

However, an appreciation of the reforms brought about by Mr Heunis should not blur our vision and understanding of the severe shortcomings which remain, as

well as the almost disastrous effects of other so-called reforms. The tricameral Parliament might have terminated exclusive white rule, but it did not in any manner alleviate the massive resentment and tragic polarisation which it caused.

The abolition of provincial councils deprived our country of some of our oldest, most viable, representative institutions which, given a new content, could have formed cornerstones of a future constitutional dispensation.

Elaborate laws for black local government did not in any way assure more viability or stability. Stringent slum regulation under the euphemistic name of orderly settlement did little to prevent urban poverty and meet housing needs.

The unwillingness to consider and give effect to the Natal/KwaZulu's Indaba proposals bore witness to a refusal to acknowledge genuine processes of constitutional negotiation. The proposed creation of mini-governments for non-homeland blacks under the guise of "extension of political participation" revealed a disturbing lack of appreciation of the demands for a future democracy.

Legislation introduced by Mr Heunis sometimes displayed an outright disregard for the independence and integrity of the judicial process.

Undoubtedly, the major

disservice rendered to the country by the Department of Constitutional Development was the institutionalisation of so-called "own" and "general" affairs.

Through this sinister device of neo-apartheid, massive and costly bureaucratic have been erected, State administration has become even more burdensome and government more divisive.

In his swan-song in Parliament before announcing his resignation, Mr Heunis foresaw a central government for all South Africans. He confessed that justice and human rights protection were paramount.

### Victim

It may be asked with sadness: Why should he go now, now that he has so lucidly seen the road ahead?

As Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Heunis will in the future, as he has in the past, remain the victim of a basic contradiction.

On the one hand, it cannot be denied that he is a most talented politician, a nonsense man of action with the best human qualities and in his heart of hearts a genuine reformer.

But on the other hand, he has had to implement, and will still be expected to give effect to, policies which cannot really lead to substantial reform.

Who knows, perhaps for these reasons he had no choice but to quit.

# FW about-turn over Natal

A FIRST major step towards what could be a regional settlement in Natal — even along the lines of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba — has been taken, with the Government backing off from earlier policies.

This week, Natal MEC Peter Miller announced that the Government would be suspending the introduction of the controversial Regional Services Councils in Natal.

The intention was to replace them with Metropolitan Services Boards negotiated at the (KwaZulu/Natal) Joint Executive Authority.

The move has been warmly applauded by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Min-

## Sunday Times Reporters

ister of KwaZulu, who also praised Mr F W de Klerk, new NP leader, for his conciliatory line. (304A)

Chief Buthelezi disclosed in a speech yesterday that six days after his May 27 meeting with Mr De Klerk, the latter had backed off from the Government's insistence that it would implement RSCs in Natal immediately.

Speaking to a meeting of the Inkatha Central Committee in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi stopped short of saying Mr De Klerk had overruled Mr Heunis, the outgoing constitutional affairs minister.

On May 24, Mr Heunis rejected a KwaZulu demand for a moratorium on the introduction of RSCs, which Inkatha has consistently opposed. *STimes 4/6/87*

Chief Buthelezi disclosed that when he and Mr De Klerk met he gained the impression that Mr De Klerk "really did want to talk" and wanted to move towards meaningful negotiations.

"That is progress in anybody's language," he said.

He asked, however, whether one swallow made a summer.

Chief Buthelezi said he might meet Mr De Klerk again "in the not-too-distant future".

# Apartheid will end, says Pik

BONN — South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha was quoted on Saturday as saying apartheid would eventually be dismantled and a black president might one day take office.

"We are in the midst of a reform process, and we accept that white predominance must come to an end," Botha

said in an interview with the West German newspaper *Welt Am Sonntag*. *Sowetan* 5/6/89

"We accept the goal that all South Africans should take part in the central government," he said.

The possibility of a black president could not be ruled out, he added.

Botha was also quoted as saying in the interview, released ahead of Sunday's publication, the black nationalist leader, Nelson Mandela, could be released if this did not trigger new racial violence.— Sapa-Reuter.

# Free Mandela deal

LONDON — British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is on the verge of a stunning diplomatic triumph, with the conclusion of a secret deal in South Africa for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, a newspaper claimed yesterday.

According to the London *Sunday Express*, the deal comes after months of behind-the-scenes pressure from Britain. Talks have involved Mandela, Mr F W de Klerk, and Chief Buthelezi.

## SOWETAN Correspondent

It adds: "The South African Government, desperate to regain international respectability, is ready to drop the condition that Mandela must formally renounce violence."

The report — by a South African correspondent and a London reporter — says Thatcher's role will be underlined when De Klerk visits London later this month.

## Role

The impending breakthrough will be seen in Whitehall as "triumphant vindication" of Thatcher's lonely stand against worldwide economic sanctions proposed against Pretoria, it says.

Buthelezi said in a



MAGGIE THATCHER

statement issued that talks had repaired strained relations between him and the SA Government, and that he and De Klerk had agreed on guidelines for further talks.

The *Sunday Tribune's* political correspondent, John MacLennan, said in a front-page report yesterday that the Government was ready

to release Mandela unconditionally so that it could start talks with black leaders for negotiations leading to a new constitutional deal.

## Unrest

A senior NP source told *The Tribune* the cabinet would weigh various factors — ranging from the state of unrest to developments in the election campaign — before setting the date for Mandela's release.

It is expected that De Klerk will make a general, qualified statement of intent and that the party will use this as the main thrust of its campaign to show that the Government can, and will, deliver on reform.

## FW denies Mandela reports

Reports linking British Premier communication or agreements Mrs Margaret Thatcher and with Chief Buthelezi, Mrs kwaZulu leader Chief Mangos. Thatcher or anyone else to release Mandela. (WPA) 304A  
uthu Buthelezi to the possible release of jailed ANC leader. He said he had stated clearly Nelson Mandela were devoid of. On June 2 that a central aspect truth, State President-designate of the Government's standpoint Mr F W de Klerk said last night. regarding Mandela's detention Mr de Klerk said there was was that South Africa "makes "not a word of truth" in reports its own decisions on domestic yesterday associating him with matters".

### CP acts against own councillor

Steps have been taken to suspend Mrs Gloria Bosch, who was elected as management committee chairman of the Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council last week, for going against CP caucus rules. 304

Mr T J Ferreira, chief whip of the CP in the council, has confirmed that an official letter will be sent to Mrs Bosch today, notifying her of the caucus decision. 5/16/67

Mrs Bosch said last night she was not going back to the caucus. She was a staunch CP supporter, but had "nothing in common with the people in the caucus who are out to get me". — East Rand Bureau.

304A

# Boksburg resident sueing council

*Sowetan*  
5/6/89.

A PROMINENT Boksburg resident has started court proceedings against the Boksburg Town Council following the reintroduction of Verwoerdian apartheid in the town.

On instruction of Lawyers for Human Rights, court proceedings was yesterday issued against the Boksburg Town Council.

At an ordinary meeting of the town council on November 25, 1988 the lake was exclusively reserved for whites and a gate was erected on the road leading to the lake to prohibit the flow of traffic.

## Running

Retired property owner and developer Dr Karl Hechter-Schultz has applied to the court to interdict the town council from closing the roadway running along the northern boundary of the Boksburg Lake.

In his supporting affidavit, Hechter-Schultz said he had been a resident in the Boksburg municipality

## SOWETAN REPORTER

since 1913 and could remember going to school by donkey cart, along the road.

He said all Boksburg residents had a common right to use the Boksburg Lake as a park and the road, which has been fenced off, has been used by the public for more than 30 years.

The legal costs of Hechter-Schultz is paid by Colgate Palmolive.

The chairman of the Reiger Park management committee, Mr Butch Jantjes, yesterday welcomed the court application.

"We must show the CP council that it cannot just do as it pleases, it must consult with the people.

Had they done that in the first place, Boksburg would not be what it is today."

# Slabbert declines to stand for DP

Staff Reporter

DR VAN ZYL SLABBERT last night announced that he would not be standing for election for the Democratic Party in the Stellenbosch constituency on September 6.

"After careful and serious consideration I have come to the conclusion that the time is not right for me to re-enter parliamentary politics, but I would encourage the students of Stellenbosch to support the DP in the forthcoming election," he said in a statement released in Bonn.

The statement was relayed to the Cape Times via Idasa co-director Dr Alex Boraine.

Dr Slabbert raised hopes that he may stand when he signed a DP nomination form for the constituency before leaving for Europe at the weekend.

Dr Boraine said his co-leader had phoned him last night saying he felt it was not a decision he could base on "sentiment and emotion".

State of emergency censorship restrict

Star 6/6/89 304A

# SA's image in US is at its best but very fragile

By DAVID BRAUN,  
The Star Bureau

South Africa is probably enjoying its best image in America in several years. Palpable evidence of this was the Republic Day reception hosted by Ambassador Piet Koornhof.

WASHINGTON — In a city where national day celebrations are old hat, and on a sweltering day when anyone in his right mind would rather be at home in open-neck shirt and shorts at the end of a long hot working day, close on 500 sweaty people crowded into the South African Ambassador's official residence on Massachusetts Avenue, Washington's Embassy Row.

There was a fair sprinkling of black Americans, and here and there a senior officer from the Pentagon stood resplendent in full dress military uniform.

Also in the throng were a few Senators, Congressmen and administration officials.

Dr Koornhof, mopping perspiration from his face, was clearly delighted with the turn-out, both in quantity and quality.

The ebullient ambassador, one of South Africa's most colourful politicians, is in his element in Washington. Gone are the sombre baggy suits he wore as a senior Cabinet Minister. In their place are svelte American-cut suits, with slip-on tassled shoes, two-tone button-down shirts and tasteful ties.

He has gone out of his way to make personal friends in America, and a lot of the turn-out at the Republic Day reception was because of his warm personal relationships with so many people, according to several people present.

The Koornhofs run not only the embassy but the entire South African community in Washington as if they were the heads of an extended family. All South Africans are made to feel at home.

## Low profile

Dr Koornhof's philosophy has been to keep a low profile in Washington, but to ensure all the key movers are given as much information on South Africa as possible.

His success in Washington has largely had to do with the fact that South Africa does not feature very often in the news these days.

There has been some brilliant stage-managing back at home by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, preventing incidents from blowing into major crises.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu's recent visit to Washington apparently attracted far less media attention than it would have two years ago.

American powers-that-be are said to be pleased that South Africa has a much lower profile because that takes the political pressure off them to impose comprehensive sanctions on Pretoria.

Dr Koornhof's success in Washington would be blown away in an instant if something happened in South Africa to anger Americans.

The first test could come within a fortnight, when Pretoria must decide whether it is going to extend the state of emergency.

The reformist statements of Mr F W de Klerk are being well received. The expected release of Nelson Mandela later this year would also be helpful.

In short, the events of the coming few months will have a decisive impact on the mood of America, capitalising on the small reservoir of goodwill Dr Koornhof has built, or taking everything back to 1986, when Congress voted over a presidential veto to put sanctions on South Africa.

# Dr No lives up to his name

SOWETAN FOREIGN STAFF

LONDON — Dr Andries Treurnicht finally faced Fleet Street yesterday, surrounded by a group of stern public relations "minders".

The CP leader, who has kept out of the media's reach since arriving in the British capital on Friday, lived up to his "Dr No" nickname when he was pressed to name the businessmen and politicians he has talked to in London.

He also would not say whether he has seen anyone in Government.

On several occasions, members of his coterie — made up of representatives from British right-wing organisations



TREURNICHT

including the Monday Club and the staunchly anti-communist Western Goals — stepped in to deflect questions with the words "I think we've already covered that".

At one point Mr Gregory Lauder-Frost of the Monday Club launched into an address of his own, saying it was vital that South Africa avoided a repetition of "the sell-out in Rhodesia" which, he said, had given power to a "terrorist". Pushing different groups together in South Africa, he predicted, would "end in a bloodbath".

Dr Treurnicht, who was accompanied by Krugersdorp MP Clive Derby-Lewis and CP Natal organiser Carl Werth, said he had come

to Britain on a private mission to learn and develop contacts. But his implication was that such spadework will be put to good use later by the CP government-in-waiting.

He stressed his party's commitment to racial self-determination and "separateness" (his

chosen translation of the word apartheid) and told reporters that he favoured a southern African equivalent of the European common market: Sovereign states that were economically interdependent but politically independent.

He did reveal that he had visited some of London's most racially mixed communities, including Brixton and Brick Lane. But he declined to comment on what he had seen there.

304A. Sowetan 6/6/89.

# Pik hints at rule in SA by 'the majority'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

3049

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night hinted that black majority rule in South Africa was inevitable.

Speaking in Linden, Johannesburg, Mr Botha responded to a question from a member of the 350-strong audience by saying: "You ask me about a black State President. I want to tell you that neither the CP, nor the Progs, nor the DP nor the NP will be able to prevent this country eventually being governed by leaders who represent the majority of all the people."

He made a strong plea for reconciliation between all South Africans who had the interests of the country at heart, and urged both black and white to scale down their demands for a political settlement.

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"The season for violence is over, the season for negotiation has come."

The Government was committed to a future dispensation based on participation without domination.

Speaking in support of the National Party's candidate for tomorrow's Johannesburg municipal by-election, Mr Johann Marnitz, Mr Botha said a critical shortage of housing was the main reason for the influx of people of colour into white suburbs.

"I find it unacceptable that a man be treated as a criminal just because he is looking for a roof over his head."

The NP was trying to solve the country's housing needs by providing more land and houses. Free settlement areas would alleviate problems in this regard.

## De Klerk emphasises rights for all

The process of constitutional reform — also at local level — should be marked by specialist investigations, ongoing consultation and honest negotiations between all interest groups, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk said in Kempton Park last night.

He told the biennial congress of the Institute of Town Clerks of Southern Africa that this was the only way in which a mutually acceptable and lasting dispensation could be established.

The co-ordinating Council for Local Government Affairs had in its short existence already

conducted more than 12 investigations that had resulted in comprehensive improvements at local government level.

Mr de Klerk said the Government would like to move towards a dispensation in which domination by one group over others was eliminated and in which the rights of all people were guaranteed.

"At the local authority level we have already made considerable progress with the practical implementation of this principle, through the introduction of the Regional Services Councils," Mr de Klerk said. — Sapa.

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304A

# DP, NP vow to win Linden

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The National Party is confident of retaining its Linden stronghold in tomorrow's Johannesburg municipal by-election despite Democratic Party predictions of a major upset.

Voting takes place between 7 am and 9 pm in the Gereformeerde Church hall on the corner of 3rd Avenue and 7th Street in the election, which is seen as a test run for the September general election.

Both parties have pulled out all the stops in the contest which will give a clear indication of the impact of the newly formed DP and the new Nat leader, Mr F W de Klerk, on the electorate.

"The DP goes into the election as the undoubted underdog but factors in its favour on its first outing to the polls since its formation in April include a significant NP stayaway vote and a swing to the DP by young Afrikaners in the suburb," said DP whip Mr Paul Asherson.

But NP candidate Mr Johann Maritz dismissed any talk of a DP win in the only Nat safe seat in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, saying: "We will take Linden with an increased majority."

"People don't know what the DP policy is and the unresolved leadership counts against them. They already have three leaders, now Mr Van Zyl Slabbert looks like a fourth and Mr Tony Leon the fifth, if he goes to Cape Town," said Mr Maritz.

DP candidate Mr Brahm Spies said: "We will do well — people are in for a surprise. The poor state of the economy will lead to their downfall and Nat rhetoric has finally confused even their own voters."

The by-election is being held to find a successor to the late Mr Danie van Zyl who won with a 394 majority in October last year, obtaining 1 383 votes to defeat the PFP's Mr Peter Roodt (989) and the Conservative Party's Mr Manie van Heerden (319). In 1982 the ward went to the NP's Mr Danie Malan.

## Slabbert will not stand for DP in Stellenbosch

Former PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said last night the time was not right for him to re-enter parliamentary politics. *Star 6/6/89 (304A)*

His statement, issued in Johannesburg and sent from Bonn, where he is attending a conference, dismissed weekend press reports that he intended standing for the Democratic Party in Stellenbosch.

He said after careful consideration he had decided not to re-enter parliamentary politics at this stage, but he encouraged the students of Stellenbosch to support the DP in the coming general election. — Sapa.

## 'Contempt' for negotiations

THE negotiated settlement, as encouraged by Idasa and the DP is

*Sowetan 6/6/87*  
merely an attempt "to divert the struggle to a type of bourgeois social order which will continue to exploit people," said a spokesman for Azanian National Youth Unity.

Azanyu called upon people "to regard with contempt the wave of fallacious and whimsical means of attaining liberation." *304A 124*

This appeal was made through a statement delivered to *Sowetan* yesterday, *Sowetan 6/6/87*

"Azanyu regards any attempt to engage in negotiations with the settler-colonial regime as collaboration. We have always stressed that when two unequal forces

engage each other politically, the result is always collaboration."

In response to the Azanyu statement, Idasa's executive director, Mr Alex Boraine said:

"Firstly it must be understood that Idasa as an organisation stands quite separate from the Democratic Party.

Secondly, it is not clear exactly what Azanyu means by our encouragements. Speaking for

Idasa though, what we believe is necessary in South Africa is that we move away from a white minority government making decisions on behalf of all South Africans.

# Government is caught in a vicious circle regarding homeownership

**I**N trying to promote African homeownership — after decades of doing the opposite — the Government is caught in a vicious circle of financial and apartheid-based problems. And it may not be able to solve any of these problems unless African communities are involved in choosing priorities and setting targets.

This emerges from research into the Government's urbanisation policy in the Pretoria / Witwatersrand / Vereeniging area, released by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

In a publication entitled *Politics on the Home Front*, author Paul Hendler says that despite the expansion of homeownership, political conflict over housing has increased.

He predicts that the potential for instability in the townships in the foreseeable future will continue. Material improvements are unlikely to be widespread enough to meet the goals of the "security strategy" of the Government.

## Stress

The research shows the Government's stress on African homeownership is prompted not only by a desire to achieve stability, but is meant also to stimulate growth and employment.

The Government aims to implement this "inward industrialisation" policy mostly by means of privatisation



and de-regulation.

The policy also involves the provision of loan finance to black builders, businessmen and homeowners, the promotion of self-help housing schemes, the sale of existing housing stock, and the allocation of more land for black housing.

These strategies face severe obstacles:

- The private market has had little impact on the housing shortage because most township dwellers cannot afford loan finance. For privatisation to succeed, State subsidies would have to be vastly increased.

"But it is precisely the Government's inability or unwillingness to finance housing on this scale that has prompted its stress on privatisation," Hendler writes.

- De-regulation — the removal of controls over the development of African builders and other entrepreneurs — could be a double-edged sword.

While it might

generate wealth for some small businessmen and workers, the removal of minimum wage regulations could depress wages and inhibit black consumer power, including people's ability to buy houses.

- Black entrepreneurs — a key factor in the "inward industrialisation" strategy — don't have sufficient capital to enable them to compete with established white developers.

And white developers are constrained by the inability of most residents to afford privatised housing.

- Self-help schemes, backed by low interest loans, are hampered by affordability problems. Hendler found that black local authorities are inclined to resist implementing these schemes because they stand to accumulate more money by selling sites to established developers.

## Strategy

- Attempts to release suitable land for black housing run up against political constraints all along the line.

Because of white resistance, as well as the State's de-centralisation strategy, land has been allocated too far away from the region's economic centre, thus inflicting increased transport and service costs on those who can least afford them — and cancelling out the attempt to place housing within the reach of those who need it most.

- Despite "give-away" prices and a concerted selling drive, the sale of Government housing stock has encountered consumer resistance.

Hendler reports that many tenants are suspicious of the motives behind the sale and the regulations that support



John Kane-Berman is the director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

it — and people were uneasy about their ability to honour long-term repayments.

- Homeowners will continue to pay substantial service charges, which are likely to remain a source of conflict. Hendler argues that raising Regional Services Council taxes to help provide cheaper services might create further financial and political problems.

Hendler concludes that the Government will not be able to provide housing for all urban residents who require it, and it will have to choose priorities.

"These are only likely to enjoy residents' support, and so contribute to stability, if they are negotiated," he says.

He acknowledges that significant constraints still confront negotiation. "They include the view that dealing with groups operating outside

official structures would threaten State security goals."

But other State officials whom Hendler interviewed acknowledged the Government cannot achieve its housing goals unilaterally and will have to negotiate with extra-parliamentary community groups.

According to a senior official of the Department of Development Planning, the department has already negotiated with what he called "the so-called non-acceptors or the rejectors of the local authority system."

Another official acknowledged that the black local authorities "are not acceptable to all people" and said the department would not hesitate to consult "important other groups who are specifically geared to promote housing and homeownership."

"Unlike the securocrat strategy, negotiations with representative organisations hold out the distinct possibility of more stability in the townships," Hendler says.

Politics on the home front is available from the Publications Department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 31044, 2017 Braamfontein, at R10,75 inclusive, R8,75, plus R2 postage and packing.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mailhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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304A

'New beginning' in southern Africa in sight

# Kaunda hopes for dialogue with SA

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The President of Zambia and chairman of the Frontline states, Dr Kenneth Kaunda, believes the time is near for a major regional dialogue between South Africa and her neighbouring countries to bring a peaceful end to apartheid.

South Africa's conduct in bringing independence to Namibia could signal a new beginning in relations in the region and a chance to start the dialogue with Pretoria.

Dr Kaunda made remarks to this effect to the Canadian media after meeting the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr Brian Mulroney, yesterday.

He was in Canada primarily to take part in an international conference on Aids, the disease — rife in Zambia — which claimed the life of his son.

President Kaunda arrived in Washington at midday yesterday,

when he addressed a private meeting of African ambassadors in the United States capital.

He told Canadian journalists in Ottawa before his departure for Washington that the South African Government was behaving reasonably well over arrangements to give independence to Namibia.

If the Namibian elections in November went well, it might well be possible to begin negotiations with South Africa soon afterwards, he said.

He pointed out that the six Frontline states and South Africa were working together for the first time in order to implement the United Nations independence plan for Namibia.

"South Africa and ourselves are on test, but South Africa is more on test than we are.

"We are watching things closely to see how South Africa behaves. If she behaves well, we can say we have a new beginning.

ning.

"We can say we are prepared to start some sort of dialogue about how to end apartheid through talks and consultation."

Dr Kaunda said there were conditions to be met before such talks started:

- Nelson Mandela must be released from prison.
- The African National Congress must be unbanned.
- ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo must be allowed to return to South Africa.
- The state of emergency must be lifted.
- Press freedom must be established in South Africa.

Dr Kaunda said that during the testing period (that is between now and the Namibian elections in November), economic sanctions should be maintained against South Africa, but he added "we should leave it at that until the success of the withdrawal (of South Africans from Namibia) is measured".

# NP's Linden tactics under fire

stew  
2/6/89  
By Shirley Woodgate,  
Municipal Reporter

3048

Voting in the Linden municipal by-election started today amid accusations by the Democratic Party that the rival National Party had resorted to dirty tactics to retain Ward 3.

DP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, claimed that a letter written by a former councillor, Mr Danie Malan, and circulated in the area, was "sheer hypocrisy" and a slight on the name of former National Party management committee chairman Mr Danie van Zyl.

In the letter, Mr Malan, elected in Linden in 1982, claimed that only someone who lived in the ward could represent it.

"This is shocking disrespect to the memory of the former councillor for the area, the late Danie van Zyl, and his wife and family after all he did for the ward," said Mr Leon.

Referring to an eve-of-election NP advertisement linking Mrs Anita Worrall, wife of DP joint leader Dr Denis Worrall, to the ANC, he accused the NP of sinking to new election lows and employing slander tactics to counter the DP's positive policy.

"This move is not only in bad taste, but indicates the bankruptcy of the NP," said Mr Leon.

He said ratepayers who voted for the NP today must be prepared to vote now and pay later, as next week's council budget would contain steep across-the-board increases in tariffs.

## CP confident in Carletonville

By Dawn Barkhuizen

304A

The Conservative Party in boycott-beating Carletonville is confident of a resounding victory in the forthcoming general election after enrolling more than 2 000 new members.

"After the election we will show the outside world that people truly want segregation," CP MP Mr Arrie Paulus said.

He dismissed predictions that the CP would suffer heavy losses as a result of the consumer boycott which was called when the municipality decided to reintroduce petty apartheid. *Star 21/6/89*

In recent months the CP had enrolled in excess of 2 000 new members.

The CP took the seat from the National Party by 98 votes in the 1987 general election.

There were strong indications that support had swelled when it beat the NP by 2 700 votes in the October municipal election.

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## 'Find one another' appeal by De Klerk

By Dirk Nel,  
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The leader of the National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, has called on all South Africans to "find one another", while at the same time committing his party and the Government to possible new initiatives regarding a future constitution.

Addressing the Lebowa Legislative Assembly yesterday, Mr de Klerk made it clear that he regarded a new constitutional dispensation as an urgent priority, and that he favoured the widest possible participation in the negotiating process.

### INTERESTS

But he also stressed "our future will not be negotiated in Lusaka, Bonn, London or Washington", because "these are not overseas interests which must be negotiated in South Africa, but South African interests".

Referring to a forum for negotiation, Mr de Klerk said this was an item political leaders had to work out between themselves.

"As leader of the National Party I am ready and eager to think afresh about this, although the statutory council already created could possibly serve as a point of departure," he said.

Mr de Klerk added that the NP was flexible and always pre-

pared to look anew and creatively at a situation, in the light of new facts.

Turning to the question of who should take part in future negotiations, Mr de Klerk said the view of his party and the Government was that representation should be "as wide as possible".

"We must do all in our power to convince people that the way of peaceful negotiations with other political groupings is the only path which leads to success," he said.

But he warned that any group insisting on taking power violently impeded social, economic and political progress.

"The longer they take to commit themselves to peaceful negotiation, the more irrelevant they will become," Mr de Klerk claimed.

The climate was right for peaceful negotiation, and he believed all reasonable people and their leaders wanted to reach out to each other.

In his capacity as NP leader, he would make special efforts to consult other political leaders on matters of common interest.

Mr de Klerk, who had talks with Gazankulu leaders on Monday, moves on to kaNgwane today.

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## Paying lip service to the world outside

So it goes...

ARNOLD BENJAMIN



Dr Andries Treurnicht and his fellow travellers have been understandably reticent about exactly whom they are seeing and what they are doing on their current trip to Europe.

However, ultra-far-right elements within the Conservative Party, who feel the party shouldn't recognise the outside world at all, have leaked the following itinerary to this column. It may help fill in those intriguing gaps:

### Britain:

(1) Secret call on "middle-ranking" Foreign Office official, as arranged earlier. Ask him precisely how middle-ranking he is, and why.

Also check on offensive explanation attributed to Whitehall spokesman that "we obviously maintain links with all sorts of political organisations". If necessary, lodge diplomatic protest about shoddy treatment by fellow-Conservatives.

(2) Meet Women Helping Against Communism Kidding Youth (or WHACKY), and leading officials of Flat Earth Society. Seek latter's views on master plan to dispose of unwanted South African citizens through steady forced removals until they vanish off the edge.

### France:

(1) Visit Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of National Front. Ask him why his far-right electoral support has dwindled so badly — can he suggest ways and means of preventing dangerous drift back to the centre?

NB: Don't forget to ask where to get Third Reich postcards and souvenir gifts requested by loyal members with AWB connections.

### Switzerland:

(1) Meet bankers and businessmen. Ask re loans to bail out Boksburg and Carletonville. Tell them they'll laugh on other side of faces when CP becomes next government.

(2) Visit Matterhorn, Eiger and other snowy-white eminences. Tour of cuckoo clock factory.

## Sap's last stand

Talking of the politics of the past, there was a touching little vignette when Parliament wound up the other day. The last remnant of the old United Party — Mr Ralph Hardingham (New Republic Party, Mooi River) — announced he would not be standing for re-election.

His departure, he said, would be "taking my party to its final destiny". And even the Nats could scarce forbear to shed a few sentimental tears for the days when the UP was a power — or at least an Official Opposition — in the land.

I hadn't even realised the NRP was still in business, but memories are short. In the 1987 election, you'll recall, the Nerps (as they were known to their intimates) had that ill-fated election pact in Natal with the "turbo-charged" Progs.

All but Hardingham were wiped out and that was the end of that. The NRP wound up its affairs last year, leaving him in Parliament as a sort of disembodied head.

Today, even that other successor to the old UP, the PFP, is also vanishing into history. Much blood, one might say, under the bridge.

## Nip in the air?

The SABC must really be scraping the bottom of the barrel for imported film material.

One morning a couple of weeks back, a colleague was startled to find that the cartoon slot on "Good Morning South Africa" was taken up by an ancient offering entitled "Bugs Bunny Nips the Nips".

It depicted the celebrated rabbit on some Pacific island, where he was creating havoc among the Japanese occupying troops.

His dialogue was peppered with epithets like "slant-eyes" and the odd derogatory reference to "your Honlable Empelor".

Clearly the super-patriotic cartoon must have been made during World War 2 — all of 45 years ago!

One wonders if any of our good Japanese friends (or at least good trading partners) were watching. It could lead to a distinct cooling — you might even say a nip in the air.

## General assumption

Here's a brand-new angle on the Chinese crisis, as revealed by yesterday's early-morning SABC news. It referred to fears of a coup d'etat by "dissipated generals".

I think they were talking about generals dispersed in the provinces, but the present state of affairs could drive any Chinese general to drink.

**DUE TO  
POPULAR DEMAND  
LATE NIGHT  
SHOPPING  
STARTS EARLIER  
AT 16h00**

We all know the days are closing in, but can even the redoubtable Raymond Ackerman turn mid-afternoon into night?

South African tennis  
ers and cricketers  
every year, and

graced the government", consid-  
ering that a rejection of apart-  
heid "would have salved most  
consciences".

Zola today ... stalked by bitterness.

# New DP man eyes southern city seats

ARGUS 8/6/89 304A

By MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Staff

MR Robert Conway, a business-  
man and former Harvard  
fellow, has put his name for-  
ward for nomination in any  
one of three Democratic Par-  
ty-held seats in the Peninsula  
— Constantia, Claremont or  
Groote Schuur.

Constantia, held by Mr Roger  
Hulley MP, is his first choice.  
Failing that, Mr Conway will  
seek nomination in Claremont —  
the present MP is Mr Jan van  
Eck — or Groote Schuur, held by  
Mr Jan van Gend.

There are several aspirant can-  
didates for Groote Schuur, includ-  
ing Ms Michelle Guttler, leader  
of the DP's youth movement, and  
Mrs Margaret Fourie, chairman  
of the local DP constituency com-  
mittee.

Rondebosch city councillor Mr  
Arthur Wienburg is also reliably  
believed to be keen on Groote  
Schoor.

Mr Conway, 45, who lives in  
Constantia, was born in Cape  
Town and has had wide profes-  
sional experience in law, business  
and academia.

He was a parliamentary candi-  
date for the Progressive Federal

Party in the North Rand consti-  
tuency in 1981.

Since then, he has spent some  
time in the United States where,  
among other things, he served as  
associate director of the pro-  
gramme on South African studies  
at the Centre for International  
Affairs at Harvard.

His most recent academic re-  
search includes participation in  
the Harvard Negotiation Project,  
which focused on conflict resolu-  
tion and negotiation and their ap-  
plicability to South Africa.

Negotiation and the role of  
third-party intermediaries re-

main key research into ends and  
he believes he has a positive con-  
tribution to make in developing  
Democratic Party policy.

Mr Conway argues that "if we  
can show we (South Africa as a  
whole) have a credible negotia-  
tion process going on, it will be  
some answer to sanctions".

● The Democratic Party is to  
finalise Peninsula nominations  
next week. Mr Bill Sewell, chair-  
man of the party's Western Cape  
region, said today a large number  
of candidates had made them-  
selves available when the dead-  
line expired yesterday.

## Two get new hearts in swops

By KAREN STANDER, Medical Reporter

TWO men have been given new hearts in transplant operations at  
Groote Schuur Hospital in the past three days.

The first was Mr André de Jager, 45, a senior lecturer in electron-  
ic engineering at the University of Stellenbosch and the other was a  
Mr Donald McIlroy.

A hospital spokesman said the condition of both men was "fairly  
satisfactory".

The donor heart was brought from East London for Mr de Jager  
and the operation took place on Tuesday.

Mr McIlroy received his new heart yesterday.

# Apartheid concerns all - conference

By NKOPANE MAKOBANE

THE apartheid system is not only a crime against humanity but a matter of concern for the international community. *Sowetan 8/6/89*

This was one of the points that emerged at the conference workshop and launch of the Pretoria and district branch of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers. It was held at Broderstroom, near Pretoria, last weekend.

Delegates noted that the international community has not created any procedures for the enforcement of the rights of victims of apartheid in the international arena.

## Warfare in mind

It was also observed that the Geneva Protocol of 1977 on Prisoner-of-War Status was drawn with conventional warfare in mind and did not take into account the nature of guerilla warfare.

On the premises of these points it was resolved that:

- pressure be brought to bear on South Africa to sign the Geneva Protocols as a matter of extreme urgency;
- the attention of the international community be drawn to the urgent need for the amendment of the Geneva Protocols on Prisoner-of-War status to bring them in line with the nature of guerilla warfare; and
- that the international community should be urged to consider the creation of the necessary tribunals for the prosecution of persons guilty of crimes against humanity such as apartheid.

## Interview broadcast for less than 5 mins

# SABC distorted my views — Idasa chief

304A Star 8/6/89

By Kaizer Nyatumba

An SABC interview was so badly edited that it distorted his views, claimed the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine, yesterday.

Dr Boraine said a 15-minute interview he gave to "Radio Today" on Monday was broadcast for less than five minutes yesterday.

He had earlier challenged the SABC to give him an opportunity to deny "propaganda claims" against Idasa in a radio commentary last week.

### Foreign funds

In the commentary, the SABC alleged that Idasa and other extra-parliamentary organisations annually received "several hundred million rands" from abroad to advance ideological causes for which they could not attract sufficient funding, in South Africa.

In a subsequent letter to Dr Boraine, the SABC's senior director of news and external services, Mr Sakkie Burger, said the interview was meant to be a demonstration of the corporation's good faith and proof that it was not engaged in a smear campaign against Idasa.

In Monday's interview, Dr Boraine said he was asked why Idasa was formed, what it was trying to do, who was funding the organisation and why it was giving undue credibility to the African National Congress by arranging meetings between many South African groups and the ANC.

"I explained that we were not giving credibility to the ANC, because the ANC already has a lot of credibility," said Dr Boraine yesterday.

"We think it is important for people to know what the ANC is all about, and for the ANC to know what we think."

Dr Boraine said he explained that countries funding Idasa all had diplomatic relations with Pretoria "and if these countries are our enemies, then the State is conspiring with our enemies".

He said he told "Radio Today" Idasa wanted to create a climate conducive to negotiations, and was as opposed to a violent overthrow of the Government as it was "to the fact that the State cannot govern without the state of emergency".

Dr Boraine said the SABC did not deal with "the central issues" raised in his interview on Monday, and he would like to be interviewed live on radio or television "to explain ourselves fully".

The SABC's executive editor: strategic news planning, Mr P L Raubenheimer, allowed The Star to listen to the 2½-minute broadcast, in which Dr Boraine said 80 percent of Idasa's budget came from beyond the borders of South Africa because South Africans were hesitant to give large sums of money to an organisation which was still getting off the ground.

Mr Raubenheimer denied Dr Boraine's views were distorted and said "the whole issue dealt with foreign funding, and we agreed to give him some air time to reply to the question of foreign funding". The original interview was about 11, not 15, minutes long, he said.

Star 8/6/84

## PW warns about ANC in Namibia

304A

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, has said the South African Government will not hesitate to send the South African Police and Defence Force into Namibia if it appears that the ANC and the South African Communist Party are launching operations against South Africa from there.

President Botha was reacting last night to a telegram sent by the Conservative Party asking him to ensure that the ANC and the SACP were not legalised in Namibia.

President Botha said in a letter to the CP that, although the repeal of certain laws implied that the ANC and the SACP were no longer unlawful organisations in Namibia, this did not mean that the two organisations had been specifically legalised.

It also did not mean that the administrator-general would allow attacks from Namibia. — Sapa.

# DP shows it can win over the Afrikaner

Star 8/6/89

304A

By Shirley Woodgate and  
Esmaré van der Merwe

Democratic Party hopes of changing the face of parliamentary politics in the September general election have soared following the fledgling party's upset victory in yesterday's Linden municipal by-election.

Senior NP sources were privately conceding today that the by-election result in the white collar ward pointed to substantial losses for the NP to both the left and the right in September.

Compared with the October municipal election last year, the NP share of the vote fell by 7,5 percent. The DP share of the vote was 19,3 percent up on the PFP's performance. This time, the Conservative Party did not contest the ward.

Analysts said the 340-vote victory, which placed the entire northern suburbs of Johannesburg under DP municipal control, put a question mark over neighbouring NP-controlled parliamentary constituencies of North Rand, Helderkruijn, Johannesburg West and even Mr Pik Botha's Westdene seat (into which Linden falls).

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, whose Randburg constituency adjoins Linden, said the DP's win in the NP "safe seat" was a clear reflection of what was happening at grassroots level throughout the country.

## LINDEN

Mr Brahm Spies (DP)	1 563
Mr Johann Marnitz (NP)	1 223
Spies papers	12
DP majority	1340
Percentage poll	57%
1988 NP majority	394

## JOHANNESBURG CITY COUNCIL

NP	24
DP	20
CP	4
Ind.	3

"The voters are no longer prepared to choose between the political extremes of heart attack and cancer to accept health."

Voters supported the positive future which the DP offered. He said the "Fourth Force" of Afrikaner dissidents was "right there behind the DP in Linden".

"They were young Afrikaners and my parents' peers who supported the DP in a massive show of South Africans backing the reform party."

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, whose Westdene seat includes Linden, conceded defeat in a clean and fair fight, saying, "There are obviously problems and we will address them before the general election."

The major complaint was about the "dip in the economy ... and there is also a feeling that not sufficient progress is being made in negotiating a new deal with black South Africa, a feeling that the NP is not capable of doing this."

The Conservative Party's Transvaal chief secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said the result heralded the disintegration of the NP, which was now losing votes to the political left and right.

"In the near future, the battle will be between the CP and the DP."

Mr Robin Carlisle, DP leader in the President's Council, said the "initial hesitancy" among business and the English press about the DP's potential impact had been dispelled.

Mr Carlisle said Mr Botha "himself was desperately phoning people yesterday to save the ward".

And the NP council leader Mr Jan Burger commented today: "As far as the council is concerned, we must step up the pace of reform."

## Minibus rules to

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The Government plans to scrap minibus regulations, to make these vehicles as easy to run as ordinary cars and allow them to be used as taxis without special permits.

At the same time it has warned local authorities to provide more bus ranks and co-ordinate traffic planning to cope with the expected influx.

Draft legislation also makes provision to force companies to provide minibus parking and for cities to pack more minibuses into present ranks.

The new legislation was completed this week, Mr Thomas Beale, an American traffic consultant contracted to the Department of Transport in Pretoria, told the Natal Traffic Co-ordinating Committee symposium in Pinetown yesterday.

The new legislation sets only three requirements for taxi use without extra permits. The driver must be the owner or a registered operator, he must have an operating permit to prove it is roadworthy, and the vehicle must be insured.

Mr Beale stressed that this would not mean cities would be swamped with minibuses.

"There will be a three-year adjustment period



The victor ... successful Democratic Party candidate Mr Brahm Spies celebrates with Mr Tony Leon, the DP leader in the Johannesburg City Council. © Picture by John Hoag.

# First blood to-

Thrashed Nats stunned by big election swing in Pik Botha's

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

AK645 8/4/89

3044

THE National Party was reeling today after a major setback in a municipal by-election in which the Democratic Party candidate won the Linden seat from the Nationalists.

The DP's Mr Brahm Spies got 1 563 votes, trouncing the NP's Mr Johann Maritz (1 223) by a 340 majority, with 12 spoil papers, in a 57 percent poll.

Democratic Party hopes of changing the face of parliamentary politics in the September general election have soared while senior NP sources were privately conceding today that the result in the middle-income ward pointed to substantial losses for the party to both the left and the right in September.

In an interview today Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, whose

# DP

According to The Argus Correspondent in Johannesburg estimates of the voter swing to the DP in the heart of the "NP Houghton" have varied from 12 to nearly 20 percent, and it has been hailed as one of the most significant shifts to the liberal opposition. ● See page 2.

Westdene seat includes Linden, conceded defeat in a clean and fair fight, saying: "There are obviously problems and we will address them".

But he warned the Democratic Party that it should not read too much into its victory.

Democratic co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, however, saw the result as a major swing away from the government and confirmation that the DP target of creating a hung parliament at the next election was now a reality.

"When that happens we will be able to bring about a new political alignment with the real democrats on one side and the racists on the other."

## Misconception

Mr Botha said: "The DP must not for one moment think their victory is due to any enthusiastic acceptance of their policy."

He declined to comment on the chanting he faced in the ward last night from DP supporters calling on him take over the DP leadership.

Mr Botha said a number of factors had contributed to the major reversal in the previously NP-held seat.

Firstly there had been the recent upsets on the Johannesburg City Council with NP members changing sides and even "unseemly fisticuffs".

Among voters there were a number of grievances and perceptions of grievance which "will have to be rectified before the general election".

The major complaint was about the "dip in the economy" with people upset about the high inflation rate and high interest rates.

## Concern

"There is also a feeling that not sufficient progress is being made in negotiating a new deal with black South Africa — a feeling that the NP is not capable of doing this."

Mr Botha said the NP would have to "look carefully at the by-election. We will have to see to what extent we can change perceptions and explain the problems to the voters."

"We will have to make a major effort. Bread and butter issues have suddenly become very important."

Dr Worrall rejected Mr Botha's argument that the voters were not impressed by DP policy.

## Not working

"This result comes with the enthusiastic support we are receiving around the country."

"It also shows the old NP tactics of attempting to scare voters on security issues just do not work any longer. Voters are looking at real issues."

constituency



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus

**NEW NAT:** The Cape leader of the National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, left, congratulates Mr Sakkie Pretorius on his selection as parliamentary candidate for Tygervallei.

# Gene Louw to fight Paarl — eight new Nat candidates

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

THE former Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw, is to stand in the Paarl constituency in the September election as one of eight new National Party contenders in a field of 44 candidates.

Another is the Cape secretary of the party, Mr Sakkie Pretorius, MPC for Parow from 1984 to 1986, who will stand in the Tygervallei seat vacated by the retiring Chief Whip, Mr Alex van Breda.

Candidates were announced last night by the Cape leader of the party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, after a meeting yesterday of the party's selection committee. The 44 selections were unanimous.

A President's Council member and former MPC, Mr C Ackermann, is the NP's candidate in Bellville, and Dr F P Jacobsz, chairman of the economic committee of the President's Council and formerly managing director of Union Steel, will stand in Helderberg.

Candidates for three Peninsula Democratic Party-held seats were announced some time ago. They are Mrs Esmé Chait for Green Point, former Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Ron Miller for Gardens, and Mrs A M C Nash for Port Elizabeth Central.

## CAPE DP SEATS

The NP is considering fielding candidates in the remaining five DP-held seats in the Cape — Claremont, Constantia, Groote Schuur, Sea Point and Pinelands — but names have yet to be announced.

In Oudtshoorn, a former mayor and a prominent figure in the ostrich industry, Mr A J de Jager, is the new candidate.

Cradock farmer Dr E A Schoeman will stand in Queenstown, and Mr A Z A van Jaarsveld, regional secretary of the NP, is to stand in Walmer. Mr C L de Jager, former MPC and chairman of the local Regional Services Council, will stand in Walvis Bay.

Nomination elections are due today and tomorrow in Worcester, Beaufort West, Graaff-Reinet and East London City, the seat held by controversy-ridden MP Mr Peet de Pontes.

Nominees in Worcester are former MPC Mr R J King and mayor Mr J D Nelson. In Graaff-Reinet, sitting MP Mr Louw Retief faces a challenge from a local farmer, Mr W Loock.

Mrs M Kemp, a member of the President's Council and a former mayor and MPC, is seeking nomination in East London City. Contending is businessman Mr Billy Nel.

Three nominees are seeking the Beaufort West candidacy. They are Mr Vlok Burger, Laingsburg farmer and theological graduate Mr Christoff Cloete and Mr Willem Nel from Victoria West.

## NP CANDIDATES

● National Party candidates so far, most of whom are sitting MPs, are: Albany — Mr J H van de Vyver; Algoa — Mr F P Smit; Aliwal — Mr J F Pretorius; Bellville — Mr C Ackermann; Caledon — Mr L H Fick; Ceres — Dr W A van Niekerk; Cradock — Mr A T Meyer; De Aar — Mr J A Jooste; De Kuilen — Mr D M Streicher; Durbanville — Mr F J van Deventer; East London North — Mr C J W Badenhorst; False Bay — Mr A L Jordaan.

Gardens — Mr R Miller; George — Mr H A Smit; Gordonia — Mr J A van Wyk; Green Point — Mrs E Chait; Helderberg — Dr F P Jacobsz; Humansdorp — Mr W D Meyer; Kimberley North — Mr J A Brazelle; Kimberley South — Mr J J Niemann; King William's Town — Mr R J Radue; Kuruman — Mr P Swanepoel; Maitland — Mr K Durr; Malmesbury — Mr G J Kotzé; Mossel Bay — Dr H van Rensburg; Namaqualand — Mr E Louw; Newton Park — Mr I Louw.

Oudtshoorn — Mr A J de Jager; Paarl — Mr Gene Louw; Parow — Mr H Kriel; Piketberg — Dr D de Villiers; Port Elizabeth Central — Mrs A M C Nash; Port Elizabeth North — Mr G J Myburgh; Prieska — Dr A I van Niekerk; Queenstown — Dr E A Schoeman; Simon's Town — Mr L H Dilley; Sundays River — Dr J T Delpont; Stellenbosch — Mr P G Marais; Swellendam — Mr N J Koornhof; Tygervallei — Mr I Pretorius; Uitenhage — Mr D E T le Roux; Vasco — Mr J H Heyns; Vryburg — Mr J H Scheepers; Walmer — Mr A Z A van Jaarsveld; Walvis Bay — Mr C L de Jager; Wellington — Mr G J Malherbe and Wynberg — Mr D Graaff.

# Scramble for DP sea

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

A SCRAMBLE for general election nominations is developing in some of the constituencies held by the Democratic Party in the Peninsula.

Four of the DP's seven sitting MPs are being challenged in nomination contests to be held next week.

At least one of these sitting MPs in the Peninsula may lose a contest for nomination in the general election, and another faces a tough challenge.

There are renewed tensions among factions in the party over the nomination contests.

Selection committees of the party will finally decide on Wednesday night.

## Strongest challenge

Mr Jan van Gend, MP for Groote Schuur, faces the strongest challenge against six aspirant nominations, including two city councillors — Mrs Eulalie Stott and Mr Arthur Wienburg. The others are Ms Michelle Guttler, youth leader of the DP, Mrs Margaret Fourie, an office-bearer in the constituency, journalist Ms Dene Smuts, and Mr Robert Conway, a businessman.

According to DP sources it may be a close contest, especially between Mr van Gend and Ms Smuts.

Mr Ken Andrew, MP for Gardens, is being challenged by Dr Esther Lategan of Stellenbosch, who stood there as an independent in the 1987 general election. She was a supporter of the National Democratic Movement until the formation of the new party.

There is some resentment among supporters of the old PFP in the constituency about the fact that Mr Andrew, MP for the seat since he beat Dr Dawie de Villiers there in 1981, now faces this challenge. He is known as an MP who has worked hard in the constituency.

Mr Roger Hulley, MP for Constantia, and Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, are both being challenged by Mr Conway. In DP circles Mr Conway is not expected to have much success.

In Wynberg Mr Rob Carlisle, a DP member of the President's Council who lost in this seat in the 1987 election, is expected to be the candidate again.

The only MPs of the DP in the Peninsula who are not being challenged for the nomination are Mr Colin Eglon (Sea Point), Mr Tian van der Merwe (Green Point) and Mr Jasper Walsh (Pinelands).

## Nine hopefuls

The Argus Johannesburg Correspondent reports that on the Rand, too, scores of potential Democratic candidates have been nominated. Up to nine hopefuls in one constituency had submitted their forms when nominations closed on Wednesday.

One sitting MP, Mr Rupert Lorimer, will be facing strong opposition in Bryanston from within his own party.

At least three other Democrats are seeking nomination there. They are Mr Douglas Gibson, the former PFP's Transvaal chairman; former Edenvale PFP MP Mr Brian Goodall, who apparently is also seeking nomination in the constituency where he had a shock defeat in the 1987 general election, and Randburg councillor Mr Gary Cooney.

• Nat nominations, page 2



DESTRUCTION: Fire damage to the block of flats stands in contrast to the area of Kenilworth. Miss NEV Babbie, 49, died in the fire which destroyed

## Woman dies in city flat inferno

Staff Reporter

A 49-YEAR-OLD woman was burnt to death today when her flat caught fire in Main Road, Kenilworth.

Miss NEV Babbie, of Kenmain Gardens, died in her top-storey flat in the three-floor building.

Residents said the sound of crackling flames and glass splintering awakened them.

Tenants called the fire brigade after seeing the flat enveloped in flames. Some residents, fearing that the fire would spread, fled in their nightclothes.

Mrs Fanny Radowsky said: "I looked out the window and saw the flat on the top floor opposite my apartment on fire. The whole place was an inferno and I telephoned the landlord who lives in the same building after unsuccessfully trying to reach the fire brigade."

The flat was burning fiercely when the fire brigade arrived.

Firemen used four water jets to contain the flames after the fire spread to the roof.

A brigade spokesman said the fire started in the bedroom.

THICK SMOKE

Mrs E Morton, next-door neighbour of Miss Babbie said



DAMAGE: The kitchen of Miss Babbie's flat with blackened walls, broken crockery and destroyed appliances.

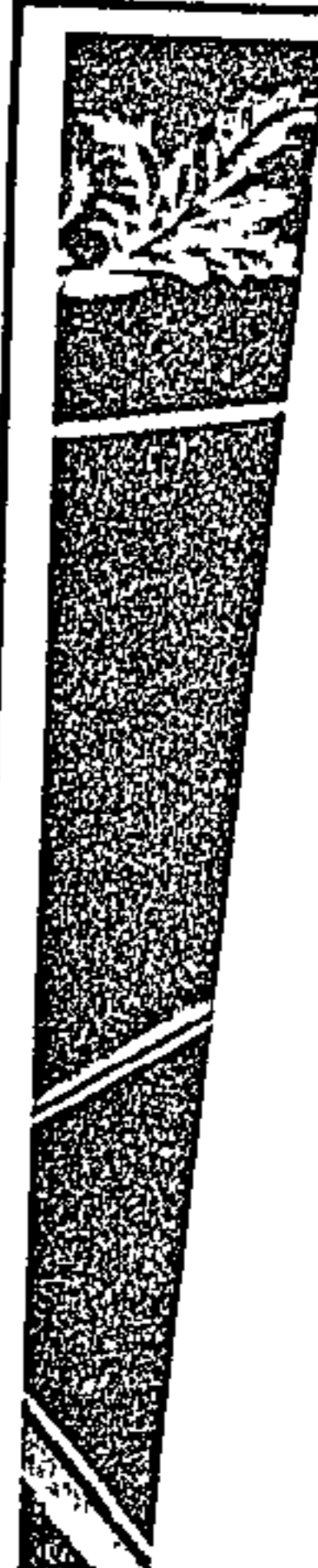
## 15 hurt as minibus crashes in M'Plain

Staff Reporter

FIFTEEN people were injured today when a mini-

## Beirut car

BEIRUT. — A seafront area west Beirut to wounding three victims were 1



## US looking for new policy on SA

steve 9/6/89  
WASHINGTON — The Bush administration is seeking a joint policy with Congress to replace "constructive engagement" in South Africa, which Secretary of State Mr James Baker described yesterday as a discredited term.

Mr Baker said members of President Bush's administration wanted to convince Congress that they had the same aim as Congress: abolition of apartheid and institution of a non-ra-

cial, representative government in South Africa. (3049) (3049)

An agreed course with Congress would enable the US Government to speak with a single voice and have some impact, Mr Baker said.

He said he found significant what South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told him at a meeting in Rome — that apartheid was going to be abolished and that his party would run on that platform. — Associated Press.

# Public at risk if curbs are lifted, says PW

304A

Star 9/6/89

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The state of emergency could not be lifted without the risk that public safety and maintenance of public order could not be ensured by South Africa's ordinary laws, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said last night.

Announcing the renewal of the state of emergency for the fourth time, he said the Government had continuously considered lifting it.

Through the application of the emergency measures, the Government had succeeded in bringing an end to large-scale violence by radicals. This had enabled it to continue with its social development programme and other reform initiatives.

Elections for local government bodies could continue in spite of threats and the efforts of terrorists and their internal allies, and black local authorities were again functioning in the vast majority of black residential areas.

## Development programme

The Government had been able to continue with its social development programme in order to improve the quality of life of communities.

In general, matters were calmer in the field of education.

While determined to go ahead with its upliftment efforts, the Government was being inhibited by revolutionary groupings which wanted to prevent its programme from succeeding.

Terrorist organisations and their internal allies had made revolution the central theme of their propaganda and had eulogised conflict and violence as a method to bring about a new order in the Republic.

Evolutionary and peaceful progress were the greatest enemies of these elements, who had not abandoned their efforts to make the country ungovernable.

In spite of the emergency regulations, the revolutionaries had continued underground. As a result, incidents of visible unrest and violence had continued unabated.

Since the last state of emergency was declared on June 10 1988, the incidence of unrest violence had remained unacceptably high. There had been hundreds of petrol bomb attacks on vehicles, buildings and people.

Although large quantities of terrorist weaponry had been captured and many terrorist infiltrators had been eliminated, there was an increasing tendency to acts of violence. Since June 1988, there had been an escalation of terror attacks in comparison with corresponding previous periods.

Mr Botha said he had consequently decided, after intensive investigation by and consultation with the Government's security and other advisers, to reimpose the state of emergency.

A proclamation and regulations to this effect would appear in the Government Gazette today.

He said he wanted to emphasise that the reason for the existence of the emergency should be blamed on terrorist organisations and their allies internally and not on the Government.

The regulations being proclaimed were the minimum regarded as needed to handle the situation effectively.

Mr Botha added that the state of emergency and the regulations would be continuously reviewed and, if circumstances allowed, regulations could be adapted or the state of emergency lifted.

# Anglican Church rejects anthem

DURBAN — A motion calling the South African national anthem "Die Stem" "unsuitable and unacceptable" was yesterday passed by the Provincial Synod of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa with one delegate voting against.

The motion said "Die Stem" did not place God above all, but it encouraged people to place the country first, and in this way idolised the State.

The resolution urged the synod to discourage the use of "Die Stem" at institutions and church services, and called on members of the Church and associated institutions to use "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" at major occasions.

## 'PAIN AND SUFFERING'

The Rev Courtney Sampson mentioned a line in "Die Stem" concerning the need for strength to keep the "heritage of our fathers".

He said this was not a noble heritage, but one of hurt, pain and suffering for many. The wording of "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", on the other hand, had been accepted by the majority.

The synod passed a resolution supporting the Synod of Anglican Bishops, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the South African Council of Churches in their refusal to comply with the provisions of the Disclosure of Foreign Funding Act.

It expressed its "deep distress" at the "sinister intentions" of the Act as it was aimed at "crippling the work of anti-apartheid groups by freezing funds of a reporting organisation or person".

It called on President Botha to establish an independent judicial commission of inquiry to investigate reported incidents of torture in interrogation in South Africa. — Sapa.

Star 9/6/89



The UDF's Mr Murphy Morobe tells a Johannesburg protest meeting: "The people have survived three years of emergency — the regime is in greater crisis."

● Picture by Etienne Rothbart.

## Emergency rule (304A) 'worsens crisis'

13By Jo-Anne Collinge

President Botha's stance on reimposing the state of emergency would signal to the world precisely how prepared he was to engage in negotiations with representatives of the majority of South Africans, Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front, said yesterday.

He was addressing about 400 people who packed Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church Hall to show opposition to continued emergency rule.

Mr Morobe stressed that mass organisations had never rejected negotiation and they were not opposed to it now.

But he added: "We are not going to let the issue of negotiation derail us from the main issue of political power."

He said the people had survived more than three years of emergency rule, but the same period had seen the Government pitched into greater crisis.

He urged all those committed to a just South Africa to continue to put pressure on the authorities.

Mr Harvey Tyson, editor-in-chief of The Star, said the public was told the state of emergency had to continue because violence was the likely consequence of its being lifted. If this was true, then this spelt a clear failure of government.

While even the most just of administrations might temporarily need to resort to emergency rule, use of such powers in excess of three months suggested failure and "any emergency lasting not three months but three years is total failure".

As the crowd left the hall to the singing of freedom songs, they were confronted by riot police.

One man was arrested and Norwegian journalist Pol Christensen briefly detained.

A Witwatersrand police spokesman confirmed the arrest and stated it arose from the stoning of a police vehicle. He said film had also been seized.

## Surprise for Paarl: Louw will stand in this safe seat

PAARL — Paarl was taken completely by surprise by this week's announcement that Mr Gene Louw, Cape Administrator and newly appointed Minister of Constitutional Development, was to be its National Party candidate in the general election.

The present National Party MP, Mr Kobus Meiring, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, was elected at the last general election by a majority of 5 000 votes, polling 7 500 votes.

Paarl has always been a safe National Party seat.

In an editorial yesterday the *Paarl Post* said it was the first time since Union in 1910 that Paarl was to have an MP who did not live in Paarl.

The newspaper said the advantage would be that Paarl would boast a full Cabinet minister. — Sapa.

Nats unable to rule by civilised methods - DP

# Govt under fire for renewed emergency

304A

Star 9/6/89

Cape Town

The Government was accused today of re-imposing the state of emergency because it was unable to win the support of all the people to govern by normal civilised methods.

The accusation was levelled by Democratic Party co-leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall in reaction to the midnight renewal of the nationwide state of emergency for the fourth time by President P W Botha.

The only support for the move came from the Conservative Party, with CP chief whip Mr Frank le Roux saying it indicated there were still organisations which wanted to overthrow orderly government.

The Government's reason for re-imposing the emergency to protect the forthcoming election was supported by the CP, but rejected by the DP, while Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said it would prevent any possibility of extra-parliamentary groups entering the election.

Mr Botha said he was particularly in favour of re-imposing the emergency "in view of the general election later this year".

"Terrorist organisations and their internal collaborators are known for their efforts to make the Republic ungovernable by inter alia disrupting or defeating the peaceful and democratic constitutional processes."

## Disagreements

The emergency was re-imposed today, with effect from just after midnight, against a background of Cabinet disagreement and demands by the security establishment for it to be maintained.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and senior members of his staff were called to Cape Town by President Botha on Wednesday to justify demands for the renewal.

All existing provisions have been re-imposed. Most people under restriction will receive new orders. Deputy Commissioner of Police General Johan van der Merwe said yesterday. Conditions on detainees released recently will be automatically re-instated.

The virtual banning of 32 organisations, including the UDF, remains in force, as do restrictions on political activities of the Cosatu trade union movement. Wide-sweeping media regulations also stay.

General van der Merwe told a press conference of a number of reasons for the re-imposition of the emergency. These included:

- An anticipated mass infiltration of many ANC members now being removed from Angola in terms of the Namibia/Angola peace treaties.

- The ANC/South African Communist Party alliance was waiting for restrictions to be lifted on organisations and individuals so that it could re-start its campaign to mobilise and politicise

## Political Staff

- to spark a revolutionary seizing of power through a mass struggle.

- Restricted individuals had not changed their views and remained committed to making South Africa ungovernable.

- The ANC/SACP were determined that the coming elections should fail and were planning a campaign of violence similar to the increase in terror attacks during the municipal elections.

- If the emergency were lifted, there would be mass violence which would be difficult to contain.

- The ongoing violence in Natal would be far worse if it were not for the state of emergency. The position there was now relatively stable as a result of increased police action.

- Relative law and order had returned to black townships, and trust was again starting to develop between residents and police. This could only be increased under the protection of the emergency.

- The ANC/SACP were again starting to disrupt black education and were threatening to do the same to health services.

Commenting on the new emergency, Mr Hendrickse said: "We are saddened by the fact the emergency has been re-introduced. It is a reflection on the state of the nation."

"The LP continues to deplore the emergency, which removes the right of the individual at all levels. People who are guilty of a crime or plotting against the state should be brought before the courts."

## 'Obstacle'

Dr de Beer said: "There is no doubt this will confirm the international view that minority government is being sustained by brute force in our country."

Dr Worrall said the extension of the emergency made nonsense of Mr F W de Klerk's pretensions to reform.

"The decision has been taken despite the fact that every black leader he has spoken to recently has told him the emergency is a major obstacle to black leaders talking to the Government."

"Mrs Thatcher and other leaders whom he is supposed to see will tell him the same thing. He might as well stay at home and save the taxpayers a lot of money."



Sole warming... the going was cold and damp underfoot this week as Out team of Isaac Nhlapo and Kurt Sartorius trekked through the Reserve. Today, nearly a month into their 8 000 km walk of goodwill around South Africa, the men are being feted in Phalaborwa. © Picture

## Walking on the wild side

By Melanie Gosling

Reach Out hikers Isaac Nhlapo and Kurt Sartorius, who have pounded along 550 km of roads, dirt tracks and veld since they left Johannesburg on May 12, met their Waterloo this week — in the form of the Olifants River.

The two hikers, who reached the Olifants on Wednesday after a brisk 23 km walk through Klaserie Game Reserve, were confronted with about 40 hippo and several crocodiles at the spot where they had hoped to cross.

Knowing that hippo are reported to be responsible for more human deaths in Africa than any other animal, they paused to catch their breath and eyed the broad river apprehensively.

"Not exactly the place for a quick

swim, hey, Issy?" said Kurt.

"I tell you what, you get across, I'll follow."

The hikers decided the difference between advent and while their 8 000 km borders of South Africa spread goodwill among a tered, this did not necessar animals.

After lunch of peanut butter on the banks of the river, watched elephant, giraffe, impala feeding peacefully hopped into their back-up a long detour to a spot side of the river.

From there, they walked yesterday.

Star 9/6/89 (304A)

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Scores of potential Democratic Party candidates have been nominated for the September general election, paving the way for tough nomination contests in some Reef constituencies.

Sources said up to nine DP hopefuls per constituency had submitted their forms when the party's nominations closed on Wednesday.

One sitting MP, Mr Rupert Lorimer, will be facing strong opposition in Bryanston from within his own party ranks.

At least three other Democrats are seeking nomination there. They are Mr Douglas Gibson, the former Progressive Federal Party's Transvaal chairman, former Edenvale PFP MP Mr Brian Goodall, who is apparently also seeking nomination in the constituency where he suffered a shock defeat in the 1987 general election, and Randburg councillor Mr Gary Cooney.

#### FIGHT ON

In Houghton, former MPC Mrs Irene Menell apparently has not thrown in the towel

## DP hopefuls face tough nomination contests for Reef seats

against the DP leader in the city council, Mr Tony Leon.

Although the 15-man Houghton candidates' committee backs Mr Leon, it is understood Mrs Menell has been nominated.

The other five left-wing opposition seats in the Transvaal — Johannesburg North, Sandton, Yeoville, Randburg and Parktown — will not be contested, The Star has learnt.

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer will be the candidate in Parktown, whose former PFP MP, Dr Marius Barnard, has not joined the DP.

In North Rand and Hillbrow, the two seats the DP regards as possible wins, fierce nomination battles are expected.

Sources said nine nominations had been received for North Rand, among them Johannesburg city councillor Mr Hans Strydom and Mr Louis de Waal, executive director of Budget Rent-a-Car.

Five people are said to be seeking nomination in Hillbrow — city councillors Mr Lester Fuchs and Mr Deon van Greunen, former councillor Mr Pat Rogers, and Mrs Tara Forster and Mr Cass Horne.

The southern Transvaal region will elect its candidates' committee on Monday.

● See Page 6.

# Super Party set to take on the world

Pretoria Bureau

A man who says he wants to be the "world ruler" intends putting up candidates for Parliament on September 6.

Mr Super Vermeulen, a Pretoria businessman, believes that through the power of prayer he and his party, the Super Party, can win the general election.

The party's election manifesto, he says, will bring about radical change in South Africa. It will fight the election on a platform of "manifesting right and righteousness in all walks of life".

Mr Vermeulen, who is presently claiming R100 million from the Government for having accurately predicted an improvement in the gold price "through my prodigious power of prayer," says prayer can change national and world events, and he claims suc-

cesses in this regard.

These include the Stock Market crash of October 1987, the fall of the gold price in 1985, the disinvestment by Mobil Oil, and the Namibian settlement plan.

The Super Party's manifesto says it will introduce cheap rates for water and electricity, standardise property prices at R250 an erf, and eliminate "all nonsensical and irrelevant" subjects at schools and universities. Righteousness will be introduced as a subject at schools.

Other points are the banning of white rice as a food, provision for the well-being of pensioners and hoboos, simplification of municipal functions, elimination of toll roads, the introduction of a system of free justice, the starting of a State lottery, and the abo-

lition of all Sunday sport and Sunday gambling.

Race relations will be based on apartheid at home, schools, on trains, in toilets and each population group will continue to live and work in their own areas.

The manifesto makes provision for instant justice for murderers and anyone who is guilty of assault.

"All murderers will be killed in the same way within seven days of the trial. All homosexuals, lesbians and drug pushers will be eradicated as well as ear-ring-wearers, effeminated men and dirty trash," says the Super Party.

Newspaper reporters will also be dealt with if they "upheld the lie, distorted the truth, mocked the righteous or failed to correct misrepresentations".

SK 9/6/89

304A

## DP victory means rough ride for NP

By Shirley Woodgate,  
Municipal Reporter

The National Party's shock loss in Linden's Ward 3 sets it up for a vote of no-confidence by Mr Tony Leon's Democratic Party and a stormy passage for the budget in the Johannesburg City Council next week.

Those are the two immediate spin-offs of the 340-vote win by the DP's Mr Brahm Spies over the NP's Mr Johann Marnitz.

Few believed the outcome would be so decisive.

Mr Leon said: "One is always sceptical of canvass figures, which showed 1 713 voters in favour of the DP, and I thought at best it would be Bellevue all over again, where I scraped home against Mr Sam Bloomberg."

The fact that the DP's first breakthrough took place in Johannesburg came as no surprise to Leon observers, who have watched him transform the defunct Progressive Federal Party in the council into a fighting machine that presented a liberal alternative with no hint of apology.

The groundwork was meticulously laid over years, the win was merely the cherry on the top.

304A

Cape Times, Friday, June 9, 1989 3

Political Staff

THE co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, last night warned the United Democratic Front that the violent disruption of the coming general election would be a setback for the democratic process.

In a speech at the Amanzimtoti town hall, Mr Malan said it was the duty of the UDF leadership to make sure "government Casspirs" were not used against them in their campaign.

The UDF would be foolish and irresponsible if it conducted its boycott campaign in a way that led to the vio-

## DP's Malan warns UDF on poll disruption

lent disruption of the election, he said.

"This will be a setback for the democratic process and the UDF leadership will have to take joint responsibility for it," Mr Malan said.

Referring to the state of emergency, which is due to be re-imposed this weekend, the DP co-leader said the government was incapable of

ruling without it.

As long as the National Party stayed in power, the security situation would deteriorate, international isolation and the sanctions campaign would go from strength to strength, South Africans would become poorer and uncertainty about the future would increase, Mr Malan said.

# Nothing safe as DP hopefuls go on raid

CAT Times 9/6/89 306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

COMPETITION for key Democratic Party seats in Cape Town has reached fever pitch, with former Independent Party and National Democratic Movement backers staging a late "raid" on safe former PFP seats or winnable NP seats in the city.

The final selection of candidates will be decided next week.

Leading the charge on sitting DP MPs in the city is Dr Esther Lategan, who hopes to unseat the MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew.

Mr Andrew is a senior DP MP and former chairman of the PFP's federal executive. In 1981 he won the Gardens seat by beating Dr Dawie de Villiers, now the leader of the NP in the Cape.

DP sources said yesterday that the selection committee, on which former NDM and IP members are well represented, could oust Mr Andrew in favour of Dr Lategan, who stood for

the NDM in Stellenbosch in the May 1987 election.

Earlier, expectations in DP circles were that Dr Lategan might contest Durbanville or Paarl (where her father was once the MP) if Dr Van Zyl Slabbert decided to fight the Stellenbosch seat for the DP.

Should Mr Andrew be beaten in the Gardens nomination contest, he may be forced to fight sitting DP MPs like Mr Jan Van Eck in Claremont in order to remain in Parliament.

Probably the most fiercely contested DP seat in the Peninsula is Groote Schuur, where seven new candidates — including three women — are hoping to beat the sitting MP, Mr Jan van Gend, for the nomination.

Another tight DP contest is likely to be in Simon's Town, where Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr James Selfe and Commodore Vic Holderness are battling to win the party nomination.

# STEM VOTED UNSINGABLE

SOWETAN Friday June 9 1989

Page 3

SOUTH Africa's national anthem, Die Stem, was branded idolatrous, an embarrassment and no longer singable at the provincial synod of the Congregation of the Province of Southern Africa yesterday.

Proposing a motion to discourage the use of Die Stem and singing instead Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika, the Rev Courtney Sampson said that Die Stem was a way in which Afrikaner nationalism was furthered and that this heritage was one of a denial of human rights. Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika, on the other hand, was accepted by the majority of the people.

"In Die Stem the state places the country before God. In Christian terms we need to choose on the basis of our faith the song which is closest to us, Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrika."

## Embarrassing

Seconding the motion, Canon Christopher Gregorowski said that if apartheid were a heresy, then Die Stem was idolatry: "It is more and more embarrassing to sing this anthem. Some people would no more sing Die Stem

than they would take up arms against their countrymen. This song deserves to be buried and forgotten forever. It is no longer singable by members of this church."

Speaking against the motion the Rt Rev George Swartz said that denouncing Die Stem was not the way to address the hurt that people in the country had endured: "We don't have to tell people not to sing this anthem. They already don't."

## Very angry

Speaking before the vote, the Most Rev Desmond Tutu, Archbishop of Cape Town, said that he would get "very, very angry" with people who intimidated those whose opinions differed from their own.

"We are learning what it means to have a free South Africa and part of that is the freedom to say exactly what we feel. It will not do for us to be like-minded and we cannot have people being afraid to say what they think."

The motion was carried by a large majority.

**N**ON-racial local authorities could emerge out of Free Settlement Areas — but on the other hand Government plans for these areas could result in more Conservative Party controlled city councils, according to research released this week by the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Examining possible consequences of the Government's plans for local government in residentially open areas, the latest *Quarterly Countdown* points to considerable confusion in the ranks of both government and its opponents.

The local government in Free Settlement Areas Act provides that residents in these areas will be represented by multi-racial management committees which will have the power only to advise the local authority. At the same time, white voters in these areas will be entitled to remain on the white municipal voters' roll.

### Provisions

According to *Countdown*, these provisions are now disconcerting government, as well as Opposition municipalities.

The Government fears that segregated local government might become unworkable if large numbers of Free Settlement Areas are proclaimed. Hence the first meeting of the Free Settlement Areas Board was told by the retiring Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that the Free Settlement Areas Act

# Free Settlement Areas a poser

## Voting rights may be affected - Heunis

should be applied carefully "because it will affect voting rights."

On the other hand, *Countdown* points out, a situation could arise which might deter opposition municipalities from applying for Free Settlement Area status.

For example, if an entire town or city were declared a Free Settlement Area, a minority of white voters could elect to remain on the municipal roll, and this could create the opportunity for the Conservative Party to control the city council.

### Legal

Acknowledging this, a minority of NP MPs said they believed that the demise of legally enforced residential separation was inevitable and that Free Settlement Areas would gradually prepare white South Africans for this.

The chairman of the Free Settlement Areas Board, Mr Hein Kruger, has indicated that the Board will not seek to restrict the areas or necessarily be bound by white opinion.

"But because the Board can usually investigate potential Free Settlement Areas only if specified organs of government request this, its scope for expediting change will be limited," *Countdown* says, and adds that recommendations by the Board will be subject to the approval of an increasingly undecided government.

### Plans

Further ambiguity exists in government plans for schooling in Free Settlement Areas, and it is likely that some form of multiracial schooling will eventually evolve in these areas.

While NP MPs said that the Government would not accept the opening of State schools to all races, this might happen by the back door because one option being discussed in government circles was to grant private schools the same financing that they



Chris Heunis . . . "Act should be applied carefully."

## 'Ambiguity in plans for schooling of all races'

### 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 other news media directly.

Complaints must relate to published editorial matter and should be lodged within 10 days of publication. But late complaints may be accepted if good reasons can be advanced.

The address is: The Councillor/Registrar, SA Media Council, PO Box 5222, Cape Town 8000. Telephone: (021) 461-7117. Inquiries are welcomed.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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would enjoy if they were State schools.

Other solutions being discussed within the Government were the establishment of separate black schools in Free Settlement Areas, or subsidising the travel of children to schools in segregated areas.

### Proposals

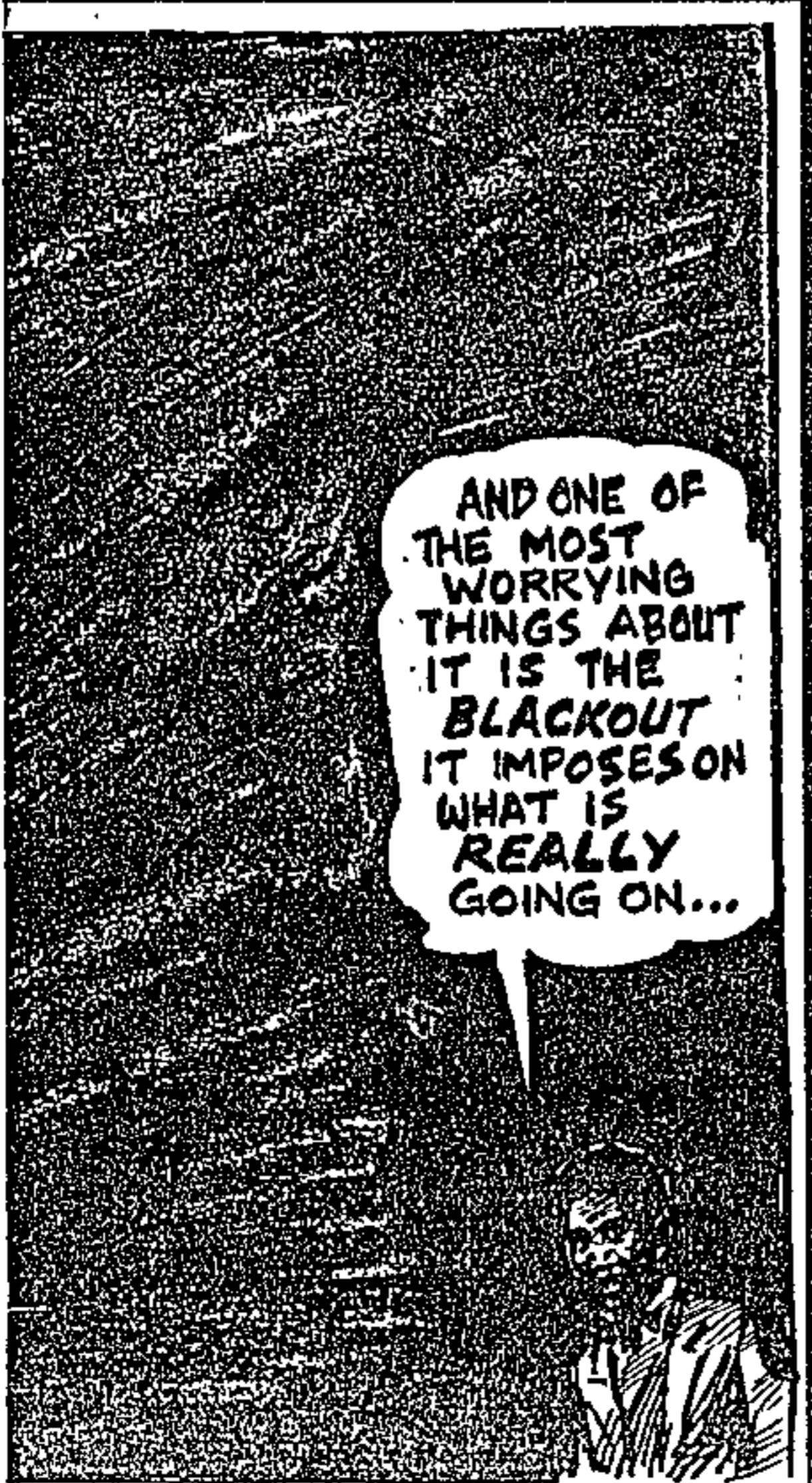
Both of these proposals would encounter opposition from black residents' groups who are demanding nonracial schooling, *Countdown* says.

One further option under consideration was to transfer control of State schools in Free Settlement Areas to the House of Representatives or the House of Delegates, both of whom were willing to admit pupils of other races to their schools.

### Racial

This would be another way to introduce nonracial State schools in Free Settlement Areas without opening white schools.

*Quarterly Countdown* is available from the Publications Department of the South African Institute of Race Relations, PO Box 31044, 2017 Braamfontein, at R9.50 inclusive. (R7.50 plus R2 postage and packing)



# DP leaders buoyed by win in 'safe' Nat seat

9/6/89 306A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

A "HUNG" House of Assembly in which no party had an overall majority was "a very real possibility" following the Democratic Party's victory over the National Party in the Linden municipal by-election, according to DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall yesterday said the Linden result — which saw a 400-vote NP majority turned into a 340 DP majority — showed that the "old Nat" scare tactic of trying to link the DP and the ANC "has not worked and will not work in the coming election".

He said the surprising victory in a Nationalist stronghold would serve as a "tremendous inspiration" to DP candidates in the election, particularly those who may have been reticent.

"This result shows that the NP is running out of steam," he said.

Mr Wynand Malan, another DP co-leader whose Randburg seat is next door to Linden, interpreted the DP's

ability to wrest a safe NP seat as an indication of the impact of "fourth force" dissident Afrikaners.

Mr Malan said the swing from the NP was a clear reflection of grassroots dissatisfaction with government mismanagement of the economy and its political bankruptcy.

The third DP co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said the Linden result had exceeded his expectations and indicated a "real swing" to the DP.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, whose Westdene seat includes Linden, frankly conceded that the result showed the NP had problems and added that these would have to be rectified before the election.

Mr Botha singled out the state of the economy and insufficient progress in negotiations with blacks as reasons for the NP setback.

The Conservative Party yesterday predicted that the Linden result signalled the disintegration of the ruling party which was shedding support to the left and the right.

# Grim Nat faces in Linden

By ANTON HARBER

A GROUP of grim-looking cabinet ministers and senior National Party MPs in a huddle in the cold outside the Linden polling booth on Wednesday night said it all — the NP had pulled out its big guns for the by-election battle this week, and they were staring defeat in the face.

The Johannesburg suburb of Linden is mostly Afrikaans-speaking and a safe NP seat. It is Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha's constituency and he had led the team of heavyweights that were on the hustings this week to bring out the party faithful.

In the run-up to the election, an optimistic Democratic Party had said it expected to slash the substantial majority with which the NP held the seat last year. "I would have been content to simply cut the NP majority," DP co-leader Zach de Beer said.

However, long before the polls closed on Wednesday night, it was the cabinet ministers who were looking worried, and the DP looking buoyant. When the results were an-

nounced at 10.30pm, everyone was surprised by how well the DP had done: a 340-vote majority.

Only eight months ago, the NP had held with seat with a 390-vote majority.

This was the second surprise DP victory in a by-election in the last few weeks. On May 17, DP candidate Angelo Dashwood scored a 600-vote victory in a Port Elizabeth seat previously held by an independent who had always voted with the NP.

"This is not the Houghton clique. The DP is showing that it has Afrikaner support," DP co-leader Wynand Malan said.

Alongside the strong turnout at DP meetings and the rash of new members since the party's launch earlier this year, DP leaders are taking these results as clear signs of strength and growth in the build-up to the September elections.

However, municipal by-elections



Pik Botha

are not always a reasonable gauge of public opinion. Local issues may affect the results, as will a protest vote. Some people who wish to send a warning signal to the NP may use a municipal ballot to do so, but may switch back to the ruling party when the control of the whole country is at stake, and after the onslaught of a major national political campaign.

The result is significant for the future of Johannesburg, giving a significant boost to the DP's chances of taking control of the country's biggest city. The PFP now controls 20 city council seats, as opposed to the NP's 23.

304X

THE Democratic Party faces another important — and extremely difficult — decision in the next few weeks.

The new party's 22-member board is due to decide whether to contest the September elections in the coloured and Indian houses of parliament.

There is a strong lobby within the board that wants to see the party pursue every avenue to parliamentary power, and sees no distinction between the white elections, and the coloured and Indian equivalents.

The DP already has three members in the House of Delegates (HoD), and is committed to supporting them. Party leaders are also hopeful of forging an alliance with the Labour Party in the House of Representatives (HoR).

However, the party is under direct pressure from the "mass democratic movement" to stay out of the other houses of the tricameral parliament. Organisations such as the United Democratic Front have warned that relations between the DP and extra-parliamentary organisations will be damaged if the party fights coloured and Indian elections.

In an open letter to DP leaders, delivered to the *Weekly Mail* yesterday, the Transvaal Indian Congress said it would be "a fatal mistake for the DP to underestimate the deep feeling of rejection of the tricameral system in the Indian and coloured communities".

The TIC said it recognised that the DP had an "influential role to play in the process of change ... and that the current political climate presents creative opportunities for all anti-apartheid forces to co-operate."

However, the DP needed to consider whether a strategy of participation in the coloured and Indian houses "allows for these dynamic possibilities to materialise."

"The TIC is of the view that fielding even a single candidate in the HoD or HoR would not only be unfortunate, but would be extremely short-

**The DP faces a brutal decision this week which will lose it key friends either way, reports ANTON HARBER**

## Heads the DP loses, tails it loses too

sighted," it said.

It warned that the DP would be opening itself up to "expedient and unprincipled politics (as well as) corruption and constant embarrassment given the frequency with which MPs cross the floor."

"It would be a sad day if the DP allowed itself to be blinded by election fever," it said.

A representative of the UDF said that even defending the seats of its three members in the HoD would be "a threat to what the DP wants to achieve and what it can achieve."

The UDF was opposed to participation in government structures in general, and in the coloured and Indian houses of parliament in particular.

The DP was trying to present itself as a party of negotiations and wanted to show that it had good relations with organisations such as the UDF. "It would be extremely foolhardy for them to jeopardise or threaten this relationship with extra-parliamentary organisations."

"If they go ahead with these elections, they face the danger of having

another front opened against them. After all, the DP flag will have to fly in the HoD, and that will not go down well in Lenasia.

"I am not saying that we will have nothing to do with them, but I am warning that this will create a problem area between the UDF and the DP," the UDF representative said.

The DP has held a series of consultations with extra-parliamentary organisations in the last few weeks on this topic. The message given to them has been consistent: "Don't do it, or do it at the risk of harming relations with the mass democratic movement." The last consultation took place on the eve of the last DP board meeting, and some extra-parliamentary activists went so far as to suggest that they would treat the DP in the same way as other "collaborators" if

they fought the Indian and coloured elections.

The DP meeting the following day referred the matter to the executive committee. A DP representative said yesterday that negotiations and consultations around the issue "are by no means finished".

A meeting scheduled for this week to make a final decision was yesterday postponed.

The issue is complicated by the fact that it comes at a time of unprecedented contact between the DP and extra-parliamentary organisations. For the first time, both sides are committed to developing contacts and alliances.

Bodies such as the UDF have shown a new willingness to enter into talks. And the DP programme of action commits it to "the development of a broad front for joint strategies and alliances with organisations."

DP sources say they see their decision as a "no-win situation". They stand to lose if they ditch their HoD members, as they do if they go ahead and harm relations with bodies such as the UDF.

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# LECTION LOLLIES?

W/CAKES 10/6/89

## Public will foot the 'election sweetener' bill after polling day

364A

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

AS THE September 6 general election draws nearer, the voting public has been fed on steady doses of "election sweeteners" — and there may be more to come.

It seems to be the season of government generosity.

Opposition politicians have been astonished at the ease with which money for "sweeteners" can be found in the face of economic pressures.

The signs are that, come what may, it is indeed going to be a "lollypop" election, as predicted by some opposition spokesmen earlier this year.

### 'Rare sensitivity'

In recent months the government suddenly began showing a rare sensitivity to public opinion.

Its opponents see it as a kind of election fever, though government spokesmen deny this.

A clear sign of the sudden pre-election sensitivity was shown by the Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, in his response to public outrage at his recent claim that average white South Africans were no worse off now than 20 years ago.

While not retracting his claim, he backed down by admitting his remark was not well timed, that there are people who are struggling, and by promising all possible help to struggling pensioners.

Meanwhile the sweetening process, as seen through opposition eyes, has included a variety of moves aimed at soothing public opinion about the government's "fat cat" image.

● After public protests against the proposed new telephone metering system, the Minister of Home Affairs and Communications, Mr Stoffel Botha, announced major concessions.

The government's backdown came after a protest petition with more than 43 000 signatures had been presented to him.

The concessions mean the telephone subscriber's money will be stretched nearly twice

as far as was originally planned.

That petition and the outcry from consumer bodies against the original plan must have set off alarm bells for the government's election strategists.

Although the official reasons for the backdown were given as the cost of living and "specific economic circumstances" experienced by most people, the episode left no doubt in political circles that election prospects had much to do with it.

● After an earlier public outcry, the government dramatically slashed the controversial levies on three toll roads.

And yet taxpayers seem set to foot the bill either directly or indirectly for this move, described by Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz as "an election gimmick".

Transport Minister Mr Eli Louw was quick to deny this

Mr Schwarz wanted to know why the levies could not have been lowered months earlier.

He also asked what the position was going to be after the election — "are we going to see an increase in levies?"

The government's move raised the question as to where the money would be found to make up for the generous cut in toll fees.

Mr Schwarz and others suspect it is going to come from the taxpayers' depleted pockets — possibly from the fuel levy, directly or indirectly.

● In February the government bowed to public and political pressure for an inquiry into pension and golden handshake payouts to MPs and political officials who leave office under a cloud.

Opposition parties have welcomed the government's inquiry move but question its motivation and timing.

As Conservative Party MP for Losberg Mr Fanie Jacobs puts it: "One wonders why the

government has come up so late with this proposal.

"Surely they should have acted immediately when the matters of Mr Peet de Pontes and Mr Pietie du Plessis came to light?"

● Then there was the government's sudden bonanza to maize farmers in the form of a decision to write off the Maize Board's R460-million debt.

While gladdening the hearts of many voters in country constituencies where the Conservative Party had made inroads in Nationalist territory, the decision was viewed with dismay in urban areas.

Reflecting the view of many urban taxpayers, the Democratic Party's Mr Harry Schwarz said he found it unacceptable.

His reason: "We are told there is no room for pension increases, no money for tax reductions, or for many other needs."

"And after all of that, we are told there is money for this."

### Bread price

Critics of the government's new mood of generosity have also pointed out that the country is being told there is no money to keep the bread price down.

● What opposition critics saw as one of the most blatant examples of an election "lolly" was the Swiss watch scheme for civil servants, disclosed in April.

Under this cabinet-approved scheme an estimated R95-million is to be spent on Swiss watches and leave-for-cash exchanges to reward veteran civil servants for their service.

Those to benefit include 12 000 government officials with 30 years of service.

The scheme replaces long-service recognition which came in the form of certificates signed by President P W Botha when he was the prime minister.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on public service affairs, Mr Jan van Gend, describes it as "one of the first

salvoes in the line of election lollies."

About the time when the Swiss watch scheme became known to the public, DP finance spokesman, Mr Harry Schwarz, found it necessary to warn the government against offering "titbits for the voters before the election."

"Do not do it," he said. "You should say to the public: We need realism, hard work and openness."

"These are the problems. Let us tackle them together."

"The truth may be tough, but it must be told when people seek mandates."

### Remedies

Mr Schwarz warned that tough economic measures were in the national interest.

It was up to the government to spell out what the remedies were before and not after the election.

What could be seen as yet another "lolly" came yesterday in the form of a government announcement of relief measures to assist home-owners struggling to meet their bond repayments.

The move comes after recent reports that many homes were being repossessed because owners were losing their battle against the tide of rising interest rates.

None of the election "lollies" dished out so far has been as dramatic as the government's R1-billion pay rise for public servants announced by President Botha last year during the run-up to the local government elections.

That giant lollypop was an across-the-board 15 per cent pay rise for the country's more than 700 000 public servants. It came into effect on January 1 this year.

It was left to Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, then in Germany, to explain after his return how the salary increase was to be financed.

It transpired that it was to be paid largely by the motor-ing public in the form of a 10c-a-litre increase in petrol prices announced in December.

The increase came into effect on January 16

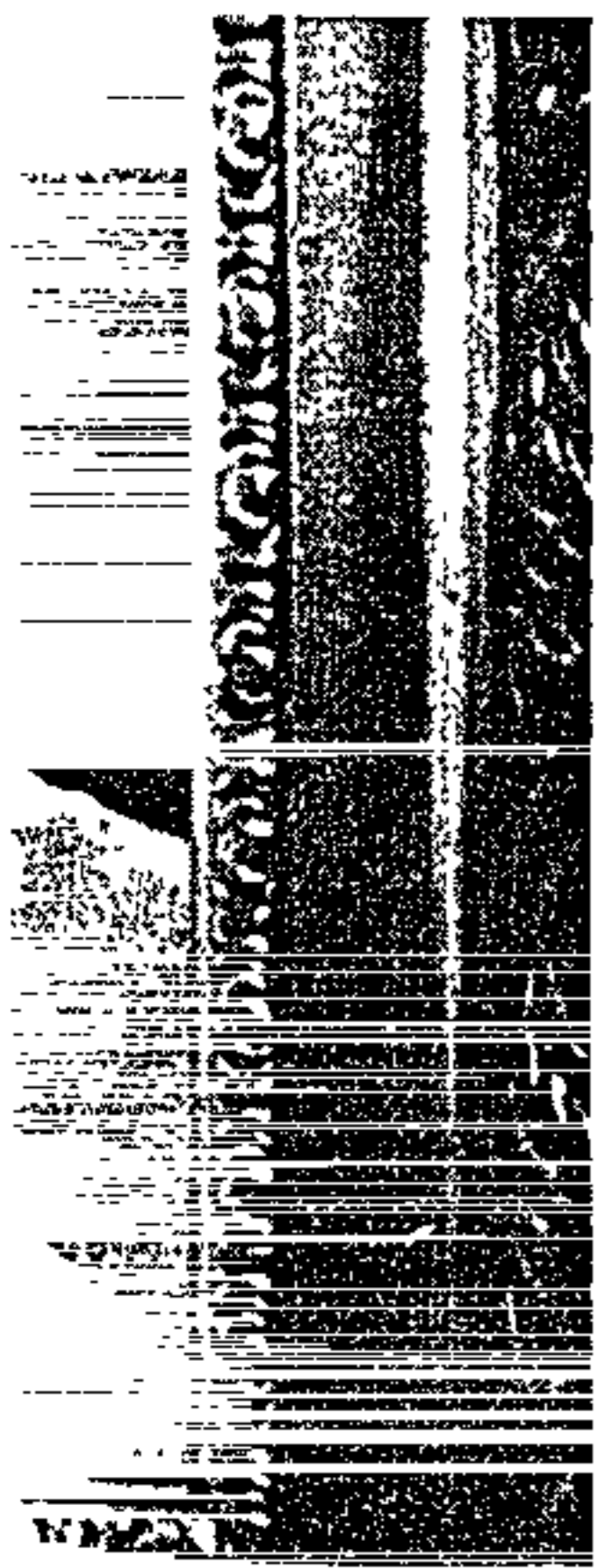
It meant that every time motorists filled their petrol tanks since then, they have been paying towards last year's election "lolly" for public servants. And it is no secret that they form a substantial part of the electorate.



Dr Marais



Mr Schwarz



THIART, Weekend Argus.

tonight.

## akes ing

Brazil, the Caribbean United States.

He is a keen carver, furniture-maker and painter and all his work clutters his fine-furnished flat. This includes a double copy of Tretchi-Chinese Girl.

most important thing in to keep the mind alive, it controls the body."

wife died eight years ago Lollie now shares his flat Sylvia May, whom he has for 30 years.

### Drug problems

The Town is my home. I miss it when I'm on the The problem is when I the phone never stops because people call me sorts of help."

he says this, the telephone and after a few questions, politely asks the caller back in three weeks, he would be less busy.

that person has a serious problem and she wants use hypnosis to get her the addiction.

get three to five calls a from people who are de-ed or addicted to one or the other, but I can't all of them."

# Nats again in turmoil PW 'furious'

W/B AR665  
10/6/89

304A

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE National Party is again in turmoil — divided over a serious election setback and the state of emergency.

Adding to the tension is former leader, President P W Botha, who is apparently declining to be honoured by the party faithful.

NP sources said yesterday President Botha had kept the Cabinet on edge all week as he balked over signing the new state of emergency — and finally did so under pressure.

Although there was no official confirmation, it is understood President Botha, still furious at the way NP caucus members moved in for the kill while he was ill, has told the party that he is unlikely to attend the extraordinary National Party federal congress at the end of the month.

## Briefing

The reason is apparently that he has prior commitments. He gave the same reason for turning down an invitation to the last NP caucus meeting of the year last month, at which MPs were planning to make a presentation to him.

When new leader Mr F W de Klerk called the federal congress in May, he said one of the reasons was to honour Mr Botha.

It is understood President Botha demanded and received on Wednesday a full briefing on why the state of emergency should be reimposed for the fourth time.

At the briefing were Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok and senior staff and Na-

tional Intelligence chief, Mr Niel Barnard.

Sources said President Botha finally put his signature to the proclamation only hours before the Thursday midnight deadline.

The reimposition followed an unprecedented number of speeches from senior Ministers, including Mr Vlok and Defence Minister General Magnus Malan explaining why the emergency should continue.

And yesterday saw an orchestrated chorus of Ministers, including Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Stoffel Botha and Mr Barend du Plessis, issuing statements in support.

However, some Ministers, including Mr Pik Botha, are understood to be unhappy with the full reimposition.

And while the drama was taking place, the Nats suffered the serious reversal in Linden, which is in Mr Pik Botha's Westdene constituency.

In an amazingly frank reaction, Mr Botha conceded that the economy, a perception of NP inability to negotiate with blacks, the recent mass resignations of Cabinet Ministers and the battle for control of the Johannesburg City Council had all contributed to the serious reverse.

But Mr de Klerk virtually put the blame on Mr Botha, who is chairman of the Johannesburg region of the party, saying the happenings in the Johannesburg City Council was "an important factor" for the reverse.

■ See Page 16

# 'Prog' purge attempt within DP

Cape Times  
10/6/89  
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
and BARRY STREEK

FACTIONS within the Democratic Party are attempting to purge the new party of "Prog" candidates and influences in the Western Cape.

The drive, spearheaded by Dr Esther Lategan's attempt to oust Mr Ken Andrew in Gardens, is threatening to open old wounds in the newly-unified party and could damage its electoral chances on a broader front.

Ironically, the "Prog purge" and related raid on safe Cape Town seats could actually harm the prospects of aspirant candidates in DP seats who have connections with former NDM and IP.

This is particularly the case in Simon's Town, where the candidates' committee appeared to set to vote across old party lines, giving the former deputy chairman of the IP, Mr Jannie Momberg, a good chance of winning the DP nomination.

Questions were being in the party asked why Dr Lategan (formerly of the National Democratic Movement) and Dr Denis Worrall (formerly of the Independent Party) had targeted safe seats traditionally held by the PFP rather than taking on Nationalist candidates.

DP members also cited efforts, largely unsuccessful, to "de-Prog" other Cape Town seats and moves further afield to rid the party of individuals and influences associated with the old PFP.

DP sources said that the key figures

behind the latest "Prog purge" in the city were Dr Lategan, Mrs Ina van Huysteen (a former NDM supporter in Gardens), and Dr Jannie Hofmeyr, one of the key architects of the failed PFP "turbocharge" strategy in the 1987 general election who was expelled from the PFP after he joined the NDM.

While DP members recognised the right of prospective candidates to set their sites on seats they felt they could win, a number of DP members were puzzled why Dr Lategan had not chosen to contest Stellenbosch (where she made major inroads on the NP majority in 1977), Durbanville or Paarl.

Supporters of Mr Andrew, one the party's hardest-working MPs, who is widely respected in the black community for the work he has done, particularly in the educational field, were confident yesterday that he would be able to win the nomination contest next week.

Mr Andrew, who became the first opposition politician to beat a cabinet minister since 1948 when he outgunned Dr Dawie de Villiers in the 1981 election, has not made himself available in any other seat.

Meanwhile, the nomination contest continues to hot up in Groote Schuur, another DP seat where the sitting MP, Mr Jan van Gend, is being opposed.

His strongest opposition for the nomination comes from Mrs Margaret Fourie, who works for a major finance house, Ms Dene Smuts, a journalist, and Ms Michelle Guttler, the leader of the DP youth.

# National song 'must be for all'

Weekend Argus Reporters

NATIONAL symbols such as the anthem and the flag will have to be decided by the acknowledged leaders of all communities, says a senior member of the Ned Geref Kerk.

Dr Pierre Rossouw, the church's chief executive officer, was reacting to the rejection of *Die Stem* by the Anglican church at its provincial synod in Durban this week.

Stressing that he was giving a personal opinion, Dr Rossouw said: "We are a community in transition in South Africa. It is accepted now that the future of the country must be decided by all the acknowledged political and cultural leaders.

"They will also have to look at matters such as the national symbols, including the anthem and the flag."

The anthem was never sung at synodical meetings because it was not part of Afrikaans reformed church tradition, he said.

"The N G Kerk is not an official state church, so the national symbols such as the anthem do not figure," Dr Rossouw said.

## LEADING AFRIKANERS REACT TO REJECTION OF DIE STEM

Church members at the Anglican synod this week voted to discourage the use of *Die Stem* at churches, church schools and any institutions connected to the Church of the Province of South Africa.

This was because *Die Stem*, rather than placing God above all, "encourages people to place their country before God. In this way it idolises the State."

*Die Stem* was also not accepted by the majority of South Africans.

The Anglicans said they believed Christians served their country best when they put God and his values first.

"This involves promoting those things which make for peace, the peace which is based on

God's justice. We believe that Christians are called to discourage those things which divide people in ways which are contrary to the demands of the Kingdom (of God)."

The synod decided to encourage the use of the hymn *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* at all major occasions and festivals.

Professor Samille Terreblanche of Stellenbosch said the issue of the national anthem was one that called for serious thought.

In the process of nation-building we must seek symbols that are unifying and not divisive, as most of the existing symbols are.

"*Die Stem* as national anthem should be looked at, because it can never be a symbol to unify South Africa's 37-million people. In saying

that, I do not deny the special meaning which *Die Stem* has for the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population."

He suggested the use of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* alongside *Die Stem* as national anthem.

Sister Bridgid, associate secretary general of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, said: "I couldn't tell you when we last sang *Die Stem*. In our church services, where the majority of our people are black, we sing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, which is a prayer.

"We have never discussed *Die Stem* so I cannot say we have rejected it, it is just not a religious song."

Mr Jan van Eck, Democratic Party MP for Claremont, said the Anglican decision was symptomatic of the deep divisions in South African society.

"It starkly illustrates the lack of a broad South Africanism. The decision is likely to cause unhappiness among many members."

# Webster: no new leads, say SAP

WHILE anti-apartheid organisations are becoming increasingly sceptical that those responsible for the assassination of Dr David Webster will ever be brought to book, police this week said they were confident the killers would be found.

Colonel Floris Mostert, head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, said "nothing spectacular" had been discovered since a second witness was found a few weeks ago.

Anti-apartheid organisations have said that until the killers are found, the finger of responsibility remains firmly pointed at the South African Government.

Colonel Mostert said rumours

**JANET HEARD**

that new identikits were released last weekend were false. However, he would not say whether new identikits had in fact been drawn up by the police, but were being withheld by them.

There has been widespread speculation that the second witness found after the release of three detailed identikits of the alleged assassins had enabled the police to draw up new identikits.

Colonel Mostert said: "We have experienced many difficulties. We are still checking all the information received. The public has been wonderful in giving ideas and information and we are still confi-

dent we will find the killers, but at this stage, we have decided to not release any other identikits."

Questioned on the vague similarity between the identikit of the suspect involved in the attempted attack on NP nominated MP, Dr Boy Geldenhuys, and one of the three identikits released on Dr Webster's assassination, Colonel Mostert said: "At this stage, there is no connection between Geldenhuys and Webster".

He said they would not release the colour or a description of the car driven by the assassins, because, "we are still sorting out the problems".

Dr Webster was gunned down outside his Troyeville home

# Flare-up Over Emergency

Star 10/6/87 304A

THERE was mixed, and sometimes heated, reaction from politicians, political organisations and foreign governments this week to the renewal of the State of Emergency.

The National Party leader, Mr F.W. de Klerk, yesterday gave his, and the National Party's, support to the reimposition of the State of Emergency by President Botha.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on law and order, Mr Tiaan van der Merwe, said the Government was causing South Africa to be in a permanent state of emergency by its refusal to search for real political solutions.

## 'Sign of an abnormal society'

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the re-imposition of the State of Emergency was "a tragic indication of the abnormality of our society". Apartheid had failed and the only way in which it could, to some extent, be kept intact was under the extraordinary circumstances created by a State of Emergency.

The British Foreign Office said it "very much regrets" that the South African Government has seen fit to reimpose the emergency and that such measures did nothing for "the search for a solution to South Africa's problems".

British Premier Mrs Maggie Thatcher, however, took a somewhat less direct line. Downing Street had no comment to offer yesterday, saying the emergency was "an internal matter" for South Africa.

The Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said the Government and widespread and massive violations of human rights were synonymous. The State President had shown "utter contempt" for the Law Commission and its White Paper on human rights and the need for a Bill of Rights in South Africa.

The commission had concluded after years of investigation and evidence that peace and prosperity in South Africa depended on the recognition and protection of fundamental human rights, said the LHR.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement slammed the reimposition of the emergency, and called on Mrs Thatcher to protest by cancelling her planned meeting with Mr de Klerk.

The AAM has plans to picket South Africa House on Monday.

The Association of Law Societies said it regretted the renewal of the State of Emergency.

It said the suspension of the rule of law was a severe restriction on the rights of the individual.

The association said that, with few exceptions, the situation in South Africa appears to be normal. Therefore, it was regrettable that the Government has seen fit to re-impose the State of Emergency for a further period. "We urge the Government to again reconsider the whole matter and to lift the State of Emergency or at least some aspects of it at the earliest opportunity," it said.

The reduction in violence on the one hand and the improvement in socio-economic development, particularly in the black residential areas, on the other deserved every right-thinking person's support, said Mr de Klerk in a statement.

The emergency remained an extraordinary step and "I therefore support the viewpoint of the State President that the ending and lifting of the emergency enjoys the highest priority".

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said reasons for the existence of the emergency should be placed before the door of "terrorist organisations" and their internal "comrades".

"The government will, forsoke its duty should it not take the necessary steps to introduce measures to ensure the safety of the public and the maintenance of public order in circumstances where the usual laws of the country are inadequate."

The Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said revolutionary and radical elements were still trying to plunge South Africa into chaos and misery, and were determined to make the country ungovernable and destroy property and the lives of people.

## 'Survey reveals popular support'

Mr Vlok said the DP co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, claimed the re-imposition was a confession by the Government that it could not govern South Africa except by force.

"But the State of Emergency does not represent rule by force as was stated by Dr de Beer. Its aim is to create stability, to protect our people against violent revolutionary and radical activities. That is why the majority of South Africans welcome the State of Emergency."

"The survey by Markinor revealed that only 1,35 percent of black people in our country were opposed to the State of Emergency. Almost 99 percent welcomed it."

"Why? Because they bore the brunt of the uncivilised murder, bloodshed and destruction which took place in South Africa prior to the imposition of the State of Emergency."

Chief Buthelezi said whites need to know that, if anything can save the country, it is democracy. "It is so tragic that there is too much fear to place open reliance on the principles of democracy. Detention without trial is totally destructive for a climate of negotiation". — Political Staff, Correspondents, Sapa.

# Indian congress dilemma over DP

By GEORGE MAHABEER

FORCES within the Natal Indian Congress want to back the Democratic Party in the forthcoming election but the move has led to a major dilemma in NIC ranks. (304A)

The issue surfaced this week when the Sunday Times came into possession of a circular sent to NIC branches seeking their views on contact with the DP.

The document says that if the NIC forms a coalition with the DP, then it will be able to ensure that the DP is "useful" in moving whites away from apartheid.

But what appears to be a serious dilemma for the NIC is whether they can persuade the DP not to field candidates in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives. (304A)

The central problem for the NIC is the DP's willingness to participate in the Indian and coloured Houses — something which would make it very difficult for the congress to build a coalition with the DP.

Mr Paul David, an executive member of the NIC who admitted he was one of the authors of the circular, said the NIC "will campaign against the DP if they field candidates in the Indian and coloured houses".

Mr Pat Poovalingam, DP MP (Reservoir Hills), said the DP had already decided to participate in the tri-cameral elections.

S Times

11/6/89

# New SA may need a new anthem — NGK

By TERRY VAN DER WAL  
and NORMAN WEST

ONE of the country's biggest Afrikaans churches has defended the Anglican Church's decision to shun the official national anthem because it is not accepted by the majority of people in South Africa.

The Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk also believes a national anthem acceptable to all people in the country should be part of a new SA.

Dr Pierre Rossouw, director of ecumenical affairs and information for the NGK, said it was not up to one church to prescribe what national symbols to uphold.

"In my view, all communities will have to thrash out a new dispensation for the country and that would include national symbols, flag, coat of arms and anthem.

"It is absolutely necessary that these issues be addressed because we need consensus of all the people of this country," he said.

The Anglican synod called on members of the church and its associated institutions to use Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika at major festivals instead of Die Stem, which was "unsuitable and unacceptable".

The motion said Die Stem did not

place God above all; on the contrary, it encouraged people to place their country before God, and in this way idolised the State.

Father Vic Spencer, representing Kimberley and Kuruman, said Die Stem broke both the first and second Commandments. (304A)

"Everyone who sings it should be in church on his knees asking for forgiveness," he said.

The Rev Courtney Sampson, who introduced the motion, said the anthem only served to "entrench nationalist domination".

The words of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, on the other hand, were accepted by the South African majority.

Meanwhile, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, yesterday said he supported the call for a new national anthem for South Africa — but added that with it should also come a new flag.

He said the South African flag had become "unacceptable" to the majority of blacks in South Africa in that it had become "a symbol of division rather than of unification".

"A national flag should be a symbol that bonds together all citizens in a country," he said.

51 Times 11/6/79

# CARTE BLANCHE



By David  
Carte,  
BUSINESS  
TIMES  
Editor

ST Times 11/6/89  
304A

**A**t a lunch this week, I noticed that some eminent tablemates found it hard to contain their glee over "threatened civil war" in China and riots in Russia.

I suppose this reaction from South Africans, who themselves have experienced riots and the threat of revolution in the past decade, is understandable — however tragic events in China and Russia have been in human terms.

Some may have felt good merely knowing that we are not the only ones finding reform exceedingly difficult. They might have hoped that there was a lesson in these experiences for a world expecting too much change too quickly.

Some were gleeful because they thought turmoil in these countries was evidence that communism was dying.

Others took comfort from communist discomfort on the not-unreasonable ground that if the Reds were in turmoil, political and economic pressure on SA would be reduced.

Some worried that peace between the super-powers would lead ultimately to an imposed "democratic solution" of the SA question, much like the one being "foisted" on Namibia.

Events in China and in Russia would cause the West to take a much more cautious approach to apparent cordiality from behind the bamboo and iron curtains.

But the main reason for suppressed happiness was the possibility that trouble in the Far East would lift the gold price.

Gold bugs were banking on frightened investors in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, not to mention mainland China itself, converting their money hoards into gold before rushing for their sampans.

**T**o me, SA exultation about Chinese and Russian distress is misplaced. First, events in China are not doing much for gold. The gold price shot up \$11 in an hour on Tuesday, but did not follow through. Interestingly, the surge in demand came from the US, not from the Far East.

Money in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore has not flowed into gold. It has merely flowed out of banks exposed to the Chinese mainland into other banks — and into dollars.

So refugee demand for gold has not materialised. As much as JSE gold-share buyers may not wish to face it, this week's 3% rise in the gold price was probably a flash in the pan. It has been years since the gold price reacted for more than a week or two to political upheaval.

It is also possible that the world press is overstating the position in China in talking about civil war and counter-revolution — as it did about SA four or five years ago.

If anyone should be conscious that foreign views of a situation and reality can vary vastly, it should be us. It seems likely that China will put down its "counter-revolution" more brutally than SA did, and then go about reform of its discredited system slowly and reluctantly, just as some of us are.

A ghastly alternative would be a reactionary retreat to the Maoism that it ap-

## Naught for our comfort

peared to be dumping. Communism probably is in its death throes, but this could be violent and ever so nasty for all of us.

The best outcome in Russia and in China for the whole world, including ourselves, is a peaceful one and a gradual move to a more democratic and capitalistic society. In that scenario, a fifth of the world would move gradually from Second World to First World living standards.

That would imply much more of a bonanza for us than a short-lived gold boom. As reliable suppliers of all sorts of commodities that, unlike gold, have value in use, we would prosper more in a stable, steady growth world than one in which paranoia becomes the order of the day again.

We should remember that a high gold price may be a short-term aid. But normally it breeds a high rand. That undermines non-gold exports. A high gold price breeds an awful complacency in the private and public sectors.

The SA economy did better in the 1960s with the gold price stuck on \$35 an ounce than it did in the 1970s when gold leapt at one stage to \$850.

In the past, a high gold price has tended to make us arrogant.

The low gold price, together with financial and other sanctions, has induced SA to make some political and economic reforms. The most important economic reform of late has been a new emphasis on diversifying exports and adding value to them.

A strong gold price for even a year seems bound to result in yet another government and private-sector consumption boom followed by yet another deep recession.

In the unlikely event of another gold boom, here's hoping we neutralise the proceeds and prevent them from pushing up the rand and triggering a consumer boom.

Priority one is to repay foreign debt. If the bonanza is so great that there are dollars left, mining houses should be permitted to keep them abroad, while export diversification goes ahead under a reasonably valued rand — and political reform is hastened.

That would be more intelligent than to boom on and enjoy the travails of our bitterest adversaries.

# Make or break for FW when he meets Maggie

By DRIES van HEERDEN

THE President-to-be, Mr F W de Klerk, will set off this month on a make-or-break overseas trip that could mean the difference between even greater isolation for South Africa — or cautious acceptance back into the international community.

It will be the first opportunity for Western leaders — including Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher and, possibly, President George Bush — to take a personal look at the man who is likely to lead SA after September 6.

Top foreign sources say if Mr De Klerk fails to convince them that he has bold plans for reform, SA can expect intensified pressure from the West.

"SA has one last chance to clean up its act. If it fails, even moderate governments will abandon it," an authoritative London source said yesterday.

"Western leaders will give Mr De Klerk time to settle into his new job, but want action rather than words."

## Fixed (304A)

The visit to Mrs Thatcher is fixed and will take place towards the end of this month.

The Bush administration has not yet extended an invitation and may leave it to Mrs Thatcher to convey the views of Western governments.

However, Mr Bush has indicated that his door is open to all parties in the SA conflict, and he may take advantage of Mr De Klerk's present in-between status — NP leader, but not yet president — to invite him to the White House.

He has already had talks with Archbishop Tutu and is expected to meet ANC leader Oliver Tambo soon.

British and American officials were consulting in Washington this week, and Western governments will ask Mr De Klerk for assurances on three main points — that

- The state of emergency, and especially detentions without trial, will be ended soon;

- He has viable plans to end apartheid and begin the process of negotiating with acknowledged black leaders on a new constitution for representative government;

- Mr Nelson Mandela will be released unconditionally to take part in the political process.

According to Whitehall sources Mr De Klerk's visit will be largely exploratory since it will be his first real exposure to foreign affairs.

"The SA Government should know by now what we think, and we'll again state our views on the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and the importance of negotiating a political solution for South Africa," a Whitehall source said this week.

"For us, Mr De Klerk is a relatively unknown quantity, so we'd be very interested to hear his views on these matters."

Mr De Klerk this week emphatically denied reports that he had made a secret deal with the British to release Mr Mandela after the September 6 election.

The British Ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick, arrived in London this week to brief Mrs Thatcher.

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5/Thurs 11/6/89

# Make or break for FW when he meets Maggie

By DRIES van HEERDEN

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"SA has one last chance to clean up its act. If it fails, even moderate governments will abandon it," an authoritative London source said yesterday.

Western leaders will give Mr De Klerk time to settle into his new job, but want action rather than words.

## Fixed (3048)

The visit to Mrs Thatcher is fixed and will take place towards the end of this month.

The Bush administration has not yet extended an invitation and may leave it to Mrs Thatcher to convey the views of Western governments.

However, Mr Bush has indicated that his door is open to all parties in the SA conflict, and he may take advantage of Mr De Klerk's present in-between status — NP leader, but not yet president — to invite him to the White House.

He has already had talks with Archbishop Tutu and is expected to meet ANC leader Oliver Tambo soon.

British and American officials were consulting in Washington this week, and Western governments will ask Mr De Klerk for assurances on three main points — that:

- The state of emergency, and especially detentions without trial, will be ended soon;
- He has viable plans to end apartheid and begin the process of negotiating with acknowledged black leaders on a new constitution for representative government;
- Mr Nelson Mandela will be released unconditionally to take part in the political process.

According to Whitehall sources Mr De Klerk's visit will be largely exploratory since it will be his first real exposure to foreign affairs.

"The SA Government should know by now what we think, and we'll again state our views on the release of political prisoners, the lifting of the state of emergency and the importance of negotiating a political solution for South Africa," a Whitehall source said this week.

"For us, Mr De Klerk is a relatively unknown quantity, so we'd be very interested to hear his views on these matters."

Mr De Klerk this week emphatically denied reports that he had made a secret deal with the British to release Mr Mandela after the September 6 election.

The British Ambassador, Sir Robin Renwick, arrived in London this week to brief Mrs Thatcher.

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IT'S a pity that most of the common sense — or what passes for it here — that is ever uttered in Washington about South Africa has to come from Republicans.

It is a pity not simply because Republicans are a minority in Congress, but because they have a talent for proving that they deserve to be.

At the start of last week, the Grand Old Party had the great ethics war of 1989 pretty much in the bag. The Democratic leader, former House Speaker James Wright, had been picked off.

His ablest lieutenant, majority whip Tony Coelho, had fallen on his sword rather than face further inquiry into his financial affairs.

This left the Republicans in a position, if not to dictate terms, at least to demand a little respect in return for calling off the dogs.

Be nice to our president and his agenda, they could have said, and we will stop trying to pry off the door to your skeleton closet.

But would they do this? No! Instead, some clown in the Republican National Committee had the wheeze of trying to insinuate that the new Speaker, Congressman Tom Foley, was not the affable, get-along sort of politician he looked, but a homosexual with rabidly liberal tendencies.

In a flash, the Democrats were headed back to the high ground.

For those who have been long out of power, senseless immoderation all too often becomes a virtue in and of itself.

More practical goals, like how to win a bit of the power back or even the forging of a useful compromise, become secondary. The fight is all.

On the small but vexed issue of southern Africa, for example, the Republicans had a chance last week to do something really quite worthwhile: The cutting of a deal that might have enabled President Bush to lift the sanctions now quixotically imposed on Namibia by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

☆☆☆☆

Such a deal is desirable for several reasons.

First, the continued application of sanctions to Namibia is of more than passing idiocy: Who are the sanctions supposed to be persuading to do what now that Resolution 435 is being implemented?

There being no plausible answer to that question then:

Second, upon what theory is it necessary to seal apart two countries, one destined to be poor and desperate for foreign investment, the other rich and anxious to invest?

Third, even a few Democrats are beginning to see the wisdom of giving back to the president some of his prerogatives to make policy on South and southern Africa. How better to break the ice and test the water than by freeing his hand in Namibia?

But for Senator Jesse Helms and his rump of Republican warriors, it could have been arranged as an amendment to the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Bill the



## Simon Barber A lesson in purist folly

STimes 11/6/89

### Washington Diary

Senate finished working on this week.

Indeed, Senator Helms himself had drafted the language to make it happen. Trouble was, he didn't introduce it.

He didn't introduce it because he had pushed himself so far up the nose of his fellow senators that, by the time he got round to it, he knew it would fail.

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The compromise might have worked like this: Helms and Co would have traded their insistence on attaching a series of conditions to the funding of Untag for the lifting of sanctions.

To sweeten the package, they could have also dropped their attempt to kill a thoroughly meaningless section of the Bill purporting to bar the federal government from penalising states and cities that deny contracts, in violation of federal rules, to companies that do business with South Africa.

The penalties have scarcely, if ever, been applied. And the effort to keep them in force failed.

The bottom line is that for virtually contentless concessions, Senator Helms could have restored some authority to his president, allowed his country to play a far more positive role in abetting genuine democracy in Namibia, and set an important precedent for the undoing of sanctions against South Africa, a cause he vehemently espouses. But no, he had to play the purist.

Politics — as people like Helms refuse to learn, while South Africans pray that he eventually will — is about identifying what matters and then crafting the necessary deal to achieve it.



Andries Treurnicht with Clive Derby-Lewis, right, at Jan Smuts yesterday

## Dr No dodges AWB poll issue

Sunday Times Reporters 3048

A JET-LAGGED Dr Andries Treurnicht has ducked the ultimatum by Eugene Terre Blanche, leader of the AWB, to accept him as a Conservative Party candidate — or fight him at the polls.

The CP leader, returning from a private trip to Britain and continental Europe where he held talks with unnamed people, refused to be drawn at a Press conference yesterday about the decision by Mr Terre Blanche to stand in the Rustenburg constituency.

Dr Treurnicht would only say: "I have received no such challenge or demand myself. As far as the CP is concerned, our organisation is in gear."

"The matter is still to be discussed if, indeed, there is to be any discussion."

He dismissed previous reports of a right-wing pact as "suggestions and Press speculation".

# POLL

# Countdown begins

ST Times 11/6/89

By DRIES van HEERDEN

**THE great election juggernaut starts rolling this week as all four parties contesting seats in the House of Assembly select their candidates.**

A record number of more than 400 candidates are expected to contest the 166 vacant seats and one of the biggest turn-overs in the history of Parliament is expected among MPs.

## Aspirants

Already 26 out of 132 National Party members now in Parliament have either resigned or indicated that they will retire on election day, September 6.

A further 45 seats may change hands in closely contested races.

The NP has already nominated most of its candidates, with a few still to be named.

Most sitting MPs seeking re-election have been nominated, the only exception so far being Mr Louw Retief, who is opposed by two aspirants in Graaff Reinet.

In the Cape, a number of seasoned politicians have been nominated to succeed retiring MPs — former deputy Minister Ron Miller in

## Record

3048

## 400 will

## fight it

## out for

## 166 seats

Gardens, President's Councillor Francois Jacobsz in Helderberg, nominated MP Esme Chait in Green Point and the recently appointed Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Gene Louw, in Paarl.

## Elaborate

In the Transvaal, former Deputy Minister Louis Nel will try to win Carletonville from the Conservative Party, diplomat Glenn Babb will take on the Democratic Party's Wynand Malan in Randburg and nominated MPs Sampie Golden and Boy Geldenhuys stand in Wonderboom and Brentwood respectively.

The party with the most elaborate nomination machinery is the DP.

Nominations closed this week, but final decisions may take another fortnight.

Aspirant MPs are required to state their views before a candidates' committee before a vote is taken to choose the party's standard-bearer.

Prospective candidates include former NP senator, Kobus Jordaan in Umlanga, former Cape Nat MEC, Theuns Schlebusch in Queenstown, ex-chief of the Air Force, General Bob Rogers in Humansdorp, DP leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Tony Leon, in Houghton and well-known Johannesburg businessman, Louis de Waal, in North Rand.

## Candidates

DP co-leaders Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall are expected to represent the party in Parktown and Berea.

The chief secretary of the CP, Andries Beyers, said his party had already announced the names of 115 candidates. Another 15 would be announced within 10 days.

No sitting CP MPs have announced their retirement.

The HNP has so far announced only the candidacy of its leader, Mr Jaap Marais, who will challenge CP leader Andries Treurnicht in Waterberg.

# Nats, Yuppies and lessons of Linden

S/Times 11/6/89

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THE whimsical strains of Gaudeamus Igitur were piped through the telephone system at National Party headquarters in Pretoria on Thursday.

Urging the young to enjoy life before the ravages of old age set in, the song was in no small measure indicative of a party creaking at the seams after 40 years in power and being eroded on all sides by its political foes.

Linden, with more than its share of yuppies, showed on Wednesday just how vulnerable the NP is when exposed to a concerted campaign focused mainly on economic issues.

But before the champagne corks are popped and the party hats donned, a word of caution: Linden is not Johannesburg, and the Golden City is not SA.

It is early days yet in the election campaign and the NP's renowned machinery hasn't started to grind.

## Dries van Heerden

*assesses general election prospects in the wake of this week's municipal by-election in Johannesburg*



Waiting in the wings, champing at the bit to be released against Democrats, Conservatives and other enemies of the Party is a formidable array of propaganda devices ... newspapers which lose all pretence of objectivity once the whip is cracked, and a TV service which lost it 13 years ago.

The lion may be gap-toothed, but there is still a lot of roar and some bite left in him.

Nevertheless, a swing of 20 percent towards the DP

in Linden — considered by the NP to be one of its safest seats in Johannesburg — is not to be sneezed at.

In simple statistical terms it immediately brings a number of present NP seats within reach of the liberal opposition.

Edenvale, Simonstown, Helderberg and Hillbrow all need a less than 2 percent swing away from the NP to fall. Walmer, Wynberg, Umbilo and Umhlanga are within 5 percent reach.

Longer shots are North Rand, Albany, Amanzimtoti, Durban Point and the two Maritzburg seats. Improbable? Yes, but stranger things have happened in Johannesburg this week.

## Remote

Bezuidenhout, Benoni, King William's Town and even Waterkloof may become marginal seats after September 6.

On the right, the CP may make significant inroads into the last remaining pockets of NP support on the platteland and the blue-collar constituencies. But the prospect of the NP losing its outright majority is fairly remote.

Linden emphasised a number of factors which

will play a vital role in the run-up to the September 6 election:

- The Government is at its most vulnerable on economic issues. It has difficulty countering claims of mismanagement and general incompetence.

- DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer has already indicated his party's line of attack will focus on three crucial areas: economics, economics and economics.

- The Yuppies have registered their protest against Government policy. Soon to follow will be the Otnaps (Over-taxed Middle-aged Professionals) and the Rimcies (Rapidly-improving Middle Class).

- The hold that the NP had on the Afrikaner vote is rapidly loosening. The 1986 election saw a majority of Transvaal Afrikaners voting against the party, and it is relying even more this time round on the English and minority group vote;

- The DP has the ability to capture disenchanted Nationalists, especially in higher-income constituencies.

Thus far it has held highly successful meetings in places like Pretoria and Bloemfontein, but the acid test will be its showing in Waterkloof, Pretoria East, Rissik, Johannesburg West and North Rand on September 6;

- The Linden victory will give the DP a much-needed boost in the business community and media establishments which have been, up to now, fairly sceptical of the growth potential of the fledgling party;

- Inside the party it will

bolster the case of those who argue for the DP to put up candidates on as wide a front as possible. One problem may be that the DP will overstretch its resources; but on the credit side would be the establishment of viable local structures across the country;

- The sagacity of completely transforming the party into a new entity with a new image and new faces rather than a revamped PFP has been proved.

In Linden the party projected itself as strong on law and order, competent on economics and committed to draw South Africans representing both the system and the struggle into negotiations on the country's future;

## Bugaboo

- The main thrust of the NP's campaign to the left will most probably be two-pronged: paint them as being soft on security and urging the electorate to vote NP to keep the CP out.

Whether this bugaboo tactic is going to scare enough voters into the NP kraal to hold on to the marginal seats is yet to be seen, but the DP should devise a strategy to counter these attacks.

The DP could hardly have asked for a better launching platform for its election campaign. The question to be resolved is whether it has the stamina and the staying power to sustain its surge towards September 6.

It's true, the swallow of Linden does not a summer make ... but it is still far better than two in the bush.

## Dr No will not reveal 'weighty' contacts

By ALAN DUNN  
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, returned from a much-pilloried, 10-day European tour, asserting that the Conservative Party had successfully put its case.

Refusing to name anyone he saw in London, Paris and Zurich, he said he had held Press conferences and met politicians, industrialists and leading bankers, businessmen he described as "weighty people".

Dr Treurnicht cited South Africa's interests, and those of the people he saw, in not identifying them at a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his return on Saturday.

The CP leader was welcomed home by an enthusiastic crowd of about 300 flag-waving CP supporters, including a handful of Conservative MPs, who greeted him with "Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika", a hymn, and "He's a Jolly Good Fellow" ("Hy's 'n Gawe Kerel").

### POLITICAL GAMBIT

Dr Treurnicht's European visit was widely seen as a political gambit to match National Party leader F W de Klerk's imminent visit to London to see British Premier Margaret Thatcher.

CP members were also hoping his venture abroad would serve to counter charges that South Africa would be hopelessly isolated globally if the party came to power.

Newspaper reporters watching his movements there portrayed the visit as a political dodge, pooh-poohing the stature of people he saw or was associated with.

Those he had met were interested in doing business with South Africa, Dr Treurnicht said, and the bankers were prepared to leave South Africa's constitutional development to South Africa.

# DP nomination infighting turning nasty

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12/6/89  
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By **BRUCE CAMERON**  
Political Staff

THE scrap for seats among the fledgling Democratic Party members is turning nasty with bitter nomination contests being fought around the country.

Former PFP members were claiming today that attempts were being made by the defunct National Democratic Movement and particularly the

former Independent Party members to "de-prog" the DP.

Almost against tradition a large proportion of the sitting MPs are being opposed, with opponents often being brought in from other towns and often from other provinces.

The divisions however are not entirely on party lines, and former PFP members are challenging other PFP members.

The bitterest fight, in the safe Berea constituency where Dr Denis Worrall has moved from the Cape to seek nomination, should be resolved this week.



Dr Worrall



Dr Lategan

## "Blackmail"

According to party sources it will be close run with members becoming increasingly angry at the Worrall camp tactics.

Members were claiming today that

the nomination committee was virtually being "blackmailed" into supporting Dr Worrall.

Sources said today the nomination committee members were being told that if they did not support Dr Worrall against former PFP constituency chairman Mr Damon Clark it would place the party in a bad position for the elections.

Dr Worrall has been told privately by DP members in Durban and publicly by retiring Berea MP Mr Ray Swart that he should go to another seat such as Umbilo.

Progressive Federal Party members are asking why their new partners are so keen to take their seats.

Former PFP members are grumbling in particular about the Independent Party whose leader, Dr Denis Worrall, has made claims of being able to win National Party seats and yet is not prepared to contest an NP-held seat.

Dr Worrall was not available for comment today but was understood to be on his way to Durban in an attempt to secure the Berea seat.

## Gardens

The other seat which is receiving widespread attention is Gardens in Cape Town where Dr Esther Lategan, former NDM member, is opposing sitting MP Mr Ken Andrew.

Other important tussles are taking place in Simon's Town where Stellenbosch man Mr Jannie Momberg has bought a flat to establish himself as a candidate and in Durban Central where former Durban mayor with IP links, Mr Henry Klotz, wants to oust Mr Peter Gastrow.

Other toughly contested seats are Umhlanga, Umbilo, Durban Point, Greytown and the two Maritzburg seats in Natal, Claremont, Groote Schuur and Port Elizabeth, and Hillbrow, North Rand, Edenvale, Bryanston and Houghton.

## Groups warn against SA's 'cultivated black leadership'

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The policy of foreign governments should be aimed at making it possible "for the true engine of change in South Africa, the mass democratic movement, to continue burrowing at apartheid until it finally crumbles", a recent study concludes.

The report, entitled "Human Rights and Repression in South Africa: The Apartheid Machine Grinds", is published by the Human Rights Commission, the South African Council of Churches and the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference.

Assessing the cumulative effect of repression after three continuous years of emergency rule, the report sounds a pointed warning to the international community against according Pretoria recognition for "talking to the black 'leadership' that it has cultivated under the shield of repression".

The report states: "The mass democratic movement in South Africa, on retreat as it is from state repression, is not prepared to grant the South African Government the space in which it can achieve this objective."

The report concludes that the Government's "overkill with repression and the indications it is

# Change lies in 'democratic opposition'

giving that it cannot live without the state of emergency is indicative of a political paralysis that has gripped it".

The Government has retreated from reform and has no clear vision of how South Africa can be transformed, the study argues.

The magnitude of state repression is suggested by various statistics contained in the report, which states that:

- More than 50 000 people were detained without trial in the last four years, of whom more than a quarter were children and young people and 10 percent women.

- In the last 18 months, 32 anti-apartheid organisations, including the United Democratic Front, were banned under emergency measures from engaging

in any activity whatsoever and the Congress of South African Trade Unions was prohibited from pursuing "political" activities.

- Almost 1 000 people were subjected to emergency restriction orders curtailing their freedom of movement, ability to engage in political activity and even to work or study.

- In the year ending June 1988, 51 political trials involving 165 accused were completed, with 80 convictions and 85 acquittals. A further 58 trials were in progress, involving 258 accused.

- Early this year, about 290 people were on Pretoria's death row, about 80 of them sentenced for "political acts".

The report details the counter-revolutionary strategies of the National Management Sys-

tem — a system which has no constitutional status but which has "effectively appropriated many executive and decision-making powers for itself".

It outlines the functions of the 500-odd Joint Management Centres (JMCs) which co-ordinate the two-pronged security/welfare strategy of "eliminating" activists and "winning hearts and minds" of the masses.

Assessing the impact of the JMCs, the report argues that an increasingly isolated South Africa does not have an economy able to meet the demands of such a welfare-linked strategy.

The much publicised upgrade schemes have had an impact in no more than three or four townships, it contends, adding: "Even if the state and the economy were able to meet the demands which have accumulated over the last 40 years, there is no evidence that a more materially comfortable population will forget that it lacks political representation."

"This is made all the more true by the fact that no one understands where government policy is going to. It is very difficult to 'win hearts and minds' for the incomprehensible and exclusive constitution which the National Party imposed in 1984 or for the unknown schemes of the future."

# Blacks target, DP

*Sowetan*  
THE Democratic Party could become part of a broad alliance with extra-parliamentary organisations, including the United Democratic Front, in an attempt to form a national coalition against the Government.

The development, which would change the face of opposition politics in the country, emerged this week following the release of a working paper being discussed by what is being called "the mass democratic movement" and the Natal Indian Congress.

The main aims of the

12/6/89  
alliance would be to strengthen white opposition, and to discredit the House of Delegates and House of Representatives from within the system.

"What is critical . . . is that they (the DP) must be drawn positively into the struggle for freedom with the mass democratic movement," says the "workshop circular", advising branches discussing the issue in the run-up to the election.

DP co-leader Wynand Malan said at the weekend that talks had been held with "democratic

304A  
movement" leaders over a period.

"I need to make it clear we have established a relationship of mutual trust based on our separate positions moving closer together.

"We reject the tricameral constitution but we don't reject participating ourselves. We don't reject the idea of boycott and that is the mass democratic movement's right. But if they still campaign in a way that leads to violence and disruption they will be jointly responsible for the consequences," he said.

# Some support Strydom others just empathise

There is a group of white South Africans who would give unqualified support to convicted Pretoria mass killer Barend Hendrik Strydom.

This is the view of Pretoria sociologist Professor Janice Grobbelaar, who has been researching right-wing politics for three years.

She estimated there would be a few hundred outright supporters of Strydom. They were likely to be found on the fringes of the far right — where there were even churches who contended blacks could not go to heaven.

There was a far bigger group who would not support Strydom's killing spree on November 15 1988, but who would empathise with what had driven him to that point.

It is however, impossible to quantify the support as no reliable membership figures exist, even for the most accessible of these groups: the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Professor Grobbelaar said she believed the killings — Strydom smiled as he shot his victims at point-blank range — would be regarded as barbaric and be unacceptable to most middle-class Afrikaners, including the bulk of the right wing.

But on the far right, while there was a general abhorrence for the deed, there was an understanding as to why it had been carried out. Many people in this category would be unlikely to hold Strydom solely responsible for his actions — instead they would blame the State for threatening the Afrikaner people so fundamentally, she said.

This support will be assessed more accurately once the Boerestaat Party submits its petition for Strydom's reprieve.

Leader Mr Robert van Tonder this week said between 1 000 and 2 000 petitions with room for 50 names were in circulation and there was a demand for more.

The petition was launched a week ago on the grounds that the Government had created "desperate conditions in which boere find themselves" and that it was not Strydom who should have stood in the dock but "the State President and his whole Cabinet".

AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche echoed these views when he labelled Strydom as "an unfortunate man" who had "acted entirely of his own volition ... but I can understand the immense frustration someone like him feels

Eight times killer Barend Hendrik Strydom received open support during his murder trial in Pretoria last month. Now a petition has been launched to secure his reprieve. **DAWN BARKHUIZEN** reports on the extent of his support.

when his security and all he holds dear are threatened".

Professor Grobbelaar said: "The National Party promises of reform together with the resurgence of black liberation politics has pressured white Afrikaners as never before."

She said groups on the right believed their God-given task of preserving the volk was being threatened and that the survival of the white Afrikaner people was at stake. They believed Afrikanerdom would not survive a majority government.

## Loss of control

"Fifty percent of Afrikaners in the Transvaal perceive the tricameral parliament as being an instrument of reform. Although people do not believe that the NP want to hand over to black people, they believe NP policy will result in a loss of white control and privilege," she said.

As South Africa was seen as moving towards a non-racial society, the chances of extreme action similar to that of Strydom became greater. There was also a growing number of people who believed some form of radical partition was the only real solution.

During his trial Strydom told the court he had helped the AWB, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the CP during the 1983 referendum. "I felt at this time that the moment had come that a young man such as myself, a young man with dreams of a future, could not see a future," he said.

"Strydom's actions can be viewed as the extreme, ultimate and logical consequence of Afrikaner nationalism as it has developed throughout the 20th century via its socio-political instrument, apartheid. His actions seem to be largely bound up with the exclusive preservation of the volk and not the result of personal striving," the professor said.

# SETTING SOUTH AFRICA FREE . . .

**L**ET'S hope we have free enterprise after apartheid, because we sure haven't had it during apartheid.

Indeed, apartheid has been nothing but a series of anti-capitalist laws: masters and servants acts, hut taxes, job reservation, pass laws, district labour control boards, land ownership restrictions, crackdowns on private education and so on.

Today the National Party Government says it's fighting to preserve free enterprise. But you can't preserve something you don't have.

In fact, it's not clear what a socialist government would do different from Pretoria. Consider what's already in place that a new group of socialist dictators could take over:

- Press censorship.
- Detention without trial.
- Exchange control.
- Import controls and surcharges.
- Export subsidies.
- Subsidies to the gold mines.
- Hire purchase rules.
- Bus and bread subsidies.
- Liquor laws.
- Agricultural boards, price controls, rural land restrictions and government-run abattoirs.
- Nationalised roads, harbours, trains, airline, electricity, iron and steel, hospitals, schools, houses, telephones, postal service, TV and radio.
- Boards to restrict trade and subsidise industrial development, small businesses and rural development.
- Minimum wages.
- Zoning laws.
- Licensing laws.
- Steeply progressive personal income tax.
- High GST and petrol levies.
- A compliant Reserve Bank and government ministries to control or subsidise economic affairs, mineral affairs, trade, industry, technology, education, health, labour, public works, water and transportation.

• This combination of bureaucracy, red tape and high taxes is sabotaging the economy and curbing personal freedom.

Indeed, it's the lack of capitalism, the lack of free enterprise, that has led South Africa into this mess.

Yet Pretoria continues to undermine the economy.

In fact, it has now raised sabotaging the economy to the level of official policy.

Concerned the economy is growing too fast — something it's not used to — the

## 'Take racism out of people's lives'

Government raised GST to 13 percent, increased the petrol tax 9 cents, forced companies to lend it R750 million and imposed a 15 percent surcharge on imported capital goods.

Why the surcharge? The Finance Minister says it's a "signal" to businessmen to stop investing so much. This is official policy? To curb investment?

### Sanctions

I thought we were supposed to oppose sanctions — which I do 100 percent and unambiguously — because they hurt the economy and throw people out of work. But who needs sanctions, when we've got Pretoria?

I don't want to just attack Pretoria, since it's an easy target I also want to attack a particularly distasteful breed of academics and politicians: the social democrats.

In a nutshell, they support a mixed economy, or what I call a mixed-up economy. It's not clear how this economy could be any more mixed or mixed up — but it's not only their economic views that I question. What I really find distasteful is their view of blacks.

Both the Govern-

DON Caldwell, author of *South Africa: The New Revolution*, addressed 160 people at the opening of the Black Management Forum's Welkom branch earlier this month. This is excerpted from his speech, *Free Enterprise in a Post-Apartheid South Africa*.

ment and its so-called liberal white opponents agree blacks are a problem. There are 30 million blacks in South Africa, and they don't know what to do with them. The Government doesn't know whether it should round blacks up and force them into homelands, or bulldoze their shacks, or put them in jail.

The social democrats are concerned about how they'll find time in their busy schedules to look after blacks. Who will run the welfare programmes? Where will whites get the money from?

Neither can imagine blacks who have achieved in the face of repression, blacks committed to enterprise, getting ahead and education for their children. But, of course, these days they don't talk about "blacks." They talk about the Third World. This blatantly racist terminology translates to "kaffir."

If you hear them saying — this applies to both government officials and white liberals — that there's a problem with "South Africa's Third World," it means there's a problem with kaffirs.

If they say you can't build a First World economy on a Third World base, they mean you can't have a nice, white, rich economy when there are so many kaffirs around.

Listen carefully the

next time a university professor or Government Minister gives a speech on TV. Substitute "kaffir" for Third World and you'll know exactly where you stand with him. Those of us fighting for radical free enterprise and devolved democracy take a very different view of South Africa.

We don't see 30 million blacks as a mob to be controlled (as the Government does) or as 30 million welfare cases (as the liberals do). We see South Africa's 30 million blacks as 30 million entrepreneurs, consumers and workers — people to sell to, people who can go into business, and people who can transform South Africa into the world's most prosperous nation.

Imagine if we:

- Abolished Pretoria's

boards, commissions, ministries, controls, taxes and regulations.

- Through privatisation, transferred wealth from Pretoria's hands to the hands of the people.
- Privatised blacks by turning over to them all of the Government housing, land and schools that should never have been in the State's hands in the first place.
- Restored to blacks their full property rights and cut all the red tape.

We'd easily enjoy 12 percent annual growth. After two years, there would be R50 billion more wealth in the country. In a generation, the average South African would earn more than today's Americans and Swiss.

The way to transform the nation is to take today's racist, socialist government out of the economy and out of people's lives.

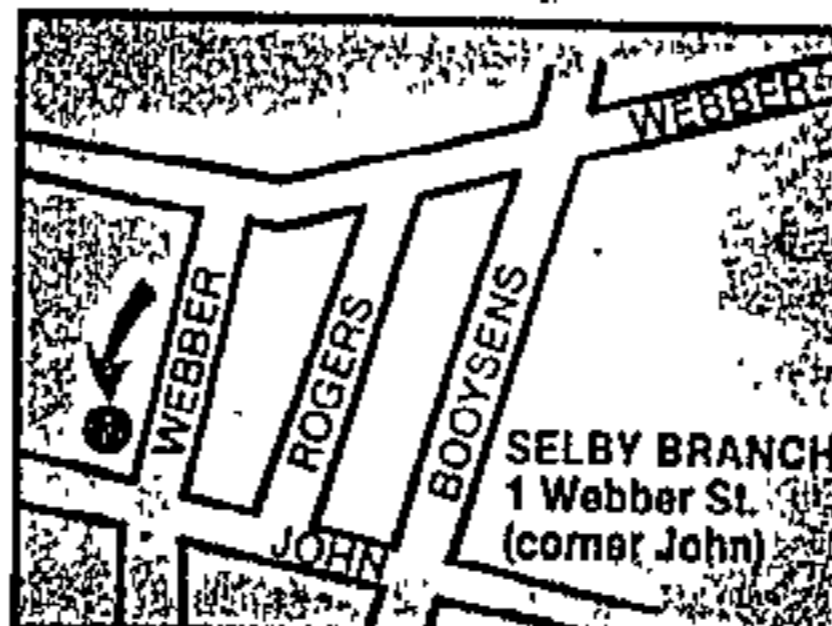
South Africa doesn't have too many blacks. It has too much government.

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Safe-T-Tyre has opened in Selby — with a price bonanza you simply can't miss. For new or retreaded tyres, balancing and alignment, come in to Safe-T-Tyre. Our service is fast and our fitment is safe — and we're ready and waiting for YOU!



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155 x 12	R72.99	175/70 x 13	R102.99
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★ Cape Times, Monday, June 12, 1989 7

## Dr T mum on right-wing election pact

JOHANNESBURG. — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht dodged questions about an election agreement between the CP, AWB and HNP at a press conference after his return from a visit to Britain, France and Switzerland.

Dr Treurnicht refused to comment on a question as to whether the CP, HNP and the AWB (through its registered political party, the Blanke Volkstaat-party) would enter into an election agreement and appeared unsettled by the questions.

He also refused to comment on reported threats by AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, that if the CP did not enter into an election pact, the AWB would "pull the tomato box" from under the CP. Mr Terre'Blanche is expected to announce on Thursday that he will stand for Parliament in the Rustenburg seat held by the CP if an agreement in principle between the parties is not reached.

The CP has already nominated Prof Willie Botha, an industrial economist, for the seat.

A crowd of about 300 people gathered to meet Dr Treurnicht at Jan Smuts Airport and sang songs including "For he's a Jolly Good Fellow".

Dr Treurnicht said his visit had been very successful although he would not name any of the people he had seen overseas. He said reports that he had been snubbed in some countries were "absolutely untrue". — Own Correspondent and Sapa

# Nomination tussles in DP 'healthy'

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The number of intense nomination tussles in the Democratic Party pointed to an extremely healthy situation and there was no question of former IP and NDM factions attempting to purge the party of PFP influences and candidates, co-leader Mr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

And Dr Esther Lategan, who is opposing sitting DP MP Mr Ken Andrew in the Gardens constituency, yesterday said attempts to link her nomination with a reported drive to purge the DP of "Prog" influences was "rubbish".

"I was approached by two vice-chairmen of the Gardens constituency committee to make myself available for the seat. The two vice-chairmen said they were acting with the majority support of the committee," she said.

But Mr Andrew yesterday said Dr Lategan was mistaken if she thought she had the majority support of the 14-

person constituency committee, which was elected on May 15.

"I can only believe her if she said she had been approached by the two vice-chairmen," he said.

Dr Lategan had "observed the courtesy" of informing him of her plans to stand in the seat, Mr Andrew said.

He said he was disappointed at being opposed, but was confident of clinching the nomination on Wednesday night when the electoral college, consisting mainly of constituency committee members, was scheduled to meet with the DP regional constituency committee to decide the nomination.

Dr Worrall said suggestions fierce nomination contest were threatening to divide the newly unified party were "ridiculous".

"The fact that we have lots of candidates of very good calibre is an extremely healthy situation," he said.

The NP had nominated three party organisers in safe seats in the Western Cape because they could not find quality candidates — he would be worried if the DP ended up in such a situation, Dr Worrall said.

## Nat MP to stand after council split

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Bezuidenhout NP MP Mr Sam Bloomberg's parliamentary nomination will be unopposed at the NP's nomination court tonight, Bezuidenhout divisional council chairman Mr Robert Rousseau said yesterday.

The contest for the nomination between Mr Bloomberg and campaign organiser Mr Alwyn Marx was cited as the main reason for the public split in the Johannesburg City Council's NP caucus last month.

Sources within the NP said that the assurance that Mr Bloomberg's nomination would be unopposed would also pacify Mr Howard Bloomberg, whose membership of the NP caucus had hinged on his father's nomination. Mr Bloomberg has refused to sign a document saying he would abide by NP caucus decisions until the Bezuidenhout nomination issue had been resolved.

## P W Botha farewell pending?

Political Staff

THE National Party evidently still hopes to be able to persuade President P W Botha to attend a farewell banquet in his honour before its federal congress in Pretoria later this month.

He was invited as guest of honour to the banquet so the party could thank him for his years of service to the party and the country.

Mr Botha declined to attend the last parliamentary caucus at which MPs had planned to make him a presentation because of an official function.

The party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night he was not prepared to react to reports that Mr Botha was baulking at attending and that the party was in turmoil because of it.

"I am not prepared to react to speculative reports," he said. "The programme for the congress is being finalised." He said further announcements will be made soon.

**D**EMANDS for redistribution of wealth confuse the political debate because the word "redistribution" means such different things to different people.

The Freedom Charter, which lays down the party line for the ANC and its allies, says "all the land" shall be re-divided among the people, implying a redistribution of wealth on a scale to satisfy Lenin (and, presumably, to be achieved by the methods of Stalin, since nothing less would suffice).

The Freedom Charter also says that the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and "monopoly industry" shall be transferred to the ownership of the people. It adds, for good measure, that "all other industries" shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people (It does contain one guarantee of private property, saying: "People shall not be robbed of their cattle").

All this has been the subject of long and heated exegesis, but Wits lecturer Raymond Suttner has said, in a T B Davie memorial lecture at UCT, that the Charter intends the nationalisation of businesses down to the level of barbershops.

**T**he ANC is not alone in envisaging a massive redistribution of property. UCT law professor Denis Davis has urged the Law Commission to exercise extreme caution about recommending a property protection clause for the commission's proposed bill of rights. He foresees a need for major policies of redistribution and welfare and fears that a property clause could limit a future government's ability to implement policies of redistribution of income.

At the other end of the spectrum, liberals argue that private property is necessary to liberty. When there is only one car manufacturer, the motorist is deprived of any choice of cars to buy — or, at best, he might be able to choose (as in the Soviet Union) between two models in one of two colours, black or white.

When the only newspaper owner is

# Seize the land, soak the rich, spare the cow

KEN OWEN

the state, the reader is deprived of a choice of information, and of the choice of a vehicle in which to express his own views. When the only shoe manufacturer is the state, and the only retailer also the state, everybody ends up waiting in line to buy shoddy products.

Therefore, in the liberal view, the case for private property extends beyond the normal (and often dubious) argument that it encourages effort and productivity. The important point is that private ownership is necessary to choice, and hence to freedom.

The people holding these contradictory sets of views are natural enemies, and it is unusual for both systems to exist in the same state. However, South Africa has until very recently had a system of private property for whites, who therefore live in suburbs and pay rates, and a system of state-controlled distribution for blacks, who therefore live in townships and pay rents (or conduct rent boycotts).

The question for the future is whether post-apartheid South Africa will extend to black people the property rights enjoyed by whites, or whether

it will turn whites into tenants of the state like blacks.

Most sensible people want to free blacks (which is another way of saying that they should also enjoy property rights and choices that are not determined for them by the state), rather than enslave whites (which is another way of saying that they should lose their property rights), but they worry that past discrimination has so skewed the distribution of wealth between the races that black people will be left at a permanent disadvantage.

Hence they talk of a "redistribution" to overcome past disadvantages. One compelling reason advanced for such a redistribution is the fear that black people, who are often deemed by whites not to be capable of understanding free markets, will reject any system that does not at the outset give them reasonable financial parity with whites.

**T**he idea, then, is to give them enough money to calm them down, so that we can all continue to live in

a condition of liberty and private property afterwards.

The difficulty is to know what this "redistribution" means. Among the people who call often for such redistribution of wealth is Johannesburg philanthropist and businessman Bob Tucker, who was challenged last week to spell out the aims and the costs of his proposals for redistribution.

His answer was surprising: subsidised hospitals and medical services, free transfer of the ownership of township houses to their tenants, and education. He rejected the confiscation of private assets to fund this redistribution, and described as simplistic and emotional any suggestion that marginal tax rates might have to rise to 70% or 80% to fund redistribution. In fact, he pointed out that present tax rates in South Africa, which rise to 45%, are already demoralising.

Frankly, I find it very difficult to discern any difference between these views and the present policy of the National Party. It is true that the state still charges small sums for the purchase of township houses, which has slowed down the formation of a

property-owning class with a hedge against inflation and assets to pass on to their children (or to mortgage, as the rest of us do, for their children's higher education).

(For this foolish delay I blame Louis Rive, who dismissed as madcap my suggestion a decade ago that all the houses in Soweto be given to their occupants free of charge — a proposal that might well have averted the Soweto horrors of 1985/86. It would have been the most sensible of all privatisations).

In fact, what Tucker is calling for is not "redistribution" of wealth by coercion, as the opponents of private property and the authors of the Freedom Charter envisage it; he is calling for welfare programmes to improve the condition of the poor, at least to the point where they will accept private property and abandon notions of a ferocious revolution.

**W**here he parts company with the free enterprise liberals is in believing that the state — the incompetent, bungling, blind, oppressive Stalinist or Verwoerdian state — can order the affairs of society in such a way that the outcome will be fairer to the poor.

The truth, for which there is now voluminous evidence in the modern world, is that the state welfare system benefits mainly its own beneficiaries. This is as true of Britain's National Health, where capital costs per patient have risen to consume ever larger proportions of revenue, as it is of Soviet grocery shops or township housing in South Africa.

To talk of state-run welfare as "redistribution" is profoundly misleading, on two levels.

At one level, it confuses well-meaning philanthropists with revolutionary socialists, and invites massive resistance to their suggestions. At the other, it raises false expectations that the state can, by seizing power and property from its citizens, create jobs, or build houses, or eliminate poverty. In fact, as we well know from our own bitter experience, it can do none of these things, not even by tyranny.

# Treurnicht shy about right-wing deal

RIAAN SMIT

CP LEADER Andries Treurnicht dodged questions about a right-wing election pact at a Press conference at Jan Smuts on Saturday, after his return from a private visit to Britain, France and Switzerland. Treurnicht refused to comment on a question whether the CP, HNP and the AWB (through its registered political party, the Blanke Volkstaatsparty) would enter into an election agreement. He appeared unsettled by the questions.

He also refused to comment on reported threats by AWB leader Eugene Terre-

Blanche that if the CP did not enter into an election pact, the AWB would "pull the tomato box (kissie)" from under the CP.

Terre'Blanche is expected to announce on Thursday that he will stand for Parliament in the Rustenburg seat held by the CP if an agreement in principle between the parties is not reached. The CP has already nominated Professor Willie Botha, an in-

☐ To Page 2

## Treurnicht

industrial economist, for the seat. Treurnicht said the three-man CP delegation was well received by bankers, businessmen and MPs in all three countries. Nobody was really interested in sanctions and wanted to trade with SA, he said. He declined to name individuals the delegation had talks with, saying it was in the interest of SA and the people involved. Asked what was achieved by the visit,

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☐ From Page 1

Treurnicht said it gave them the opportunity to convince people of the CP's sincerity and to convey "our policy, which is basically one of freedom and justice".

He was welcomed at the airport by about 300 supporters who waved CP flags and sang Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika.

The welcome was video-taped by two men in plainclothes who left the airport in an SAP vehicle marked "Riot Squad".

# CP loads scales with welcome-back move

EDYTH BULBRING

THE CP caucus in the Boksburg Town Council has re-admitted a dissident to enable it to pass a motion of no-confidence in its own executive for the second time in two months.

Stephanie Greyling, who defected to the HNP, has returned to enable the caucus to replace management committee (manco) chairman Gloria Bosch, a CP member who grabbed the position last month with NP support. That happened after the CP passed a no-confidence motion in its previous management committee.

The objective then was not to replace manco chairman Gideon Fourie, but to get

Greyling off the committee after she resigned from the CP to become an independent HNP-supporting councillor.

The CP then suspended Bosch from its caucus for pinching the top executive post. But this lost the CP the majority, which would have enabled it yet again to vote out its own management committee so it could put Fourie back in charge.

The CP announced yesterday that Greyling had been accepted back into the party caucus as "an independent right-wing conservative supporter".

(304A) This gives them an 11-9 majority to propose a no-confidence motion later this month. Against the CP now are six NP councillors, two independents and Bosch.

CP sources said Greyling was promised a position on manco once it had been re-constituted without Bosch, if she rejoined the CP caucus. They also said Fourie would be re-elected manco chairman.

Bosch was suspended from the CP on Friday. She said yesterday that although Greyling's return gave the CP enough votes to pass a no-confidence motion, "anything could happen between now and then".

Bday 12/6/87

# Marx quits job ahead of Bloomberg nomination

By Shirley Woodgate,  
Municipal Reporter

National Party campaign manager Mr Alwyn Marx, who masterminded the NP's spectacular municipal election victory in Johannesburg last October, has resigned the job ahead of tonight's Parliamentary nomination contest in Bez Valley.

His surprise move came amid claims and counterclaims by Mr Sam Bloomberg and Nat sources.

The resignation comes hard on the heels of his withdrawal as an NP candidate in Bez Valley, which means sitting MP Mr Bloomberg is likely to be re-nominated unopposed.

The move has sparked speculation that Mr Marx is convinced the Bloomberg family is holding the NP to ransom.

The suggestion is that Mr Bloomberg's son — Councillor Howard Bloomberg — would desert the NP in the Johannesburg City Council if Mr Sam Bloomberg was ousted in Bez Valley.

But Mr Sam Bloomberg said this morning that if Mr Marx had indeed withdrawn, it would mean democracy was the only winner.

"The fact that he has stood down

speaks for itself. I took it to the legal commission and won.

"The vendetta against me in the NP has been waged by three people, and I do not include Mr Pik Botha," said Mr Bloomberg.

Mr Marx today confirmed his verbal resignation as campaign organiser, but refused to elaborate.

He said only that he had withdrawn from the Bez Valley contest "in the best interests of the party".

But sources close to him say he is furious at his treatment by the NP, which had allegedly sacrificed a loyal and competent supporter in favour of a man "whose main claim to fame was that he is the first elected Jewish Nat MP".

Mr Bloomberg said he would comment on this claim at a later date.

It is believed the entire NP divisional council may resign tonight if Mr Bloomberg nomination goes forward unopposed.

Mr Sam Bloomberg responded by saying a parliamentary nomination "should not be the subject of horse trading at council level".

His added that his son would not vote for anyone in order for his father to be protected.

# CP put its case, says Dr No

Political Staff

3048

The leader of the Opposition, Dr Andries Treurnicht, returned at the weekend from a much-pilloried, 10-day European tour, asserting that the Conservative Party had successfully put its case.

Refusing to name anyone he saw in London, Paris and Zurich, he said he had held press conferences and met politicians, industrialists and leading bankers and businessmen he described as "weighty people".

Dr Treurnicht's European visit was widely seen as a political gambit to match National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk's imminent visit to London to see British Premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

CP members were also hoping his venture abroad would serve to counter charges that South Africa would be hopelessly isolated globally if the party came to power.

Those he had met were interested in doing business with South Africa, Dr Treurnicht said.

It became apparent from Dr Treurnicht's statements that he had drawn parallels between CP policy and the unification of Europe in 1992. He said he had encountered divergent views on the prospect, with some academics expressing worry at a loss in the sovereignty of countries involved.

He had stressed the diversity of people in South Africa who,

like Europeans, were wholly different from group to group.

While he had not tried to sell the idea of apartheid or separate development, the idea of self-determination in Europe was a very acceptable one.

Dr Treurnicht strenuously denied that any government had tried to restrict him — in terms of the visa issued him; he was not allowed to speak publicly in Paris, addressing a conference which could not be reported.

He said he, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, a nominated MP, and Mr Carl Werth, the CP's chairman for southern Natal and parliamentary candidate for Umbilo in the coming election, had been able to "convince people of our sincerity".

# Groups key to power-sharing — NP leader

ST/12/6/89

The Star Bureau

304A

LONDON — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk told a British journalist the NP's goal was "a totally new South Africa free of oppression and domination".

But Anthony Robinson of the *Financial Times*, who interviewed Mr de Klerk in his office in Cape Town, said the difficulty was that similar words were used by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and his acolytes in the 1960s when they embarked on "the ruthless experiment in social engineering called apartheid".

Mr de Klerk was quoted as saying: "We regard groups as building blocks for power-sharing and working together."

He added: "We in the National Party have committed ourselves to bringing all South Africans into the decision-making process at all levels of Government on a basis which will prevent group domination and avoid the typical consequences of majority rule."

Robinson, whose interview took up about half a page in today's paper, said that in the political vocabulary of the countries Mr de Klerk was about to visit democracy was what came to mind as a typical consequence of majority rule.

## DIVERSITY

But this was not what Mr de Klerk had in mind for South Africa. He quoted Mr de Klerk as saying: "Diversity manifests itself in a number of minority groups who have a need for protection."

Robinson said the minority Mr de Klerk was most concerned with was whites. But Mr de Klerk argued that other minorities also had a vital interest in ensuring that any future political system had built-in guarantees to prevent domination by the majority.

"If you create a situation where minorities feel secure, you will have created the atmosphere in which they are prepared to take the plunge with regard to power sharing," he told Robinson.

In the interview, Mr de Klerk quoted from the Government-appointed Law Commission report which called for the abolition of all apartheid laws and for a negotiated bill of rights.

"I have committed myself to such negotiations and also to expedite the process."

## DP seeks Govt <sup>30/11/87</sup> pledge on SABC

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has demanded an assurance from the Government that it is no longer interfering in the political news content of SABC television.

Mr Peter Soal, DP media spokesman, said this today after disclosure by the Sunday Star that prior to the 1987 general election President Botha wrote to then-Minister in charge of the SABC Mr Alwyn Schlebusch to suggest that panelists discussing the elections be changed.

He was also reported to have telephoned SABC news director Mr Sakkie Burger on election night to try to stop the programme, because of remarks by Mr Burger that the Conservative Party was "doing well".

Mr Soal said today the revelations were "breathtaking".

# Controversy as Nats re-nominate Sam Bloomberg

The Argus Correspondent

AKW 13/6/89

306A

JOHANNESBURG. — National Party discontent with its MP in Bezuidenhout, Mr Sam Bloomberg, did not prevent him from being unanimously re-nominated as the party's parliamentary candidate for the September 6 election.

When nominations closed at 9pm yesterday only Mr Bloomberg's name was put forward.

But party unity appears to be fragile, with "a substantial number" of NP officials in the constituency threatening to resign in protest against Mr Bloomberg's nomination. Many Nationalists are not happy with his performance in parliament.

NP sources expressed surprise at Mr Bloomberg's unanimous re-nomination, ascribing the absence of other candidates to instructions from the party's top hierarchy.

Mr Alwyn Marx, who earlier wanted to oppose Mr Bloomberg but withdrew from the protracted battle, declined to comment.

The NP in the Transvaal has announced its candidates in all but five opposition-held seats.

The candidates in Yeoville, Johannesburg North, Parktown, Sandton and Randfontein are expected to be announced later this week.

In two NP-held seats, where MPs have retired, Pretoria-West and Stilfontein, the names of candidates are also likely to be announced later this week.

In Natal the NP fired its first shots of the campaign today when it announced candidates in 19 of the province's 20 constituencies.

The party is to field 11 of its sitting MPs as well as two of its nominated MPs with its "new star" being Durban industrialist Mr Chris Collingwood.

Of the 19 candidates seven are English-speaking and five are former New Republic Party public representatives.

Natal NP leader Mr Stoffel Botha said today the party's Natal campaign would be officially launched by national leader Mr F W de Klerk at a public meeting on July 26.

Announcing his election team, Mr Botha said they represented an "excellent combination of youth and experience" without a single candidate having to be imported from outside the province.

He said this was in sharp contrast with the DP, which had made the "devastating admission that it has such a pathetic lack of talent in its ranks that it has made Natal a political dumping ground for desperate carpetbaggers and so-called glamour candidates."

# 90 held under Internal Security Act in May

## Small drop in detentions

By Jo-Anne Collinge

While emergency detentions have dropped dramatically over the last three months, there has been only a moderate decline in the number of persons held under permanent security laws.

Figures released by the Police Division of Public Relations in Pretoria indicated there were a total of 88 people detained in terms of the Internal Security Act as at the end of April and 90 at the end of May.

The figures for both these months represent a drop from the number held at the end of March: 111 persons.

Of the 88 held at the end of April, 78 were held incommunicado for purposes of interrogation under Section 29 of the Act and 10 were detained as prospective state witnesses under Section 31. At the end of May the figures were 72 held under Section 29 and 18 under Section 31.

Clearly the biggest drop in detentions oc-

curred during April after persistent reports that some security detainees were on hunger strike in support of the demand that they be charged or released.

While police were prepared to confirm hunger strikes by emergency detainees they refused to issue any information on those held under security laws. Information from lawyers indicates many of those released from security detention since the end of March have been charged.



Mrs Thatcher ... "seeking a formula".

## Mandela: search for compromise

CAPE TOWN — A report that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is working on a formula for the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela has stirred interest in Government circles.

According to a British newspaper, Mrs Thatcher is examining the idea of asking South Africa to ease its demand that he renounces violence, and rather accept his agreement to sup-

port a suspension of terrorist activity.

While a British official has denied the newspaper report, senior Government sources said that in April President Botha relaxed the absolute stipulation that Mandela renounce violence.

"Renunciation of violence is no longer an absolute prerequisite," a source said, but noted that it was more complex than that.

British intervention in the

Mandela issue might be useful, the source said, but it might also be counter-productive.

The newspaper report said Mrs Thatcher had been in touch with Mandela through Britain's Ambassador to South Africa, Sir Robin Renwick.

It said Mrs Thatcher's proposed compromise would be the centre of her talks later this month, possibly on June 23, with National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk.

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Dr Dennis Worrall

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

World leaders and black South African leaders remained adamant that the lifting, not the reimposition, of the state of emergency was a precondition for negotiation, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

In a scathing attack on the Government's renewal of the state of emergency, he said the National Party offered illusory security while further reducing international trading and investor confidence.

Leaders such as British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who was to meet NP leader Mr FW de Klerk soon, would criticise the reinstatement of the state of emergency. "Mr de Klerk might as well stay home and save taxpayers' money," Dr Worrall said at a Greytown, Natal meeting.

In Johannesburg, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night. South Africans' common desire for peace, freedom and justice provided the basis for unity.

"Neither the territorial segregation proposed by the Conservative Party nor the group segregation advocated

## Worrall hits out at NP for renewing state of emergency

by Mr de Klerk will ever gain the support of the people in South Africa in general.

"Either will prove a recipe for on-going conflict and ultimate disaster. That is why we must pursue a single united nation. Our love for our country leaves no alternative."

Dr de Beer said after the stresses and strains of the past six to eight months, the DP's victory in the Linden municipal by-election last week had come as a "marvellous reassurance that we were absolutely right to form this party".

The DP had proved that it had a viable political instrument, committed to the establishment of a Western democratic government in South Africa.

"We must set in motion a process which will establish trust, mutual understanding and convergence towards a shared future vision as the basis for a peaceful negotiated settlement.

"We shall expose the shallowness and hollowness of the policies put forward by the Conservatives and the Nationalists, and we shall fight unrelentingly for a just and open society and a common patriotism."

Art Tim B 13/6/89

# Nat nomination feud in Worcester

Political Correspondent 306A

A NAT feud over the parliamentary nomination for the Worcester constituency has driven party faithful into rival camps.

Locals yesterday described it as "ugly in-fighting" and the two camps referred to each other as "the enemy".

The feud was sparked by a fierce nomination contest between the popular mayor of Worcester, Mr Kolie Nelson, who recently resigned as a Ned Geref Kerk dominee, and the former MPC for the area

and party organiser Mr Ryno King, who hails from nearby Robertson.

The candidates have taken the unusual step of opening up separate offices in Worcester.

Outgoing NP MP Mr Hans Rabie is keeping a low profile. He served Worcester for the past 20 years as MPC and then as MP and has picked up flak because his retirement paved the way for the battle.

A winner in the contest should emerge on Saturday when the 5 000 signed-up Nationalists in the constituency can vote for

the candidate of their choice.

Regional rivalries will also play a role, with the majority of Nationalists from Worcester siding with the local candidate, while the party faithful in Robertson appear determined to reverse their traditionally subservient role.

Some Nationalists believe Mr Nelson might scrape home because of the popularity he enjoys in Worcester, but others are confident Mr King will win because of his superior organisational skills.

● Fight heats up for safe DP seat — Page 3

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and pictures in

**T**HE nationwide unrest which broke after the Sharpeville massacre at the start of the anti-pass campaign launched by the Pan Africanist Congress in 1960 must have come as an embarrassing shock to the Government.

In response, the Government unleashed its anger not only on political activists but blacks in general. It seemed as if the authorities were out on a revenge mission.

But what they failed to realise at the time was that all that they did in trying to stifle opposition paved the way for another explosion which took place 16 years later.

The state of emergency — the first to be declared in South Africa, led to the arrest of about 20 000 people who included PAC and ANC members and their supporters.

Members of both organisations were hounded and harassed by the police. Many were forced to go underground and others into exile.

When it was lifted, most of its provisions were converted into law which together with Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's policy of separate development, were implemented with unprecedented ruthlessness.

### Crushed

Bannings, house arrests and detention without trial which started at the time have since become a way of life in South Africa.

Political resistance among blacks was successfully crushed and for the next 10 years, there was no overt political activity in the black community.

Verwoerd, who at the height of the unrest and open defiance by blacks was forced to suspend

**THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the first part of a series of events leading to the June 16 unrest.**



Hendrik Verwoerd... policy of separate development.

# The road to June 16



pass laws for 17 days, seemed determined to show white voters that he was still firmly in control.

He was going to ensure that events that followed the Sharpeville massacre would not be repeated.

The implementation of the policy aimed at turning South Africa white was pursued with vigour. The only blacks who would be allowed in "white" South Africa would be those whose labour was required by whites.

The "unproductive", old, unemployed, sick, disabled and those still too young to work would be forcefully relocated in black reserves.

This was also another strategy of dividing

blacks and preventing them from uniting in resistance against the Government and from claiming political rights in a common South Africa. To effect this, influx control laws were strictly enforced.

### Division

The Government had embarked on a programme to instill white supremacy in the minds of the South African population; to divide people on the basis of their colour; to restrict black urbanisation; to lay strong emphasis on tribalism and traditionalism in the administration of blacks; and to strengthen security legislation and control.

Blacks were to be encouraged to see themselves as Zulus, and Sothos and not as workers or as an oppressed people with common problems and common aspirations.

The ruthless manner in which the Government demonstrated its ability to deal with "trouble-makers" had ripple effects on the country's economy. It raised the confidence of the

business community and foreign investors.

The economy boomed. The country grew richer as many industries were set up and there was economic prosperity nationwide.

But blacks did not benefit from this boom. They continued to receive low wages. Another reason why blacks could not benefit much from the economic booms was that they were not skilled. Over a period of time, the Government seemed preoccupied with addressing the future of blacks in "white" South Africa.

The dreaded pass laws were used effectively as a means of keeping unwanted blacks from urban areas. They were allowed to stay not longer than 72 hours in an urban area without special permission from the authorities.

This permission was to be stamped in their passbooks for any policeman to inspect on demand. Black men could be stopped anywhere in the streets or rudely awakened in the middle of the night at their homes by police

who wanted to inspect their passbooks.

It was compulsory for migrant workers to return to their "places of origin" at least once after every 12 months to ensure that their ties with bantustans, both legal and personal, would not be broken.

This was intended to ensure that they did not see the urban areas as their permanent homes.

The Government was the sole landlord in the urban areas. All houses were rented from the Government and blacks were not allowed to buy or build their own houses. Houses could only be allocated to married couples and the permit holder had to be employed.

### Decree

In 1967, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development decreed that no black women were to be placed on the waiting list for housing in urban areas. Those who qualified for accommodation would have to seek it as lodgers with registered householders.

If a woman became widowed while she was occupying a house with her husband and family, she would continue to occupy it only if she qualified in her own right to remain in the area and she was able to pay rent.

If not, she would have to return to her homeland with her children, unless special exemption was granted.

Very few women got this exemption. A divorced woman could stay on in her home only if she was not the guilty party and had been granted custody of the children; if she qualified in her own right to remain in the town, if she could pay the rent; if her former husband agreed to vacate the house and transfer the tenancy to her.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mthakhu. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# Fight of 4 hots up for safe DP seat

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE fight for the Democratic Party nomination in the safe Groote Schuur seat is hotting up — and anyone of four candidates, including the sitting MP, Mr Jan van Gend, could win the contest.

Frantic lobbying and behind-the-scenes negotiations continued over the weekend and yesterday in anticipation of tomorrow night's crucial meeting of the DP candidates' committees.

Party insiders said yesterday that Mr Van Gend, as the incumbent, probably had the edge at this stage.

But three other candidates — the head of the DP national youth organisation, Ms Michele Guttler, the former editor of Fair Lady, Ms Dene Smuts, and a finance manager, Mrs Margaret Fourie — are all believed to have a reasonable chance of winning.

The decision tomorrow night on who the DP candidate will be in Groote Schuur will be taken by 15 delegates elected by party members in the constituency and 15 people elected by its regional council.

A bitter nomination contest in the seat in the old PFP for the May 1987 election, in which Mr Van Gend narrowly defeated the then-constituency chairman, Mrs Beverley Roos, could play a role in tomorrow's decision.

Mrs Roos, who later resigned from the PFP and joined the NDM, is, according to DP sources, strongly back-

ing Ms Smuts.

Supporters of Ms Guttler, who yesterday signed on Commodore Les Bingham, 88, a World War I veteran, as a member of the DP, are stressing her youth as a positive factor on the grounds that the DP has to demonstrate its support, in concrete terms, among young people.

After the party forms were signed, Ms Guttler said: "Just as grey power is committing itself to working for change, so too must the younger generation. Together we will make a formidable team."

Commodore Bingham, who has never belonged to a political party before, said there was support for the DP among the elderly, all of whom had witnessed the steady decline of the country during the 41 years of National Party rule.

Other key DP nomination struggles to be resolved tomorrow night are those in Gardens and Simon's Town.

In Gardens the sitting MP, Mr Ken Andrew, who is being challenged by Dr Esther Lategan, is believed to have the edge.

However, in Simon's Town, the contest between the former co-chairman of the IP, Mr Jannie Momberg, the DP's communications director, Mr James Selfe, and the former head of the Silvermine communications base, Commodore Vic Holderness, is understood to be close.

At this stage, it seems that either Mr Momberg or Mr Selfe will win the nomination.

## 3 DP MPs uncontested

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ONLY three of the seven sitting Democratic Party MPs in Cape Town will not face nomination contests this election, the DP announced last night.

Mr Colin Eglin (Sea Point), Mr Tian van der Merwe (Green Point) and Mr Jasper Walsh (Pinelands) were confirmed by the electoral colleges in their constituencies as the sole candidates for the party in the three seats.

Cape Town DP MPs facing nomination contests are Mr Roger Hulley (Constantia), Mr Jan van Eck (Clare-

mont), Mr Jan van Gend (Groote Schuur) and Mr Ken Andrew (Gardens). The results of the nomination contests for these seats will be announced tomorrow night.

The National Party has yet to name candidates for five DP held seats in Cape Town: Sea Point, Groote Schuur, Claremont, Pinelands and Constantia.

● DP fund-raising chief Mr Robin Carlisle said yesterday that the fact that hard-fought DP nomination contests were occurring in more than 40 constituencies reflected "a vigorous, new party". He dismissed reports of an attempted "Prog purge" in the DP.



**OLD CAMPAIGNER** . . . Commodore Les Bingham, 88, a World War I veteran and a survivor of the 1917 Battle of Menin Road, joins the Democratic Party after being recruited by the head of the DP Youth, Ms Michele Guttler, who is seeking the party's nomination in Groote Schuur.

'They are trying to de-Prog the party'

# Battles for DP nominations hot up

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Accusations are being flung by members of the former Progressive Federal Party that the old National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party are trying to "de-Prog" the DP.

As the battle for safe Democratic Party seats heats up, several sitting MPs — some well-established — are being challenged for the DP's nomination.

In certain areas — especially the Cape and Natal — the nomination contests are taking on the complexion of a battle for control of the DP between members of the old PFP, NDM and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party.

Suspensions harboured by old PFP members that the DP merger was nothing more than a "hi-jack" of the PFP by the NDM and IP have been rekindled by the nomination struggle.

They are especially resentful of the challenge to Mr Ken Andrew, former chairman of the PFP fed-

eral executive council, in the constituency of Gardens.

He is facing a nomination contest against Dr Esther Lategan, former NDM executive member who stood as a Worrall and Malan-aligned Independent in the Stellenbosch constituency during the 1987 general elections.

Dr Lategan has claimed that two vice-chairmen of the Gardens constituency approached her to stand against Mr Andrew.

Old PFP sources said yesterday this was hardly surprising since Mr Andrew had made an effort to be fair by putting members of the NDM and IP into the vice-chairmanships of his constituency committee when it was elected recently.

## Six candidates

"Now they are biting the hand that fed them," one MP said.

Mr Jan van Gend, the sitting DP MP for Groote Schuur, is facing a marathon nomination contest against six aspirant candidates, including journalist Miss Dene Smuts.

Mr Roger Hully, MP for Constantia, and Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, are also facing tough nomination contests.

In Natal, resentment by the old PFP against DP co-leader Dr Worrall has bubbled to the surface and he has been bluntly told by retiring Berea MP Mr Ray Swart to go and fight in Umbilo.

However Dr Worrall has made it clear he intends to fight all-out for the Berea nomination.

It is understood "Worrallites" will also be seeking nomination in Durban Central — against sitting MP Mr Peter Gastrow — and in several other Natal seats.

Members of the old PFP believe Dr Worrall is attempting to make Natal an IP stronghold.

Not all the nomination fights run on old party lines. In the Transvaal especially, most contests are between old PFP members. The hottest fight is likely to be Bryanston, where former PFP Transvaal leader Mr Douglas Gibson is opposing sitting MP Mr Rupert Lorimer.

## Gratitude and soup kitchens

To all recipients of the golden handshake, I would suggest that a soup kitchen in your name and funded by you to feed the hungry in your area would show some form of appreciation for that handshake. It would also mean you would be remembered.

I feel quite sure that monthly pensions will be sufficient for you to live on.

Gresswold

MG

Pensions and gratuities paid to Members of Parliament are huge and there should be major changes. To prevent corruption and Ministers becoming rich, the Government should be changed every five years.

It would be appreciated if any retired Cabinet Minister would try to live on the income received by old age pensioners and war veterans.

I volunteered to fight in World War 2 and served in Abyssinia, the Middle East and Italy. I was promoted from sapper to lieutenant, was fairly badly wounded and was awarded two immediate awards of the Military Cross for bravery in action. My only income is a war veteran's pension of R250 a month.

Old age pensioners have the vote and should use it wisely at the next election

# Peace go marching forward

Women For Peace may have been dismissed as a harmless organisation going nowhere fast, but its leaders have other ideas.

The organisation was born 13 years ago in response to the Soweto '76 uprising with the aim of bringing women together to find peaceful solutions to this country's many problems.

The newly elected co-chairmen of WFP, Mrs Alina Monyokoseli and Mrs Irma Xenopoulos, are aware that South Africa is not much closer to peace than when their organisation first started, and they say there is still much work to be done.

And these two women practise what they preach. They have both taken part in conference workshops organised inside and outside the country, with the aim of organising women to bring peace to a troubled land firmly in mind.

Mrs Monyokoseli attended Idasa's Transvaal "Women and Democracy" workshop which tried to bring together women from very different walks of life to share their experiences under apartheid.

By Shehnaaz Bulbulia

She says: "Women have to use their power to make the necessary representations and explore all avenues of seeking peaceful change."

Mrs Xenopoulos attended a conference in Harare recently, also organised by Idasa, where she met South African women from diverse backgrounds and political traditions, Zimbabwean women and ANC women living in exile.

Mrs Monyokoseli says that when she first attended WFP meetings she was "suspicious" and thought she would either be expected to be "a dishwasher or sit and have cookies and tea with whites who feel a bit charitable".

### Travel costs

But, she says, the actions of the organisation have changed her views. A transport committee was established 10 years ago to investigate the sharp increases in travelling expenses — a direct result of day-to-day costs of racial

separation.

Throughout its lifespan WFP, she says, has been concerned with the difficulties and cost of educating black children.

"The contrasts between the facilities and money spent between white and black schools make one ashamed," says Mrs Monyokoseli.

"Any committee set up to investigate such problems is investigating not only them, but also those of a whole society," she says.

The emotional thrust which has sustained the movement in its early days was not enough, says Mrs Xenopoulos. It is now time to act.

She adds: "The organisation has had to delve into the problems created around the state of emergency."

For the past two years, WFP has campaigned for the release of children detainees, made representations against the banning or restrictions of organisations, in addition to doing grassroot work in various communities.

Currently the organisation has 1 400 members in the

Witwatersrand area. The

organisation has established autonomous branches, each undertaking projects best suited to their individual communities.

Unemployment, she says is a major problem in the township. Many women lack sufficient skill to find a decent job and as a result end up doing domestic work — the least protected and lowest paid work.

"In our small way we decided to give a service which the women want. We set up sewing classes so that unemployed women could use their skills to earn a living," she says.

### Famous picture

The women recall the birth of Women For Peace 13 years ago when the picture of Hector Peterson, killed during violent confrontation between residents and police in Soweto, was flashed throughout the world.

"At that time, women gathered together, suspicious, cautious but, together they heard for the first time about things that mattered most to them," says Mrs Xenopoulos.



Mrs Monyokoseli . . . after election

The Star Bureau  
LONDON — South Africa is heading for the 1990s with a fortuitous combination of circumstances which "provide guarded optimism about the future", says in an article in a *Financial Times* survey on the Republic.

"The die is not yet cast and the future is full of hostages to fortune," says the article, by the paper's Johannesburg correspondent Anthony Robinson.

"But the way in which this ethnically diverse country faces up to the challenges of the next few years will decide whether the modern, First World sector is able to uplift and absorb the Third World part — or be dragged down by the dead weight of a rapidly rising population, a white exodus, violence and disease."

Even a decade ago to talk in terms of First and Third World was a euphemism to describe white and black South Africa,

## 'Guarded optimism about the future'

# SA's die is not yet cast for the 1990s

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says the article. No longer. Most

of Third World South Africa, the rural homelands and the urban shanty towns, is black. But much of the Asian community and millions of black and coloured South Africans now hold down skilled or professional jobs, own property or work in the formal, First World sector of the economy protected by trade unions and social security

schemes.

"The First World aspirations of others are now getting a chance of being partially met in a booming informal sector freed of unnecessary regulation and racial barriers. Despite the appalling legacy decades of inferior 'bantustan' education, more blacks than whites now matriculate from (still segregated) high schools every year and it is they

whose skills must be enhanced if the economy's skill shortage is to be solved."

Recognition of the indispensable unity of the economy and the consequent integration of blacks, including coloured and Asian workers and entrepreneurs into economic life, is changing the face of South Africa, says the article, adding that the process of political emanci-

pation and black economic empowerment is far from complete, but has become unstoppable.

The indications are, it adds, that the next few years will see a fresh approach to the vexed issue of how to reconcile universal suffrage with credible guarantees for minorities and give real meaning to the term "power sharing".

However, any future constitutional and political order will have to be negotiated with blacks and lead to their inclusion in the body politic as fully fledged citizens. The crucial question is how to persuade banned organisations like the African National Congress and other black political forces to sit at the negotiating table.

One obstacle, the continued incarceration of black leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others, is likely to be removed fairly shortly after the elections, says the article.

# Anti-apartheid lobby prepares for De Klerk

By Sue Leeman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — The anti-apartheid lobby is intensifying the pressure for more punitive measures against South Africa as the visit by Mr F W de Klerk approaches.

They are hoping that by the time the South African President-elect arrives here, there will be a wave of negative public opinion so strong that he will be left in no doubt about South Africa's pariah status.

The strategy is to undercut the impact of the visit, which is of vital importance to Pretoria, both practically and in terms of South Africa's general image

abroad.

The reimposition of the state of emergency and the June 16 anniversary have provided the opportunity for fresh protests and renewed calls for comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

Part of the plan is to embarrass Mrs Thatcher — who is due to meet Mr de Klerk at Chequers — with claims that she is out of step with much of Europe in her approach to South Africa.

They are predicting that the Conservative Party will suffer a setback in this week's European Parliament elections, which will underline Mrs Thatcher's isolation on broader European issues.

The campaign for sanctions

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has been given fresh impetus by new figures which show that European Community (EC) imports from South Africa more than doubled to \$14 billion (R35 billion) in the last financial year compared with the previous year. Over the same period the value of exports increased from \$6 billion (R15 billion) to \$7.6 billion (R19 billion).

Yesterday, foreign ministers from the Frontline states made a strong plea for sanctions during a meeting with EC foreign ministers in Brussels.

They are hoping their joint stand will result in the matter being placed high on the agenda at the EC summit in Madrid on June 26.

ed within the six-week time- with some refugees who arrived and privacy now, a camp supervisor said. — Reuter.

## Blacks 'positive' about owning homes

Star 14/6/89 (304A) 243  
By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Government's socio-economic reform programme has progressed well under the "security umbrella" provided by the state of emergency, says Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe.

At a press briefing in Pretoria yesterday, he revealed details of the Government's housing scheme for low-income blacks and the State's efforts to promote black home-ownership.

Dr van der Merwe said the improvement of living conditions was an important aspect of a balanced reform package.

By accepting the permanence of black citizens

in all parts of South Africa, the Government had reversed the policy of previous governments.

Over the past two years, more than 24 600 South African black civil servants, including teachers and other categories of civil servants who qualified for government housing subsidies, had bought their homes in urban areas.

The sale of government houses to blacks in the lower-income group of the private sector now exceeded the 105 500 mark.

"These facts not only indicate the important role blacks play in the civil service but also provide an insight into a new social order that is developing, in which home-ownership and full property rights occupy a prominent position."

Dr van der Merwe said the positive approach to private home-ownership among blacks demonstrated that "socialism is not all that attractive".

A recent Bureau of Information opinion poll found 85,1 percent of blacks on the Reef favoured private home-ownership. Only 6,1 percent opposed it, while 8,8 percent held no opinion.

Among the higher-income group earning more than R1 500 a month, support was the highest.

Black civil servants were the owners of 80 percent of all middle-class homes erected in black residential areas since 1985.

The number of black home-owners outside the homelands had more than trebled since 1985.

Dr van der Merwe said that despite sanctions and boycott actions, the State had paid out more than R322,3 million for further housing development during the financial year to March.

## Strydom's bid to obtain leave to appeal postponed

Star 14/6/89 (304A) 243  
Pretoria Bureau

The bid by mass murderer Barend Hendrik Strydom to obtain leave to appeal against eight death sentences has been postponed by a day.

Strydom (23) was to have applied to the Pretoria Supreme Court today but the date has been changed until tomorrow.

Strydom was found guilty in the Pretoria Supreme Court by Mr Justice Louis Harms of murdering eight people and of the attempted murder of a further 16 during an orgy of violence in central Pretoria and at the Weiler's Farm squatter camp near De Deur in November last year.

## Worrall slams De Klerk

WITH the re-imposition of the state of emergency, the National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk should save taxpayers' money and stay home rather than go to see British premier Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

This was said by Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

He was addressing a meeting in Greytown, Natal, in support of Mr Pierre Cronje, who is expected to get the DP nomination to fight the seat.

The Conservative Party have put up Mr Johan Horn, a businessman from Hillcrest.

The NP government's decision to renew the state of emergency highlighted the NP's inability to come to grips with issues, he said.

# Capitalism-socialism battle is going on

One key reason why capitalism was winning its global battle against socialism was that it guaranteed the right to "vote with your wallet", British historian Mr Paul Johnson told the Institute of Directors in Johannesburg yesterday.

"Experience shows that where people can freely exercise economic power, it is not long before they win the right to exercise political power too", he said at a conference called to examine business ethics and morality.

Mr Johnson, author of the celebrated "History of the Modern World", argued that events proved that in a collectivist society the vote sooner or later became meaningless.

"You queue to vote — but only once every four or five years. And you queue for the shops and must buy whatever is on offer whether you like it or not.

"In contrast, under capitalism you have by definition the right to vote with your wallet — every day of your life.

"Ordinary people are intuitively grasping the point and rejecting collectivism even when in theory it might be supposed to better their economic lot."

Capitalism was proving the most hospitable environment for universal suffrage and par-

## Voting with the wallet is now power factor

By MICHAEL CHESTER

Capitalism is becoming the preferred mode of economic activity worldwide because, although it is morally neutral, it allows people freedom of choice on a basis that cannot be matched by collectivism.

liamentary systems because it ensured that economic and political freedoms were inseparable.

It responded first and foremost to free market factors — blind to class, race or colour, religion or sex, nationality or creed.

Though morally neutral, there was no reason why capitalism should not run in tandem with public policies which made use of its energy while steering society as a whole in a moral direction.

If business constructed an ideal set of its own Ten Commandments, one of them should be to ensure equal opportunity for all employees.

"A firm which hires strictly on the basis of talent and qualifications is likely to be a well-run firm which inspires loyalty in return," he said.

"But genuine equality of opportunity is not attainable without vast and radical improvements in our education system. There is no country on earth to which this proposition does not apply.

"As technology and business sophistication advance, training becomes more desirable at all levels — from the shopfloor to the boardroom.

"It is no use proclaiming a policy of equal opportunities if the training programmes which make it a reality are not

available. And if they are not, it is no excuse to blame government.

"Firms must bring pressure to bear on government, individually and through their associations, to make public provision where it is appropriate. But in the last resort they must act for themselves.

"Education in and beyond the job is now an essential part of business activity, as important as research and development — and here is another case where self-interest and morality point in the same direction."

Nor should entrepreneurs expect to be able to produce their goods or services in a social vacuum.

"Nothing is more foolish and costly than to ask businessmen to operate like welfare workers or politicians, to operate race-relations or poverty programmes, to buy or sell for nationalist ends, or to do the job of government."

But businessmen had a plain moral duty to take account of the immediate and foreseeable consequences of their decisions — when, for example, they were choosing the site for a new factory to create more jobs, or closing a factory down.

# A system that guarantees development of people

Steyn 14/6/89

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The economic and political empowerment of black South Africans demanded a proper analysis of long-term structural change which was vitally necessary in the formulation of appropriate responses to crises, says Mr Jan Steyn, chairman of the Urban Foundation.

He told the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs in New York yesterday that while political participation was an integral and essential part of the package of change elements, it could not be achieved successfully in an economic vacuum or operate with justice in an economic wasteland.

Mr Steyn gave an analysis into a number of economic factors manifesting the current background against which structural changes would occur.

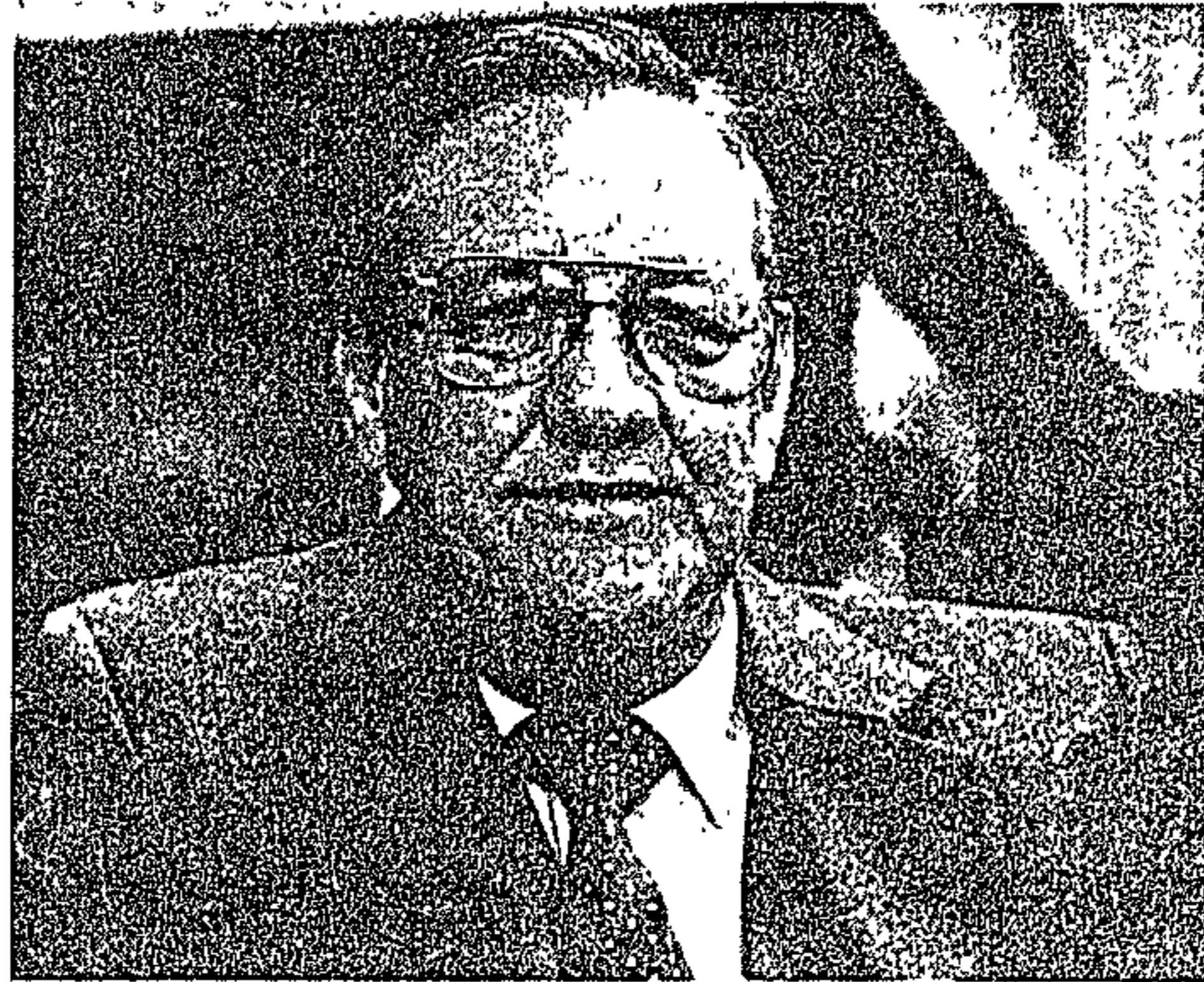
Figures by the Bureau of Market Research at Unisa showed that the black share of disposable income would increase from 45 percent in 1985 to between 55 and 60 percent in the year 2000. This meant that the higher the growth rate in South Africa, the more black people would benefit in relation to white people.

The black people best able to take advantage of a growing economy were the better educated and the urbanised. By 1980, urbanisation was virtually complete for South Africans of European and Asian extraction, with over 90 percent of both groups living in cities and towns. Eighty percent of coloured South Africans were urbanised on that date. The figure for black South Africans was much lower at 43 percent.

But the situation is changing rapidly, said Mr Steyn. In 1980, 8.7 million black people lived in cities and a further 2.3 million in towns. By the year 2000, these figures were expected to increase to 18.6 million and 4.3 million respectively, reflecting 62 percent urbanisation.

The white population was heavily concentrated in the PWV area, Durban and Cape Town. Only 27 percent of the total population in these areas was white in 1980. By the year 2000, this proportion would have dropped to 15 percent.

With urbanisation came a general enrichment in the skill structure of employment outside agriculture,



A proper analysis of changes occurring in South Africa proved that the economic empowerment of blacks was taking place, says chairman of the Urban Foundation Mr Jan Steyn (above). But he argues that economic empowerment could never be a substitute for political participation.

HELEN GRANGE reports.

domestic service and the informal sector.

In 1985, 47 percent of white South Africans were in middle class occupations. The corresponding figures for Asians and coloureds was 31 percent and 17 percent respectively. It was 9 percent for black South Africans. Small as the black proportion was, the number of black people in middle class occupations tripled between 1971 and 1983.

"Unless the economy collapses", said Mr Steyn, "the gap will close and the rate at which it closes will increase with the economic growth rate. The movement of educated people into more and more economically strategic positions was bound to increase black influence and authority".

It did so by obliging employers to deracialise their employment practices. It put pressure on existing racial patterns of residential location and the legislative instruments which regulated these, notably legislation providing for the racial zoning of land. It created a class of people with the talent and the capacity to make structured political

inputs.

Another important development was the modernisation of South Africa's industrial relations system. Black trade unionism dated from the 1920's, but it was very fragile until the efforts at re-organisation which started in the early 1970's. State recognition of black trade unions in 1979 was a turning point, and in the 1980's trade union membership had grown by leaps and bounds.

"Black trade unions have been much more stable than political organisation in the last five years and the biggest unions are now very powerful", said Mr Steyn.

In a capitalist society, another major source of power was the ownership of productive assets. The picture here was not encouraging. The black share of productive assets was pitifully small.

But urbanisation was rapidly creating a much bigger and more concentrated market. Small black entrepreneurship was growing rapidly and becoming much more visible. Both government and business were beginning to contract out vari-

ous activities to small businesses which would ever-increasingly include black entrepreneurs.

Mr Steyn said that the principal constraints to further progress were the lack of technical and management skills and the difficulties of financing. At all levels (apart from university training in business and engineering skills), the South African educational system was grossly deficient in technical and management training.

Financing black entrepreneurial development was equally difficult, he said. It was not beyond the economic capability of South Africa to offer secure tenure in the urban areas to all but the poorest 10 percent of black households, and the Urban Foundation was pressing for the public policy changes necessary to realise this potential.

The Foundation's experience was that, as the Government zoned more land to be available principally for black residential development, finance emerged as the major constraint on the delivery of housing to black families. The problem lay in making small loans of up to R20 000.

The difficulties were two-fold: firstly, how to grant and collect repayments on the loan without incurring administrative expenses which are high in relation to the loan size; secondly, how to make loans against assets which are not conventionally regarded as collateral or against no assets at all.

These factors all showed how changing patterns of urbanisation and income distribution had empowered black people. And this process would continue.

Economic empowerment however, was no substitute for political empowerment — it was not designed to prevent the concentration of power in the state.

"We need to be flexible in our approach to the future", said Mr Steyn. "No single-stranded strategy can succeed in resolving the complex issues that face us. What is certain is that economic ruin would inevitably follow the construction of a new authoritarian political system, with no guarantee of real development of people.

"We should plan for a growth rate of 4 percent per annum sustained for a generation," he added.

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# CP MP accuses teachers

THE Conservative Party has handed certain documents to the Van den Heever Commission claiming that there are a number of black teachers who have registered bonds on sites that are not built on — and for which they are receiving housing subsidies.

Mr Schalk Pienaar, the Conservative Party's MP for Potgietersrus and their spokesman for black education, said in a statement that a "reliable source" from the Department and attach-

**'SOWETAN REPORTER'**

ed to the secondary schools had informed his party about "country-wide irregularities" relating to the registration of teachers' housing bonds.

"There are apparently black teachers who register bonds, received the money but do not own a house."

Pienaar said the DET had instructed principals to investigate cases of teachers in their employ and get declarations from them whether they owned a property for which a bond was registered and the subsidy received.

## Instructed

At the same time, school principals had been instructed not to

inform the Press about the irregularities to avoid the adverse repercussions.

Pienaar said he sent a copy of the letter to the DET Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

"Due to the continuous cover-up of irregularities in the DET, the sources of information prefer to remain anonymous and I am also not prepared to make any

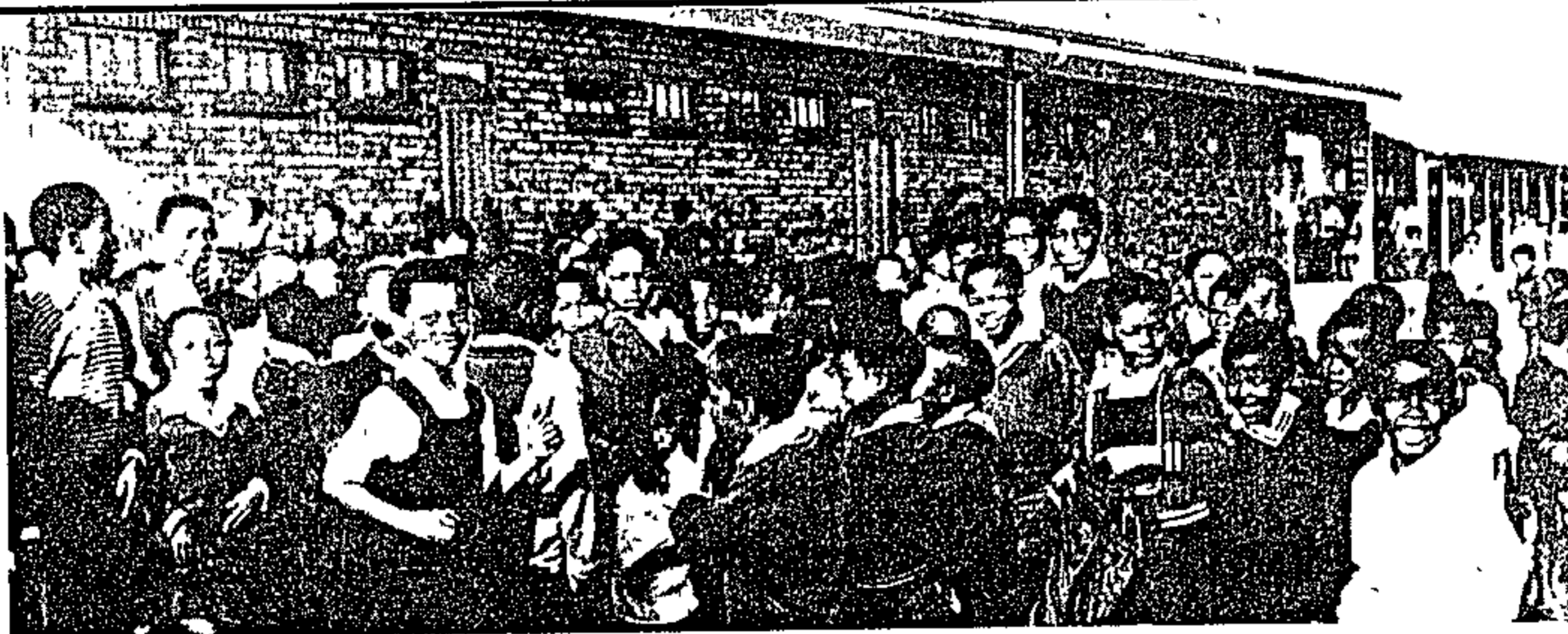
information public."

Pienaar said in spite of his request to the Minister to make public documents on irregularities in his department, Viljoen refused or delayed to do so.

The director-general of the Department of National Education also refused to furnish him with a copy (on the irregularities) which was sent to Minister F W de Klerk.

"This is nothing else but yet another episode of covering irregularities in the DET," said Pienaar.

• Miss Justice van den Heever said yesterday she had not yet seen the documents, but they could be with the commission's secretary.



Building of schools in urban areas was frozen and this led to overcrowding.

FROM the late 60s to the middle of the 70s, a number of things happened which helped heat the political climate for unrest.

In 1971, Bantu Administration Boards were set up to take over the enforcement of influx control laws from white local authorities. For Soweto this meant the loss of a R2 million subsidy from the Johannesburg municipality.

To make up for this, house rentals were increased, children over the age of 18 who stayed with their parents were made to pay lodgers' fees.

### Tense

As no houses were being built and the provision of services was deteriorating, tensions rose in the townships. The administration boards spent the money they made from house rentals and beer sales to build townships such as Garankuwa, Mabopane, Mdantsane, Kabokweni and Pampierstad at bantustan boundaries.

All urban blacks were destined to go eventually

# 1976 and the waves of discontent

Sowetan 14/6/89

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THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the second part of a series of events leading to the June 16 unrest.

to bantustans, where they could exercise their political rights. This was also in pursuit of a decision that no family housing would be provided for urban blacks if they worked within commuting distance of a bantustan.

The labour bureaux created to control the movement of blacks between towns and reserves led to a sharp increase in the prison population as more

people got arrested for pass offences.

It was around the late 60s that discontent with government policy on university education brought black students together once again to address their common problems. Signs of political revolt started showing among them.

### Leaders

Disenchanted with the leadership of the white-dominated National Union of South African Students (Nusas), they broke away and formed the South African Students Organisation (Saso) in 1968.

Like the PAC after its formation in 1959, Saso was quick to catch the imagination of blacks.

After its inauguration in 1969, Saso resurrected political activity in the black community. It spearheaded Black Consciousness (BC) and became instrumental in spreading the BC philosophy. In 1971 the Black People's Convention (BPC) was formed as an umbrella body to cater for black political activity outside university.

At the time, the authorities thought the advent of BC was going to facilitate the implementation of the policy of separate development. Many white liberals who were not wholeheartedly opposed to apartheid thought it a blessing that blacks were on their own opting for a different version of apartheid.

But they were mistaken. Black Consciousness became not only a unifying force among blacks but it heightened the level of their political awareness. It played an important role in creating the political climate leading up to the Soweto uprising.

The Government passed the Homeland Citizenship Act (Act 26 of 1970) which stipulated that every African in the Republic who was not a citizen of a self-

governing area would acquire citizenship of one or the other of the self-governing areas.

If you have relatives in a particular area or identified yourself with people in an area by virtue of language or cultural background, you automatically qualified for citizenship of that area.

This created insecurity among blacks who had no ties with bantustans and who dreaded the idea of having to be forced to start a new life there.

The building of schools in the urban areas had been frozen and that resulted in a sharp increase in pupil enrolment in the few existing schools

### Neglect

There was overcrowding and the general conditions in most schools started deteriorating because of government neglect and cutbacks in expenditure on education.

There were thousands of other youths who did not attend school because they were not prepared or could not afford to go to boarding schools in the bantustans. Most of them wandered in the streets with nothing to do.

Matric and Junior Certificate results were getting poorer in urban areas and better in the rural areas. There was a feeling among blacks that exam results were rigged to make bantustan schools more attractive.

Economic forces also came into play. There was a massive rise in the price of oil in 1973, followed by a sharp decrease in the price of gold around 1974 and 1975. South Africa entered a recession. Many workers were laid off and unemployment figures rose sharply.

There were too many people out in the streets — unemployed workers and youth not attending school. This was a recipe for a crisis. Labour unrest broke in Durban from around 1973 to 1976.

The collapse of Portuguese authority in Angola and Mozambique in 1974 raised the hopes of many blacks that things could change in South Africa too. Blacks started becoming more assertive in their demands for political rights.



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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# Sitting MPs set to win

## Political Staff

THE Democratic Party's nomination struggles in the southern suburbs ends tonight and most, if not all, of its sitting MPs are expected to survive the challenges to their reselection.

The most open contest involving a sitting MP is still in Groote Schuur, where Mr Jan van Gend faces a serious challenge to his renomination from eight potential candidates.

However, yesterday it seemed the most serious competition to Mr Van Gend would come from the head of the DP youth, Ms Michelle Guttler, and the former editor of Fair Lady, Ms Dene Smuts.

Although Ms Smuts was initially regarded as the strongest challenger to Mr Van Gend, her position seems to have declined and Ms Guttler seems to have picked up support, though her youth and inexperience in public office may well count against her in the end.

Party insiders still believe that Mr Van Gend will hold on to the DP nomination, even though the contest remains too close to call.

It now seems that one of the other contenders in Groote Schuur, Mrs Margaret Fourie, will drop out of the contest at a fairly early stage and could become the DP candidate in Maitland.

Mrs Fourie, who reduced the majority of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, in Westdene in 1987, contrary to the national trend, is now expected to take on the Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Mr Kent Durr.

In Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, the sitting MP, appears to have secured a majority in the electoral college over Dr Esther Lategan, who stood as an independent in Stellenbosch in the 1987 election.

Although both the MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, and the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, are being challenged, they both seem to have clear majorities in the electoral colleges for their constituencies.

The head of the DP's fund-raising drive, Mr Robin Carlisle, is likely to be confirmed as the DP candidate in Wynberg.

Another close contest will be in Simon's Town, where the DP's director of communications, Mr James Selfe, and the former co-chairman of the IP, Mr Jannie Momberg, are running neck and neck. A third candidate, Commodore Vic Holderness, appears to have little support.

The voting in the electoral colleges for the different constituencies is expected to be completed by midnight tonight.

## Worrall: No hard feelings on Berea

DURBAN. — Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said yesterday he had not decided on his own to stand in Berea.

Several factors, including the opinion of the party's executive, had been taken into consideration before going ahead.

He praised his opponent, Mr Damon Clark, whom he defeated in a controversial nomination contest and said there were no hard feelings.

Explaining why he had gone for Berea in spite of strong local opposition, Dr Worrall said the party executive had felt he should be reasonably free to campaign around the country.

## Economy 'on its knees'

GOVERNMENT mismanagement of the economy had brought the country to its knees, the Democratic Party's deputy chairman, Mr David Gant, said last night.

Speaking at the launch of the DP's Helderberg campaign in Somerset West, Mr Gant hit at excessive government spending and the lack of monetary discipline.

"Sanctions and disinvestment aside, crippling taxation and the outflow of capital are bringing us to a state of economic stagflation.

"The even greater unemployment flowing from this represents a South African time-bomb and the greatest possible threat to the security of the state."

## Archbishop meets ANC leader Tambo

LUSAKA — ANC leader Oliver Tambo spent 45 minutes here yesterday with Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie.

Runcie said he and Tambo had discussed the situation in SA and Namibia's transition to independence.

"I came to listen and to learn. The ANC and the cause they have at heart is deeply entwined with the witness of the church community in SA, and particularly our sister church in SA under Archbishop Desmond Tutu," Runcie said.

Runcie described Tambo, who is an Anglican, as a friend, and noted that the ANC had a religious department and carried out

chaplaincy work among its members.

The archbishop said he and Tambo had discussed the prospects for negotiations between SA's government and black leaders after a general election in September.

They also discussed British opposition to sanctions against SA. (304A)

Runcie said Anglicans would join a group of church representatives to monitor Namibia's elections.

The archbishop, who has already visited Botswana, Malawi and Zimbabwe, is to fly home on Thursday. — Sapa-Reuter.

B1 Day 14/6/89

304A

# Unions 'a major source of power'

EDUCATIONAL disadvantage and economic exclusion were the central issues of contemporary SA politics and would continue to be so for many years, Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn said in New York yesterday.

In an address to the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs, a copy of which was released in Johannesburg, Steyn said black trade unions had been much more stable than political organisations in the last five years, and the biggest unions were now very powerful indeed.



● STEYN

"A representative of a leading mining house recently remarked in public that the fate of his corporation was as much dependent upon the National Union of Mineworkers as upon that of management or the shareholders."

But the other major source of power for blacks — the ownership of productive assets — was not anything like as encouraging. The black share of productive assets was pitifully small, but a number of tendencies already existed that would tend to affect the present situation beneficially.

Urbanisation was rapidly creating a

TIM COHEN

much bigger and more concentrated market.

"Small black entrepreneurship is growing rapidly and becoming much more visible. The principal constraints to further progress are the lack of technical and management skills and the difficulties of financing.

"The SA education system is grossly deficient in technical and management training. The reasons are deep-rooted.

"One is a poorly trained stock of teachers whose capacity to participate in innovative programmes is limited.

"Another is a persistent 'academic' bias among parents and pupils."

The difficulty in financing black entrepreneurial development were two-fold; firstly how to grant and collect repayments on the loan without incurring administrative expenses; and secondly, how to make loans against assets that were not conventionally regarded as collateral or against no assets at all.

"We need to be flexible in our approach to the future. No single strategy can succeed to resolve the complex issues that we face.

"What I am sure of is that economic ruin will inevitably be followed by the construction of a new authoritarian political system with no guarantee of real development of people," he said.

winning streak

...tion was rapidly creating a "real development of people," he said

# DP shows winning streak

8 (Day) 14 16/89 (304A)

PORT EDWARD — The election victory by the DP in Linden, Johannesburg, last week demonstrated it was a thoroughly viable party with great future prospects, DP co-leader Zach de Beer, said here last night.

He told a public meeting he believed the Linden result meant the DP had an excellent chance of winning on the Natal South Coast.

Referring to the state of emergency, De Beer said it had to be renewed because the NP, with its present policies, could not govern the country in any way other than by force, detention without trial and media censorship.

The only way it was ever going to be

possible to lift the state of emergency was through the achievement of government by consent.

The continuing state of emergency was proof the authority of government was rejected by so many of the people it could not rule except by force and in secrecy.

DP deputy chairman David Gant told a DP meeting in Somerset West that by professing to be proponents of the free enterprise system, but in fact practising socialism and self-interest, the NP had done inestimable damage to the negotiating process during which whites were going to have to convince their black negotiating partners of the merits of capitalism — Sapa.

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MIKE ROBERTSON (504-1)

Worrall was opposed by local constituency man Damon Clark, who had the backing of veteran committee members. Before the candidates met on Monday night, Swart argued that Worrall should contest a more marginal seat, allowing Clark, who had worked in the constituency for several years, to fight Berea.

"In the end it is not the candidate's personality that is important, but the principles his party represents. Of course these include the preservation of ancient values and the commitment to liberal values and the non-racial make SA a prosperous and free democracy."

Wolman because the DF scored gains in the Natal because of making electoral gains in the chance of making of making the support of province. In this he had the party executive. his co-leaders and the party executive. He had chosen Berea because it would leave him free to travel to campaign in marginal constituencies.

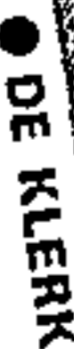
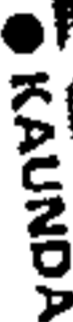
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"We hope he means that," he said. "The goal must be one man, one vote."

De Klerk is almost certain to succeed President P W Botha after the general election on September 6.

"I am quite happy to meet De Klerk and hear his views," Kaunda added. "I appeared to attach no condi-

He appeared at a meeting. The offer was a fresh overture towards Pretoria by the Zambian leader, an opponent of apartheid who favoured dialogue as a way of bringing peace to the region. Kaunda, chairman of the six southern African Frontline states, said Frontline leaders were willing to hold



He called on SA to facilitate such a dialogue by lifting the state of emergency and the ban on political groups such as the ANC, and by releasing political prisoners such as jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Kaunda suggested that apart from the Frontline states — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana — heads of state of the Commonwealth, which groups of the Commonwealth territories, former British-ruled territories, take part in such talks.

He suggested that the Common-wealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG), which made an unsuccessful attempt in 1986 to start a regional dialogue about ending apartheid, could take part in such a process.

The EPG's 1986 mission collapsed when SA carried out military raids against Zambia. — Sapa-Reuter

against Zamboni.  
— Sapa-Reuter  
tswana.

## Worrall wins tough bid for nomination

MIKE ROBERTSON (3044)

DP CO-LEADER Denis Worrall was named yesterday as the party candidate for the safe Berea seat in Durban, after winning an unexpectedly close nomination contest against a candidate backed by the sitting MP.

Worrall was opposed by local constituency man Damon Clark, who had the backing of veteran MP Ray Swart. Before the candidates committee meeting on Monday night, Swart argued that Worrall should contest a more marginal seat, allowing Clark, who had worked in the constituency for several years, to fight Berea.

Although the nomination battle results are being kept secret, sources said it had been unexpectedly close.

Swart said yesterday he accepted the committee's decision and called on voters in Berea to support the DP nominee.

"In the end it is not the candidate's personality that is important, but the principles his party represents. Once again these include the preservation of liberal values and the commitment to make SA a prosperous and non-racial democracy."

Worrall said he had chosen to fight in Natal because the DP stood its best chance of making electoral gains in the province. In this he had the support of his co-leaders and the party executive. He had chosen Berea because it would leave him free to travel to campaign in marginal constituencies.

# Kaunda ready to meet De Klerk on apartheid

BIDAY 14/6/89

LUSAKA — Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda said yesterday he was ready to meet SA's National Party leader, F W de Klerk, to hear his views on dismantling apartheid. Kaunda told a news conference in Lusaka he had heard and seen reports about De Klerk talking of abolishing apartheid.

"We hope he means that," he said. "The goal must be one man, one vote."

De Klerk is almost certain to succeed President P W Botha after the general election on September 6.

## No conditions

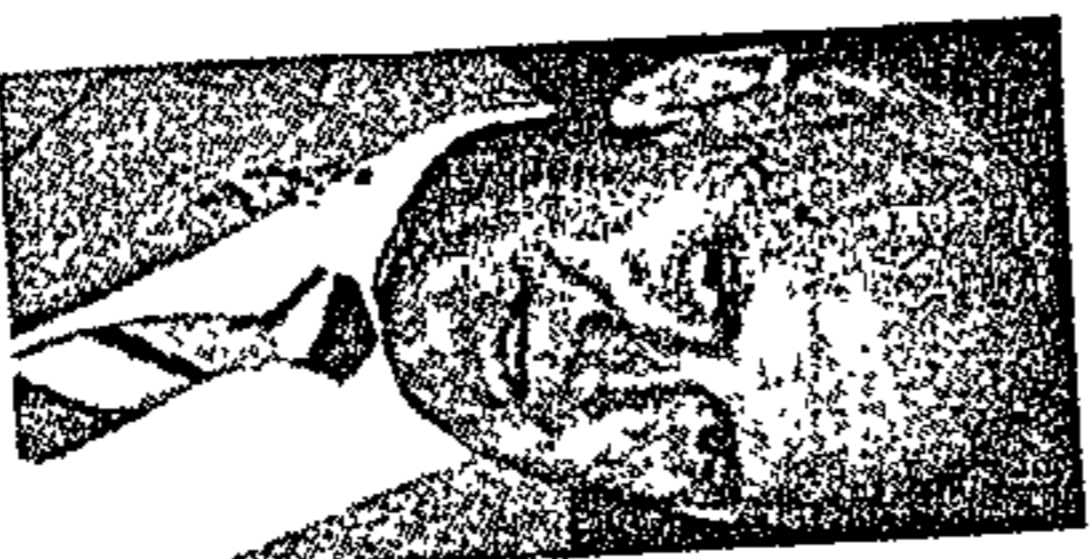
"I am quite happy to meet De Klerk and hear his views," Kaunda added. He appeared to attach no conditions to such a meeting.

The offer was a fresh overture towards Pretoria by the Zambian leader, an opponent of apartheid who favoured dialogue as a way of bringing peace to the region.

Kaunda, chairman of the six southern African Frontline states, said Frontline leaders were willing to hold



● KAUNDA



● DE KLERK

formal talks with SA's government on apartheid if Pretoria "honoured its obligations in the region".

This included implementing to the full the UN independence plan for Namibia.

"If SA behaves well and shows that she can be trusted, that she can respect her international obligations, then we are prepared to consider, discuss through dialogue and reconciliation the question of apartheid."

"We are prepared to address that question itself with them," Kaunda said.

He called on SA to facilitate such a dialogue by lifting the state of emergency and the ban on political groups such as the ANC, and by releasing political prisoners such as jailed ANC leader, Nelson Mandela.

## Unsuccessful

Kaunda suggested that apart from the Frontline states — Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana — heads of state of the Commonwealth, which groups former British-ruled territories, could take part in such talks.

He suggested that the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG), which made an unsuccessful attempt in 1986 to start a regional dialogue about ending apartheid, should be revived.

The EPG's 1986 mission collapsed when SA carried out military raids against Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana. — Sapa-Reuter

**P**AUL JOHNSON, former socialist now committed Thatcherite, came to SA with a clear message for its businessmen: capitalism is morally neutral but capitalists are morally responsible and should behave like good citizens, conducting themselves and their businesses morally.

In the South African context, his message could relieve businessmen from the compulsion to defend economic systems perceived as supporting apartheid, rather than their own practices. Their message should be: judge us by our actions, not the theories.

Not that the doctrine is without its responsibilities: in fact, the reverse. In essence, Johnson recommends businessmen taking responsibilities for their actions as capitalists who are also good citizens, rather than shrugging their shoulders and blaming government when they are at home and defending government when abroad.

In addition, Johnson's description of capitalism as morally neutral seeks to remove capitalism from discussion as an ideology. Instead, he implicitly conceives of capitalism as the sum of individual actions.

In other words, the system itself isn't good or bad; it is the practitioners of capitalism who can make it seem to be either. Morality is all.

Johnson speaks in austere tones which have little tolerance for observance of the letter of the law, rather than its spirit, or for the capitalist who neglects the environment or worker training — or who passes the buck for either to government.

Equally, he has as little time for businessmen who assume social responsibilities beyond their competence or authority as for governments which assume economic roles beyond their competence or authority.

Likewise, indefatigable defenders of the South African way of life against sanctioners find little for their comfort from the author of "A History of the Jews," "A History of the Modern World" and, most recently, an exhortation of various writers, artists and thinkers of the Left — "Intellectuals".

True, Johnson is no defender of sanctions or disinvestment, but he is equally clear that the real damage to SA is not being caused by the bogeymen of "outside enemies" or "anti-South Africans" but by "ethnic socialism" — alias apartheid.

At the Institute of Directors' conference on business morality yesterday,



JOHNSON ... "Apartheid is a form of ethnic socialism" Picture: ROBBIE BOTHA

# 'My ten commandments for moral capitalists'

304A

8/Dec/14/1/89

ROBERT GREIG looks at Paul Johnson's code for those who practise free enterprise

## JOHNSON'S COMMANDMENTS

1. — Never let your business standards fall below your personal ones.
2. — Businessman must observe the law.
3. — Be loyal.
4. — Give employees equality of opportunity.
5. — Promote vast and radical improvements to our education systems.
6. — Stress creativity.
7. — Seek to excel.
8. — Show a strict awareness of consequences of decisions.
9. — Have a specific duty to the environment beyond the call of legal obligation.
10. — Show a positive duty to promote beauty in design.

light on the Road to Tarsus stonily By now he's probably bored with them But they are irresistible nonetheless

"Although I was a socialist of a kind, I was never a Marxist. By birth

I'm a practising Roman Catholic and I've never been attracted to totalitarian theory.

"I was a member of the Labour Party for 20 years, not terribly actively. I came to the conclusion that the behaviour of the trades unions in the Seventies was so destructive, so unacceptable and so immoral that I found I really couldn't support Labour any more."

Studying world history helped persuade Johnson that the ideal of collectivist societies was doomed to fail and economic and political freedoms were indivisible.

"This is something a lot of people have perceived right from the beginning, and I salute them; but it came to me after 20 years or more as an important truth which I hadn't before perceived."

China comes to mind as an example of the indivisibility of freedoms. "China has to some extent relaxed the collectivism norms and unleashed the desire for political freedom. And in trying to suppress political freedom, they're going to set back their economic programme."

Johnson is, by his own admission, a moral absolutist. Things are right or wrong, though his address insisted that capitalism is "morally neutral" — morality is in the practice. To aid its South African practitioners at the Institute of Directors, he provided them with ten commandments.

His message to those who identify the evils of apartheid with those of

capitalism is couched in tones that Thatcher would be proud of: "They are making a very serious error, and it's important to them as well as to everyone else that it should be exposed."

The error, Johnson said, has been appreciated by "some of the more intelligent, open-minded blacks": capitalism is a force which, unless artificially restrained, will automatically destroy apartheid.

"This is a reason I'm so opposed to sanctions, because insofar as sanctions inhibit the development of capitalism in SA, they are more likely to sustain apartheid than destroy it."

Johnson is less trenchant when describing saying how to remove the inherited, historical or structural inequalities that apartheid represents and which stifle the liberating energies of capitalism.

Still, there are always ideas. Though Johnson grants that the South Africans he chiefly meets are white and English-speaking, he said he finds "terrific open-mindedness, willingness to discuss the future without any holds barred, a willingness to toy with all kinds of solutions, which I don't find in any other country."

"This does tend to happen in a country under pressure."

THESE are cogent reasons why it would have been desirable not to renew the state of emergency. They have been eloquently expressed in a number of newspapers.

It is intrinsically undesirable that government should have to augment ordinary laws of the land by emergency regulations. It is also clear that a number of important political groups in the country insist on the lifting of the emergency as one of their preconditions for constitutional negotiations with government.

It is argued that the fact that government has to rule by emergency decree is an admission of its own failure to rule effectively and does not inspire the kind of confidence which we need to make economic and constitutional progress. Critics also point to strong calls from Western governments for the lifting of the state of emergency as soon as possible.

These strong arguments were given careful consideration by government before it took its decision. However, government also had to consider its responsibility to protect the lives and property of all the citizens of the country.

Government was of the firm opinion that it could not allow another round of unrest and violence as experienced from September 1984 until the declaration of the state of emergency on June 12, 1986. Whatever the arbitrary nature of the emergency regulations, it does not compare with the arbitrary and random injustice of mob and revolutionary violence which gripped the country for more than two years and left more than 3 000 people dead, the great majority of them killed by radicals.

Whatever the injustice of detention without trial, it pales into insignificance beside the dreadful injustice of the revolutionary "courts" and their barbaric "necklace" executions.

Whatever the problems of confidence caused by the continuation of the state of emergency, they do not compare with the collapse of international confidence in the South African economy brought about by the unrest and which led to the severe international financial crisis which continues to plague the country.

Whatever the cost to our international relations might be of the continuation of the state of emergency, it cannot compare with the crisis

# Radicals reimposed State of emergency

STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE, Minister of Information, explains why government has renewed the state of emergency in SA

created in our foreign relations by nightly scenes of violence on Western television and by the widely held perception that the old order was about to be swept away.

Whatever the constitutional cost of continuing the state of emergency, the atmosphere for genuine negotiations is much better now than it was in 1986, when there was a disturbing escalation of polarisation and the perception that radicals would inevitably seize power drove the moderate majority from the political scene.

## Normalcy prevails

The question government had to consider was not whether law and order should continue to be maintained, but whether it could do so in terms of the normal laws of the land, without emergency powers.

Government could look to the progress in restoring law and order made possible by the state of emergency. It could look to the normalcy which once again prevails in most black communities. It could look to the resumption of normal education of the overwhelming majority of black schoolchildren and the considerable progress in the provision of normal social services and housing for black communities.

It could also take into account the resumption of business confidence which followed the declaration of the state of emergency and which enabled our economy once again to grow. It was also aware of the fragility of that confidence, as illustrated by recent economic developments.

Above all, government could look to the restoration of representative local government for black South Africans throughout the country, which followed the successful 1988 municipal elections. These were all gratifying indications of the success of the state of emergency.

However, government also had to note the continuing violence in Natal, which has left more than 700 people dead and continues to rage in the Durban and Maritzburg areas. Although the root causes are complex, this violence has some national characteristics and some of the perpetrators come from outside Natal. The partial state of emergency in 1985 showed regional measures were ineffective.

More seriously, however, government had to take into consideration the escalating incidence of terror in the country and the prevailing revolutionary climate and planning. From November 1988 to April 1989 terrorist incidents were up 16% over the same period for 1987/88 (despite all the ANC/SACP's discussions with well-meaning "liberal-bourgeois" elements from SA).

The ANC has openly stated that it has no intention of abandoning its campaign of violence, even though this has apparently been the subject of some debate within the organisation.

Although legislation exists through which government can quite effectively deal with terrorism, terrorist activities cannot be divorced from the other leg of ANC policy: its political campaign. Notwithstanding the apparently more moderate stance of the ANC/SACP's new

constitutional proposals with regard to the "interim-phase of people's power," its ultimate objective remains unchanged — the revolutionary seizure of power.

The political objectives of the ANC/SACP and its allies within SA remain the same: mass mobilisation, confrontation, unrest and violence leading to a transfer of power to the revolutionaries. In terms of this scenario negotiations can take place, but only when the balance of forces has shifted sufficiently to ensure that the minimum demands of the radicals will be secured. We would be naive to imagine that radical elements and their allies within SA are not working day and night to create circumstances in which such a scenario can take place.

Government has reluctantly reached the conclusion that the normal laws of the land are inadequate to maintain public order under these circumstances.

It is, however, not government which has created the conditions which have necessitated the renewal of the state of emergency. It is the radical and revolutionary organisations, because of their refusal to stop their campaign of terrorism and their planning and mobilisation for revolution. It is not necessary for them to follow this course. It is not true that they have exhausted all peaceful and constitutional channels to bring about change.

## Standing invitation

Government has issued a standing invitation to all South Africans who do not support violence to join it in negotiations on the constitutional future of SA. We urge all South Africans of goodwill to join us in these efforts and make it possible for us to lift the state of emergency at the earliest possible moment.

Those who are unhappy with the renewal of the state of emergency (including government itself) should bring pressure to bear on radical organisations still working for violent change. There will be no such change in SA.

There is, however, every possibility of peaceful constitutional change as the vast majority of decent people are prepared to join government in negotiations.

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He made the remarks at an Institute of Directors of Southern Africa conference on business ethics and morality.

Harms, who is chairing a commission of inquiry into alleged cross border irregularities, said the ultimate dilemma of a commission is that if it implicates, it is accused of being an inquisition. If it exonerates, it is accused of covering up.

**MANDY JEAN WOODS**

into an inquisition.

Harms said the purpose of a commission of inquiry was not simply to expose a member of the public or an official to moral censure or ridicule, or to investigate matters interesting to the public as opposed to matters in the public interest.

"Before the facts can be sought it is necessary to have reason to believe the facts exist. The procedure we followed was calculated to provide the necessary balance between these conflicting factors. We wish to believe that we were able to minimise the damage to innocent people," he said.

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81 Day 4/6/87

**TANIA LEVY**

COMPANIES should equate paid maternity leave with national service leave, says Total Oil consultant Val Mickleburgh.

She says rewarding changes have taken place within the arena of equal opportunities.

Mickleburgh will chair the judging panel of the SA Federation of Business and Professional Women's national Gold Award, which recognises the organisation with the most positive growth climate for female employees.

is follows:

# 'Near impossible for blacks to live and work legally'

304A MANDY JEAN WOODS

IT WAS virtually impossible for blacks in SA to comply with all the prerequisites necessary to live and work legally, Liberty Life divisional manager for Human Resources Projects Sam Alexander said yesterday.

He was speaking at a conference on business ethics and morality organised by the Institute of Directors of Southern Africa.

Alexander said he had empathy for blacks who resorted to perceived unethical and immoral practices in order to achieve something which, for "a fraction of the same efforts, is literally thrown into the laps of other South Africans".

Quoting author Hernando de Soto, Alexander said it was virtually impossible for poor people to comply with all of the requirements to live and work legally. Informality was a symptom of institutional dysfunction because it indicated that much of the law had lost its legitimacy.

"The informal sector is endemic to any country's economy and is a hardy perennial. Deny it and fund unemployment and its consequences. Stimulate it and enjoy the assurance of future stability. Deny it and witness the decline in ethics and morals. Stimulate it and enjoy sound sleep," he said.

The values held by the informal sector determined what was right and ethical and were the standards governing its judgments and behaviour.



Tiger Oats director Rudy Frankel at yesterday's Business Ethics and Morality conference. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## 'Balance is vital for commissions'

MANDY JEAN WOODS

A COMMISSION of inquiry can be likened to an unruly horse in a steeple chase from which few riders emerge unscathed, Mr Justice Harms said yesterday. 31 Dec 1981

He made the remarks at an Institute of Directors of Southern Africa conference on business ethics and morality.

Harms, who is chairing a commission of inquiry into alleged cross border irregularities, said the ultimate dilemma of a commission is that if it implicates, it is accused of being an inquisition. If it exonerates, it is accused of covering up.

In March, President P W Botha said he was concerned about bodies who maliciously wanted to transform the proceedings of the Harms commission

into an inquisition. 304A

Harms said the purpose of a commission of inquiry was not simply to expose a member of the public or an official to moral censure or ridicule, or to investigate matters interesting to the public as opposed to matters in the public interest.

"Before the facts can be sought it is necessary to have reason to believe the facts exist. The procedure we followed was calculated to provide the necessary balance between these conflicting factors. We wish to believe that we were able to minimise the damage to innocent people," he said.

# Worrall will meet Thatcher in Britain

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall confirmed today that he is to see British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher as part of a pre-election European tour to speak to politicians and the private sector.

Dr Worrall's trip is expected to come after that of National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk who is likely to see Mrs Thatcher before the end of the month.

There is still no official confirmation of Mr de Klerk's trip but it is reported from London that he is expected there next week.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is planning a mass demonstration against Mr de Klerk's visit.

The planned tours of the two follow the mysterious trip of Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, to Europe earlier this month. No details have been released of whom he met but it is known he did not meet any influential European politicians.

Dr Worrall's trip is part of a greater DP programme to talk with leaders not only in Europe but also in the United States and the Frontline states in southern Africa.

'Penalties for misconduct not prescribed'

# Ethics in Govt come under closer scrutiny

Star 14/6/89 (304A)

By Michael Chester

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, revealed in Johannesburg yesterday that a review had been launched into possible loopholes in the guidelines laid down by the State President on the ethical conduct of Government Ministers.

Attention was being given to the view of the Advocate-General that the guidelines were not comprehensive enough and failed to prescribe any statutory penalties for misconduct, he said.

Also under study were proposals by the Advocate-General that South Africa should introduce legislation similar to the "Ethics in Government" laws enforced in the United States.

## Press praised

Mr Coetsee told the annual conference of the Institute of Directors, which devoted the entire session to a debate on business ethics and morality, that the debate on ethical guidelines in the state sector was to be welcomed.

The Government considered the debate appropriate — "with due regard being had to the declared policy of the State President and the Government to maintain and promote clean administration and ethical norms in the public and private sectors".

The press was keeping a watchful eye on the conduct of everyone in the public sector, from Cabinet Ministers down to junior civil servants, he said. It had an important role to play as guard-

ian of public interest, by exposing the unethical conduct of public officials.

The press in turn also had a key role to play in formulating the values and ethical norms expected by society to serve as guidelines and indicators for acceptable ethical conduct.

The cynical and highly critical might argue that the introduction of the office of Advocate-General — in the wake of the Info scandal — had failed to prevent unethical conduct and even corruption in the public sector, he said.

Events showed that even the most severe legislation and punitive measures would not be total protection from unethical and corruptive acts by those with bad intentions.

The Advocate-General, with unrestricted authority to investigate the misappropriation of public money, had wider powers than any of the Ombudsmen appointed in Scandinavia and elsewhere overseas, added Mr Coetsee.

"However, the office of Advocate-General is still fairly young and amendments to its jurisdiction should be considered to serve the specific needs of the South African community.

"Amendments to jurisdiction should also be aimed at the promotion of better and higher standards of ethics in the public sector, and, where applicable, also the private sector," he said.

Noting debate regarding the morality of the Government's laws, its policies and direction, Mr Coetsee said that a just and moral system, which would satisfy the needs of all the country's citizens, would have to be found.

# Nat rift in Jo'burg deepens

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The rift between the National Party's northern and southern factions in Johannesburg has deepened, with senior NP sources claiming that Turffontein MP Mr Andre Fourie's interference in a parliamentary nomination in the "verligte" north has prompted two prominent Nats to resign from the Johannesburg North divisional council.

Mr Michael Roberts, divisional council chairman, and his wife, Nan, secretary of the divisional council who intended contesting the September election against sitting Democratic Party MP Mr Peter Soal, have resigned as party officials, The Star has learnt.

However, NP sources said the "verligte" couple had not resigned from the party.

It is believed they handed in

their resignations on April 29 after a fall-out with Mr Fourie, deputy chairman of the NP's Johannesburg regional council.

Mr Fourie had apparently advised Mrs Roberts not to seek parliamentary nomination as the couple had "a loser's image", the sources claimed.

## HIGH-PROFILE

Mrs Roberts ran a high-profile campaign during last year's municipal election as the NP's candidate in Parkhurst/Parktown North, but lost to the DP's Mrs Judith Briggs.

Mr Roberts unsuccessfully contested Johannesburg North against Mr Soal in the 1987 general election.

It is expected that President's Council member Mr Laurie Poorter will receive the NP's Johannesburg North nomination on Saturday. Mr Poorter has also replaced Mr Roberts as di-

visional council chairman.

The Roberts couple yesterday declined to comment on their resignation.

Said one source: "They wanted more liberal ideas to be represented to the voters and in Parliament, but the conservative south's interference has forced Mrs Roberts to stand down in favour of a more 'verkrampte' Mr Poorter, and has been the main reason for their joint resignation from the divisional council."

Mr Poorter confirmed the Roberts resignations, saying they had cited business pressure as the reason.

Mr Fourie strongly denied the accusations made against him, dismissing the allegations as "malicious rumours from unrevealed sources who deliberately want to sow dissent" among Nationalists.

Star 14/6/89

## Kaunda's open offer to meet <sup>(304A)</sup> FW in SA

The Star's Africa ~~269~~  
News Service

LUSAKA — Extending further his support for dialogue to achieve peace in southern Africa, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has publicly offered to meet National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk in South Africa.

Chairman of the Frontline states, President Kaunda said they were willing for talks with South Africa if the Namibia independence agreement was honoured.

He attached no such condition to the suggested meeting with Mr de Klerk.

The offer to meet Mr de Klerk is a public reaffirmation of an offer he made privately to University of Stellenbosch students in Lusaka last year.

Making the offer at a news conference in Lusaka, President Kaunda said he had heard that Mr de Klerk had stated that apartheid must go. "I trust he is genuine."

President Kaunda advocated the revival of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) that was formed to seek solutions in South Africa. It was disbanded in 1985 after SADF forces attacked ANC targets in neighbouring states.

He implied that no dialogue would be meaningful until South Africa lifted the state of emergency and bans on political parties.



## Strydom leave to appeal turned down

*Argus 15/6/89*  
*3044*

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Mass-killer Barend Hendrik Strydom was today refused leave to appeal against his eight death sentences.

The application, launched by his counsel, Mr Johann Engelbrecht, lasted only 10 minutes in the Supreme Court here.

Mr Engelbrecht said reasonable grounds existed that another court could make a different finding.

### OPPOSED

Mr Paul Fick, SC, for the State, opposed the application, saying there were no reasonable grounds for another court to come to a different finding.

Mr Fick told Mr Justice Harms that the application did not fulfil the test applicable.

According to Mr Fick the death sentence was insufficient grounds for leave to appeal and the mere circumstances that a case was arguable were also insufficient.

### FATHER'S INFLUENCE

Dismissing the application, Mr Justice Harms said he was satisfied that Strydom's application did not comply with the test applicable in these applications — State versus Sikosana.

The basis of the application for leave to appeal was two-fold: that the court should have taken into account his father, Mr Nic Strydom's far-right influence on Strydom and that the court should have taken expert psychological evidence into account.

In contrast to the crowded public gallery during Strydom's trial, only counsel for the defence and the State were present in court.

### PETITION

Strydom's legal representative, Mr Wim Cornelius, said after the dismissal of the application that he would petition the Chief Justice and should that be unsuccessful, petition the President for clemency.

Strydom received eight death sentences and a total of 76 years' imprisonment on May 25 after a wild shooting rampage at Strijdom Square in Pretoria last November.

Six people died instantly and a seventh died in hospital. Twenty-one people were wounded.

The eighth murder conviction related to an earlier shooting at De Deur near Vereeniging.

# DP to fight '105 seats'

By ANDREA WEISS, Staff Reporter

THE Democratic Party will be fighting "in the order of 105 seats" in the House of Assembly, the DP national director of political organisation, Mr Neil Ross, said today.

In the 1987 election, the Progressive Federal Party put up 81 candidates.

A final decision on whether seats in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates will be contested by the DP will be made at a meeting tomorrow, Mr Ross said.

Nominations in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg are expected to be made next week while Cape Town will have another round of nominations in the next two days.

The Cape Town nominations will include the more "rural seats".

## IN SOUTHERN CAPE

In the Southern Cape, Mr David Gant has been nominated for Helderberg and former head of the Women's Military Academy Mrs Hilda Burnett (née Botha) has been nominated for George.

The Caledon nomination has yet to be announced.

In the Free State, five seats will be contested, and two seats will be contested in Kimberley.

There have been five nominations in the Border area so far. Last night there were nine nominations in Natal and seven in the Cape Peninsula.

● See page 4.

Dené Stubbins wins tonight for Groote Schuur

spoiling tactics. As a party that is going for power we must put up candidates in about 90 per cent of the constituencies in order to draw a realistic conclu-

re's Presi-  
o.

No details of the message he  
delivered to President Chissano

group without the  
presence of the rebel leader, Dr  
Jonas Savimbi.

## FW reaffirms policy for a new South Africa

Political Staff

Mr F W de Klerk has again pledged the country to "drastic" constitutional changes and significant economic reforms, forging what he sees as a "new South Africa".

Directing his remarks to Western governments, he also lashed most of them last night for failing to exercise a constructive influence on southern Africa.

Mr de Klerk was addressing an American Chamber of Commerce banquet in Johannesburg.

"There seems to be a subjective lack of trust as to the real intentions and motives of the South African Government," he said.

South Africa was, on the one hand, committed to reform and a massive development programme, as Europe and America wanted. On

the other hand, the country was rewarded with punitive sanctions and a constant threat of isolation.

There were exceptions. Certain heads of government had taken a strong stand against the trend.

Any realistic, new dispensation would have to accommodate the reasonable needs and aspirations of that diversity. "How we do it, so as to ensure that it will not be on a discriminatory basis, is the challenge we face."

It was impossible to separate the various racial groups into watertight compartments, he said.

"Political power must be shared within common political structures on the basis of joint decision-making in respect of all matters of common concern to all South Africans."

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Blast damages

Star 15/6/87

# 'Total onslaught idea dead'

The international community's formula for South Africa was unban, release, dismantle and negotiate, and now the South African Government should make its formula clear, says Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert.

The total onslaught ideology which South Africans had been fed for 14 years ended with acceptance of Resolution 435 and the Government now realised that it needed the support of the international community, including the Soviet Union, to bring about peace and stability in South Africa, says Idasa director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Addressing an Idasa report meeting in Johannesburg on his recent visit to the Soviet Union, Dr Slabbert said the total onslaught concept started in 1974 when Angola and Mozambique gained their independence.

Since then, South Africans had been told that there was a "devilish plot" by the Soviet Union to use the Frontline states and the ANC to overrun South Africa.

The implementation of Resolution 435 had been the death of the total onslaught concept, he said.

Part of the reason for this was the internal and external pressure which the country was facing, both economically and politically, but he believed the main cause was the shift in the attitude of international powers towards finding a political solution for South Africa.

The role played by other countries in bringing about a solution in Angola had astounded the South African Government.

Namibia was the fourth country after Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe to be freed from white domination. When it became independent, the attention of the world would be focussed on South Africa as the last country in which white domination still existed.

## Key players

He said the three key international players in the future of South Africa were the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, and all three desired a peaceful solution for the country.

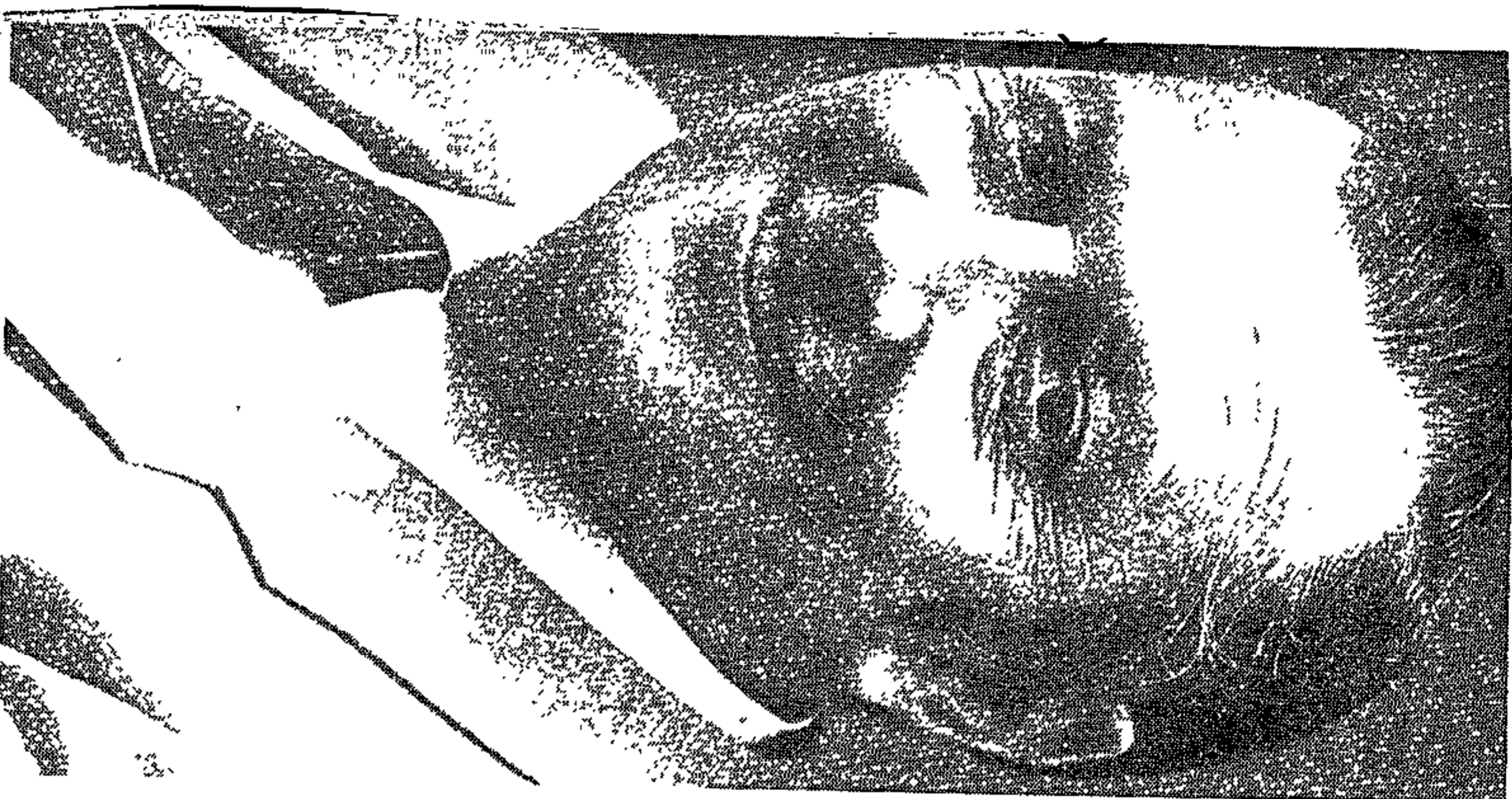
As a result of change in international affairs, the major powers were intent on finding regional solutions in areas that were potential flashpoints, rather than risking confrontation which could endanger their interests.

The fact that the Soviet Union was prepared to make contact with South Africa and other key players in the South African situation should not be interpreted as a desire by it to establish diplomatic relations or to abandon its support for the ANC, but was part of the plan to find a political solution for the area.

He said the key international countries appeared to believe the unbanning of prohibited organisations, the release of political prisoners, the dismantling of apartheid structures and negotiation with black leaders were necessary for a climate for a peaceful solution.

"The formula of unban, release, dismantle and negotiate has been evident in statements by the US, the USSR and the UK for several years. The problem is that we know what they see as a political solution, but how does the South African Government see it?"

Dr Slabbert said the onus was now on the South African Government to explain why it was not going to follow the steps contained in the formula. — Sapa.



**DP SUCCESSFUL . . .** Mr Jannie Momberg last night got the Simon's Town nomination.



**AND TO YOU TOO . . .** Mr Ken Andrew (right) last night won the Democratic Party in the September 6 elections. Here he congratulates Roger Hulley, who will



# Jannie Rums

Cape Times 3044  
15/6/87

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and  
BARRY STREEK

**FORMER sports administrator Mr Jannie Momberg last night won the Democratic Party's nomination for Simon's Town and vowed to win the constituency for the new party in the September 6 general election.**

Mr Momberg, who pulled off a "convincing win" against Mr James Selfe and Commodore Vic Holder, said: "The National Party has outstayed its welcome in South Africa and Simon's Town. We will get rid of them."

Party sources last night attributed Mr Momberg's victory against Mr Selfe, the party's director of communications, to the electoral college's per-

ception that "he was the candidate most likely to take the seat for the DP".

His victory was also seen by many delegates as a positive sign that the members of the DP were not voting according to old party allegiances.

It is understood that the third candidate in Simon's Town, Commodore Holderness, lost out in the first round of the voting and that the final runoff was between Mr Momberg and Mr Selfe.

Mr Ken Andrew, the sitting MP for Gardens, decisively beat an attempt by the former Independent candidate in Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan, to gain the DP nomination in the central Cape Town constituency.

The margin of Mr Andrew's 21-10 victory in the Gardens electoral college appears to have paved the way for Mr Momberg's Simon's Town victory, as it became clear that the members of the new party were not voting along old party lines.

Having failed in the attempt to gain the Gardens

nomination, it seems Dr Lategan could be the party's candidate in Stellenbosch, where she slashed the NP majority in 1987.

As expected, the MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley, won what DP insiders called "overwhelming" support in the party's electoral college.

Contrary to earlier expectations it took much longer than anticipated to settle the DP nominations for the first three Cape Town seats in which there were nomination contests.

Settlement had been expected by 7.30pm, but the nominations were completed only at about 9.30pm. Delegates said a lengthy discussion about the merits of Dr Lategan's challenge in an urban seat delayed the resolution of the Gardens nomination.

● Former television personality Ms Carole Charlewood won the DP nomination in the Natal seat of Umbilo.

● Border DP spot for ex-rugby Bok — Page 2

## CP to fight for 114 seats

Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The Conservative Party is to contest 114 seats in the coming election — contesting all but 10 in the Transvaal, where it stands to make substantial gains.

But it is to contest fewer seats in the Cape, allowing the party to devote its resources to the Transvaal and Free State campaigns.

The CP, whose members are pre-

To page 2

# Straw that broke the camel's back

Sowetan 15/6/89

304A

**B**y the beginning of 1976, blacks had taken too many blows from the Government. The straw that broke the camel's back was the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in secondary schools.

Most blacks regarded Afrikaans as the oppressor's language. And while they were still unhappy to have it as a subject, having it as a medium of instruction was inconceivable. Also, there were no teachers who were sufficiently proficient in the use of the language.

Parents and pupils held meetings to object to the ruling. But the authorities would not listen.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, the then deputy Minister of Bantu Education, said whites were paying for black education and were therefore entitled to decide on matters affecting it.

On June 16 pupils met at Naledi High School and decided on a peaceful demonstration against Afrikaans. As on March 21 1960 in Sharpeville, police overreacted in trying to break the march and killed Hector Petersen.

## Hell

Then hell broke loose. The Government had started what took more than a year to finish and cost the country millions of rand in damage to



THE 1976 unrest was sparked off by government policy on the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in black schools. But that cannot be viewed in isolation from events that followed the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960. Here, Sam Mabe gives an overview of the political climate in South Africa after Sharpeville and on the eve of the Soweto unrest in the third part of a series on events leading to the June 16 unrest.

property. But, worst of all, an estimated 575 lives were lost, 2500 people were injured and hundreds others fled into exile.

The Government cracked down on political activists and was more ruthless than it had been after Sharpeville. Opposition was also greater as this time the police faced children who seemed more courageous than their parents had been. The decision to drop the ruling that Afrikaans be used as a medium of instruction did nothing to appease the youth.



Schooling was disrupted as children fled from police who were searching for student leaders. Work stayaways were called a few times. Rent increases, some of them as little as R1, helped to fan the fires of unrest.

## Banned

In September 1977 Steve Biko, christened the father of Black Consciousness, was killed in prison. A month later, on October 19, 18 organisations, mostly BC, were banned.

These included two newspapers, *The World* and *Weekend World*.

Many community and political leaders were banned and detained without trial.

## Crushing

Within a few months, however, blacks regrouped and in 1978 Azapo was formed. During the first three to four years of its existence Azapo became the primary political organisation inside the country. But white media hostility, detentions and the banning of its leadership minimised its effectiveness to a great extent.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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The face of black politics had changed. Crushing black opposition as happened after Sharpeville was not easy as more and more blacks were prepared to pay the price for their political convictions.

The Cillie Commission, set up to investigate the causes of the unrest, blamed agitators. A marathon secret trial held in Bethal ended with 18 members of the PAC, including its president, Mr Zephania Motho-peng, being found guilty after they were blamed for, among other things, causing the 1976 unrest.

A number of reforms were introduced in the years that followed the unrest. The Urban Foundation was formed to improve the quality of housing in the townships. The 99-year-leasehold system was introduced in 1978 and the Rickert and Wichahn commissions investigated labour relations and manpower utilisation.

Their recommendations resulted, among other things, in the legalisation of black trade unions. Pass laws have since been scrapped and the permanency of blacks in urban areas

seems to have been accepted by the Government.

Government expenditure on education increased, more schools were built and there were some changes to the school curriculum. But none of the changes introduced has come anywhere near meeting the demands of pupils.

The Government is still spending about R700 on a black child and R3000 on a white child. The situation in most schools is still chaotic. Most schools are still overcrowded and teachers are overworked as they have to teach in 42 periods in one week with no time in-between to prepare for lessons.

## Worse

The situation seems destined to get worse as less money is going to be spent on black education. National Education Minister Mr F W de Klerk announced recently that education was in a "tight spot" and that the Government could no longer meet the cost of upgrading black education.

The Government's 10-year plan aimed at bringing the standard of black education on a par with that of whites seems to have fallen flat.

But in most schools the Government seems more preoccupied with security than with education.

The allocation of its funds bears witness to this. About a week ago, barracks to house between 800 and 1500 policemen that cost the Government R11.8 million were opened in Soweto.



# AWB, CP head for Sept election clash

CP Trip 15/6/89  
302/4

Political Staff

A HEAD-ON clash between the AWB and the Conservative Party is looming and threatening to split the right-wing vote in the coming elections.

AWB chief Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has already given the CP an ultimatum — to fight the election on a united front with the AWB and the Herstigte Nasionale Party or lose the AWB's backing.

But CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht appears to be ignoring the threat and is ready to go it alone.

Now Mr Terre'Blanche seems to be preparing to stand in Rustenburg under the banner of his own "Blanke-Volksparty".

He is due to address a meeting there tonight at which he could announce his, and the AWB's, election plans.

It is understood that Dr Treurnicht has not received anything "in writing" from the AWB, but that his office has received a request for a meeting.

However, the times suggested by the AWB did not suit Dr Treurnicht because of his campaign schedule.

Nothing has been heard since from the AWB.

CP sources said yesterday the party's candidate, Professor Willie Botha, was already hard at work in Rustenburg and there were no indications that he would withdraw.

He was nominated after heavy in-fighting between former HNP members and CP members over a candidate.

# Civil service 'props up Nats'

Pretoria Correspondent (204A)

A political storm is threatening in the ranks of the public service over claims that many top officials are promoting Government policies.

In his inaugural lecture in Pretoria last night, Professor Donovan Marais, of Unisa's department of political science, said the National Party Government had tightened its grip on the public service increasingly since the rise to power of Mr P W Botha in 1978.

Professor Marais said party politics was a "fact of life" in the public service.

He gave examples of how top officials were promoting Government policies:

- Senior appointments were made, on five-year contracts, opening the door for "political appointments".
- Top officials were involved increasingly in parliamentary committees.

Professor Marais said he believed the public service was first drawn into the political arena in 1980 when the number of

Government departments was slashed from 44 to 22.

When Mr Botha came to power the service was drawn increasingly into the process of government, and its higher echelons made "partners" in the political sphere. *Star 15/6/89*

The implication of his remarks was that officials had a stake in seeing that a particular political party — even a particular leader — stayed in power.

The Public Servants' Association, representing 60 000 people, said members were career people, not politicians.

General manager Mr Hans Olivier said it was obvious that senior officials, especially those who had worked alongside the Government for many years, would appear to think along Government lines, but he denied that they overtly represented any particular political party.

"If there were a change of government, it would be ridiculous to suggest that the whole public service, too, be changed."

# Anglicans criticised for rejecting Die Stem

Star  
15/6/84

Staff Reporter

In rejecting "Die Stem" as South Africa's national anthem, the Anglican church was acting with insensitivity, the Afrikaans newspapers *Beeld* and *Transvaler* said in editorials.

Both papers commented that the anthem was a symbol of liberation to a whole generation of South Africans who had witnessed it replacing the British anthem.

The *Transvaler* said on Tuesday the insensitivity of the Anglican Church towards the Afrikaner's "love, hard work and ideals" for his country should be strongly condemned.

The paper added, however, the decision also carried an important message to all Afrikaners: that just as they could not reconcile themselves to God Save the King, so black South Africans experienced problems with "Die Stem".

*Beeld* said yesterday although a new constitutional dispensation in South Africa would inevitably increase the need to create new or additional national symbols, the official rejection of "Die Stem" by the Anglican Church proves just how difficult it will be to create a new South Africa.

The paper added that, in addition to the national anthem, the national flag — and even the official languages — could be threatened.

National symbols should be the "organic" product of a nation, *Beeld* said, and not the result of a political decision "from above".

# Malan to stand for Randburg <sup>Step 15/6/87</sup>

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan has been confirmed as the DP candidate for Randburg in the September 6 general elections.

This was confirmed on Tuesday night by Mr Peter Soal, the newly-elected chairman of the the DP's Southern Transvaal region.

Mr Malan is expected to face a tough election against the National Party candidate Mr Glenn Babb, the Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

His confirmation as Randburg candidate means that all three DP co-leaders have now been nominated.

Dr Zach de Beer will stand in Parktown, Johannesburg and Dr Denis Worrall in Berea, Durban.

Mr Malan has held Randburg since 1977 when he was elected for the National Party.

He resigned from the NP in January 1987 and retained Randburg in the May 1987 general elections as an independent aligned to Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Esther Lategan.

He matriculated at the Hoërskool Linden, did a law degree at the University of Pretoria and was chairman of the management committee of Randburg Town Council while practising as an attorney.

He and his wife Judy have three children at the Hoërskool Randburg.

# Linden cheers are 'unfounded'

8/2/89 Political Reporter 204A

Democratic Party jubilation about drawing Afrikaans support in the recent Linden, Johannesburg, municipal by-election was completely unfounded, says Dr Frikkie Uys of the National Party's Westdene divisional council.

"The sad fact is that the Linden voting was on the same pattern as all elections since 1910 — that is, the old Boer/Brit division — with about 10 to 15 percent of English-speakers voting for the NP and the same percentage of Afrikaners voting for the DP."

Although the NP had claimed after the 1987 general election that it had won over many English-speakers, NP analysts wondered how many of those voters were true supporters and how

many had voted for the NP merely because they feared the Conservative Party, Dr Uys said.

The DP's description of Linden as the "symbolic home of the Afrikaner intelligentsia" had evoked considerable merriment in Linden Afrikaner circles, Dr Uys said.

"Even if the DP had won over some intelligent Afrikaners, the NP says it has won over even more intelligent — and realistic — English-speakers."

He also dismissed as exaggerated DP claims that the Linden result was a second blow to Westdene MP and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, after the PFP had captured Northcliff in last year's municipal election. Both municipal wards fall partly into Mr Botha's parliamentary constituency.

Star 15/6/89 - (304A)

## DP coloured MPs on horns of a dilemma

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Election prospects for three Democratic Party MPs from the House of Representatives remain uncertain while they wait for a decision on whether their party will formally endorse a segregated ballot.

If the Democratic Party does not officially back House of Representatives contests, Mr Charles Redcliffe (Schauderville), Mr Cecil Kippen (Durban Suburbs) and Mr Archie Poole (Belhar) will either have to go it alone and fight as independents, or retain their DP membership but withdraw from parliamentary politics.

Only Mr Redcliffe said he would definitely not stand "unofficially" without DP backing. Even if the party backed him, he would "have to consider whether or not to stand", he said.

He also announced he was moving to Cape Town "for personal reasons".

### CONTINGENCY PLAN

Mr Poole and Mr Kippen declined to elaborate on any contingency plan, should the DP decide against formal endorsement of their candidacy.

However, all three reiterated their commitment to the DP's ideals and hoped the party would favour their participation as DP candidates.

Mr Redcliffe, Mr Kippen and Mr Poole were at the centre of a controversy in April when the DP first decided against admitting them as members, but then rescinded this decision.

Mr Redcliffe said: "I will make my position clear once I move to Cape Town. It will depend on what the DP decides and on the availability of a seat."

Mr Kippen, who had had "an excellent" response to his joining the DP from local constituents, said his future plans depended on the decision of the DP's national board.

He said hoped a decision would be made soon. If he was going to stand as a DP candidate, he would need to begin preparing his campaign as soon as possible. However, he did not want to "pressure" the DP.

# I'll make a comeback in Houghton, vows Dr Peer

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Dr Shlomo Peer, who resigned as the National Party's Houghton chairman in 1984, reportedly because of dissatisfaction with the treatment of English-speakers within the party, has made a come-back to the constituency as the NP's candidate on September 6.

And the 63-year-old retired Anglo American Life executive is determined to put up the fight of a lifetime against the Democratic Party candidate — expected to be Mr Tony Leon — in the constituency which is regarded as one of the safest liberal opposition seats.

"I shall fight to win. If I may be a little flippant, if the NP could manage to lose Linden, it is logical to win Houghton," Dr Peer quipped from his Hermanus home this week.

Dr Peer sent ripples through the NP in 1984 when he quit his Houghton position and simultaneously resigned from the NP's Transvaal head committee. He did not resign, however, as NP member.

At the time, his resignation was linked to dissatisfaction in NP English-speaking ranks at being overlooked for top jobs in the tri-cameral dispensation introduced that year.

Dr Peer was one of several



Dr Shlomo Peer ... determined to put up a tough fight.

English-speaking candidates considered for appointment to the President's Council, but was consequently overlooked.

He would contest the election on issues such as the economy and the political accommodation of blacks in "the right frameworks".

The Jewish immigrant, doctor of economics and SABC Board member formed the NP's Houghton branch in 1982, and devoted his energies to helping secure a "yes" vote in the 1983 referendum on the tri-cameral dispensation.

# De Beer: NP out to keep 304A as much apartheid as it can

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter  
Star 15/6/89

The National Party was last night accused of being determined to maintain as much apartheid as it possibly could.

Speaking in Benoni at a Democratic Party fundraising rally, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer criticised the NP for its "ridiculously inefficient system of duplicated governments in South Africa, each with its great, swollen bureaucracy that has to be paid for".

South Africa's financial isolation and the continuing risk of military action against the country were also the result of apartheid.

"To all this must be added the Nationalists' well-known practice of using taxpayers' money to buy votes at election time."

Among the devices used in recent years were civil service salary increases, artificially low

interest rates, write-offs on farmers' debts and the payment of various subsidies.

Criticising soaring government expenditure, Dr de Beer said the mere fact the Government was so profligate with taxpayers' money was a good reason for voting against the NP.

South Africa needed a government which would treat all citizens fairly, cut expenditure effectively, maintain law and order based strictly on justice, and which would overcome international isolation.

"Above all, we need a party and a government which can and will build a united nation with a common patriotism. (National Party leader) Mr F W de Klerk, with his vision of extending the own affairs concept, offers no hope that the NP can do these things.

"I assure you that the DP has the potential to do them all," Dr de Beer said.

5th 1916/69

304A

## First election candidates officially named

# DP begins battle for Pta

### Pretoria Correspondent

The Democratic Party's first Pretoria candidates for the September election have been officially named.

Newspaper columnist Mrs Martie Meiring and businessman Mr Andy de Beer have been nominated unopposed as the party's candidates in Pretoria East and Rissik respectively.

In Pretoria East, one of the city's largest constituencies for the House of Assembly with 37 774 registered voters, Mrs Meiring is facing the National Party's sitting

MP, Dr T G Alant and the Conservative Party's Mr Thys Pringle.

Dr Alant has successfully contested the constituency twice and during the 1987 general election he obtained a majority of 8 242 votes — the largest majority for the NP in Pretoria.

The battle for Rissik, which has a large student population, will be fought between Mr de Beer, the National Party's sitting MP Mr Chris Fismar and Mr Koos Reyneke, the CP candidate.

Mr Fismar obtained a majority

of 3 846 votes during the 1987 election in the constituency which has 19 013 registered voters.

The two candidates will be officially appointed by the DP at a meeting on June 21 when the candidates for at least four other constituencies will be finalised.

During the annual general meeting of the DP's Northern Transvaal region, Mr Tertius Spies was been elected as the party's regional chairman and Dr Henry van de Linde and Mr Pierre Coetsee as vice chairmen.



Nat MP for Pretoria East Dr T G Alant.

# Rudolph the man in the middle on Jo'burg budget

Star 15/6/89  
By Shirley Woodgate,  
Municipal Reporter

The approval of Johannesburg's R1,8 billion budget now appears to hinge on one man — independent councillor Professor Harold Rudolph.

It appears he is the man holding the balance of power in the city council and whichever way he votes today, he is in a no-win situation in the popularity stakes.

If he supports the National Party's budget, he will antagonise his former colleagues in the Democratic Party.

If he throws his weight behind the opposition to throw out the budget by a single vote, he will bring the wrath of the Nats on his head.

The situation is that out of the 51 seats, 24 are held by the NP, 20 by the DP, four by the the Conservative Party and three by independents.

The NP needs two extra votes for a council majority.

It is highly unlikely that Mr Eddy Magid, who has been co-opted to the NP management committee, will vote against his own committee.

It is believed that independent councillor Mr David Neppe and the four CPs will vote against the budget.

All of which leaves Professor Rudolph in the hot seat.

By tonight he will have 25 friends and 25 enemies. It was being whispered last night that he may have his own reasons for getting the budget through, but he was not saying which way he would vote.

By tonight he will know who will be cordial and who will be giving him the cold shoulder.

● See Page 2 M

# Political appointments in public service denied

star 16/11/89  
Pretoria Correspondent

Political loyalties of public servants do not play a role in their chances of appointment or promotion to top posts, says the Commission for Administration.

Reacting to criticism of increasing politicisation of the public service, the commission denied the appointment of directors-general could be seen as "political".

And Public Servants' Association president, Dr Colin Cameron vouched that appointments and promotions were made on the basis of merit, and not politics.



Professor Donovan Marais ... Party politics in the public service is here to stay.

In an inaugural lecture this week Professor Donovan Marais of the Unisa department of political science said the Government had increasingly tightened its grip on the public service.

Professor Marais said top officials' appointments had to be approved by the relevant Minister, which opened the door for political appointments.

They were required to swear an oath of secrecy, and information released by departments often reflected an obsession with Government policy. Increasing public exposure, and television appearances, showed support for Government policy, he said.

Dr Cameron said Professor Marais's comments were his perceptions and interpretations of the situation in the public service.

Professor Marais declined to comment on the reaction to his lecture.

304A

# Vlok defends renewing of state of emergency

Star 16/6/89

3048

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The state of emergency would not be lifted while the climate or revolutionary activities remained at its present high level, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Addressing the South Africa-Britain Trade Association on the eve of

## Govt urged to end apartheid

The Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference has voiced its "unreserved condemnation" of the Government's re-imposition of the state of emergency.

In a statement in Pretoria yesterday, it said the experience of the past three years showed that emergency rule was "a major obstacle to peace — far from serving the cause of peace".

"When a government resorts to emergency powers it is not only admitting that it does not enjoy the support of those it governs, but it is also alienating even further the people from whom it gets its legitimacy.

"It is sad yet encouraging that after three years a government Minister should admit publicly: 'There are certain legitimate grievances, which will have to be rectified'.

"In the light of this, we appeal to the Government, and to Mr F W de Klerk in particular, to translate the many promises of change into actual steps to remove the often-voiced grievances. We ask them to begin with the key grievance, which is apartheid."

The statement said that until the re-imposition of the state of emergency, there was reason to hope that the statemanship which led to the Namibia accord would be applied to the situation in South Africa.

"Sadly, this is not to be," the statement said. — Sapa.

the commemoration of the 1976 Soweto uprising, Mr Vlok said the Government was "not pleased" that it had been compelled to reinstate the state of emergency for the fourth time earlier this month.

"I can assure you we all want to see the end of it. But while abnormal conditions prevail as far as the internal security of South Africa is concerned, we will do everything necessary to maintain law and order and to protect our present social order.

"For that we do not apologise to anyone. We have an obligation and a duty to protect the people of South Africa. This we will do with pride and with diligence."

He said even a state of emergency did not guarantee peace and order.

Terrorism and violence had increased drastically before last year's municipal elections, with incidents in September and October more than 100 percent higher than previous months.

### THREATENED

The president of the outlawed African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, had also threatened to disrupt the parliamentary election on September 6, Mr Vlok said.

"Can you imagine what would have happened if we did not have the extraordinary powers given the police under the emergency regulations? South Africa could indeed have become an ungovernable country as the ANC intends it to become."

Statistics showed violence had reduced drastically after the imposition of the first emergency in 1986.

He dismissed as "a propaganda move" statements by the ANC and SA Communist Party that they were primarily concentrating on hard targets, saying the "terrorist alliance" was trying to convince the international community that such acts of terror were a form of guerilla warfare.

He claimed 200 percent more acts of terror had been launched on "soft" compared to "hard" targets in the first five months of 1989.

Star 16/6/89

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304A

Rudolph tips scales for NP

# City budget passed after requests by independent

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

Professor Harold Rudolph, Johannesburg's independent city councillor in the "Catch 22" situation over his budget vote, last night supplied the critical vote needed to pass the R1,8 billion budget, on condition the ruling National Party agreed to consider five major requests.

Mr Eddie Magid, the independent elected to the management committee by the council (and not co-opted as was indicated yesterday), also supported the budget while the third independent, Mr David Neppe, voted with the opposition.

Professor Rudolph was assured by management committee chairman Mr Jan Burger that his call for the establishment of a fulltime financial planning committee "with teeth" and the reinstatement of the ombudsman would be considered.

Mr Rudolph also called for the introduction of "devices in democracy", including regular referendums to allow the people to decide matters that affected them.

"A referendum should also be allowed if people on their own incentive collected, say, 20 000 signatures on a particular issue."

He wanted an assurance that the council would not be party to evicting people from their homes because they could not afford the

service charges, and he urged the introduction of concessionary tariffs for the city's religious institutions.

Finally, he suggested the introduction of a Community Chest funded by private enterprise to help the underprivileged over the present difficult times.

The Democratic Party council leader, Mr Tony Leon, said Professor Rudolph's decision to support the budget had saddled the residents of Johannesburg with the highest increases in the council's history.



Professor Rudolph ... wants referendums, an ombudsman and a Community Chest.

of an arti- that the party... ry it voters ren for the stop  
thing about and it was already larger than its right-direction syndrome again.  
aid it had component parts.

## Offers of help jam DP lines

*CAP TIPS 16/6/87*  
*306A*  
Political Staff  
THE Democratic Party's switchboard at its Western Cape headquarters was jammed yesterday after the DP placed a single newspaper advertisement for temporary election jobs.

"We have been totally inundated," the DP's regional director, Mrs Lois Harley, said yesterday. "More than a hundred people have phoned."

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## Van Gend accepts DP decision on seat

*CAP TIPS 16/6/87*  
*306A*  
Political Staff  
THE ousted Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, Mr Jan van Gend, said yesterday that he strongly supported the party, fully accepted the nomination decision and would seriously consider standing for the DP elsewhere if he was asked to.

Mr Van Gend, who lost the DP nomination to Ms Dene Smuts, said: "I think it was a fair fight and she is a very good successor."

He said he was convinced that the DP was the only solution to South Africa's problems, "so much so that if the party needs me for another job or wants to stand in some seat, I would do it".

Mr Van Gend, who was elected unopposed in 1987, said he would continue working for what he believed in.

He would, however, now have more time to devote to his legal practice.

THE SHOP FOR ALL SEASONS

ld boy accompanying  
hem was unhurt.

question clearly? Will the real Mr De  
Klerk please stand up."

forth the basic rights and freedoms of  
every citizen, Dr De Beer said.

ing natural into a political  
dumping ground for car-  
petbaggers".

# 'FW should not get a chance'

By BARRY STREEK

NO one of goodwill could seriously want to give the National Party government another chance to implement their brand of social engineering, the Democratic Party candidate in Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, said yesterday.

She said she respected Mr FW de Klerk as a person, but rejected those who suggested he should be given a chance.

Ms Smuts, the former editor of Fair Lady who resigned her position in 1987 in protest against Nasionale Pers censorship of an article she intended publishing about Dr Denis Worrall, said it had

given her no pleasure to unseat a sitting MP from her own party.

But she was very happy to represent Groote Schuur, where she had stayed nearly all the time she had lived in Cape Town.

She would be disappointed if the NP did not put up a candidate against her.

The nomination struggle, in which she defeated the present MP, Mr Jan van Gend, had been "a fair contest".

What pleased her about the decisions in the Cape Peninsula was that the party operated as the DP and it was already larger than its component parts.

The contacts the DP was making with extra-parliamentary organisations made it a party with the potential to transform the future of South Africa.

"I think it is time to stand up and be counted and be among the people advancing this process." She believed the goodwill of well-meaning white voters was exploited in the 1983 referendum when they were taking South Africa on a road of racial co-operation when in fact they were creating racial division in the constitution itself.

Ms Smuts said she would be sorry if voters fell for the step-in-the-right-direction syndrome again.



CANDIDATE ...  
Dene Smuts

# Three councillors to attend Lusaka talks

Staff Reporter

TWENTY-FIVE of the 120 white South Africans who will attend a conference with 40 members of the ANC in Lusaka early next month come from the Western Cape.

The organisers of the conference, the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), will not yet release the names of those invited for fear of passport withdrawals by the state.

Among the delegates will be "city councillors, business people, academics, and members of a variety of political organisations and parties", according to a press release from FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier.

Three city councillors said yesterday that they had been invited and intended to go. It is understood that one Cape Town MP is going too, though this could not be confirmed.

Executive committee member Mr Clive Keegan, who is chairman of the town planning committee, confirmed that he would be going to the conference, entitled "The Role of Whites in a Changing Society".

Mr Frank van der Velde, who is in the running to be mayor after Mr Gordon Oliver's term in office, said he too had accepted an invitation.

The third councillor is Ms Annamia van den Heever, who was elected to office last year. She took part in the Open Cape Town walk on Sunday.

Mr Van der Velde said he had been invited because of his involvement in local government, but he was going as a private individual. He would pay part of the cost himself but much of it was sponsored.

He did not expect any trouble from his fellow councillors over his decision to take up the invitation.

"I am convinced that the way to seek peaceful solutions is to talk to people. You must negotiate with people who disagree with you."

Costs of the three-day conference, which are expected to amount to over R300 000, will mostly be met by the Swiss, United States, Canadian, Dutch and Danish governments, and possibly the Swedish as well.

Most of those attending the conference would be "based in organisations working in the white community," Mr Olivier said. Some would be present as individuals.

All those who had been invited shared "a goal of bringing about an end to apartheid and the inclusion of all South Africans in a non-racial, democratic South Africa".

Tilted lover

CN  
Tmt  
16/6/89

# AWB boss to fight Nats, CP

306A

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche will contest Rustenburg as an "independent white man" for a seat in Parliament, he announced last night.

He has set the stage for a bitter three-way struggle with the CP and NP who have already named candidates for the seat.

The NP have nominated sitting MP and National Health and Population Development deputy minister Dr Michael Veldman as its candidate, and the CP have named industrial economist Professor Willie Botha. The DP will not contest the seat.

## Disunity

The HNP reportedly wished to put up a candidate but none has been announced yet. It is unlikely however that they will oppose Mr Terre'Blanche in Rustenburg.

To the loud cheers of about 500 supporters in the Rustenburg town hall, Mr Terre'Blanche said that he did not want to be the reason for disunity but right-wing unity did not exist.

"That is why I am going to stand in the last Parliament in the Republic of South Africa," he said.

He called on the CP to let Mr Marais win a seat "as he had been fighting for one for 20 years".

He said that he was not bound to any particular seat and that he wanted to go to Parliament because that is where the laws are made.

# UN, Swapo criticise SWA police

CHT TintS  
16/6/89  
304A

From KEVIN JACOBS

WINDHOEK. — Namibia's police force has become the focus of demonstrations and criticism from the UN and Swapo.

Yesterday a senior Swapo official demanded a clean-out of the police force before the elections and insisted that the UN's Namibia chief "take charge" of the territory.

Central committee member Mr Nickey Iyambo, who returned to Namibia at the weekend after 26 years in exile, said returning exiles feared leaving church-run reception centres because of reported intimidation and harassment, especially widespread in northern Ovambo.

Untag policemen have logged at least 200 accusations of assault, intimidation and harassment against police in the north.

A protest against the police took place yesterday outside the residence of administrator-general Mr Louis Pienaar.

A small band of students held placards reading "Koevoet out of Swapo".

Meanwhile Namibian police com-

missioner Lieutenant-General Dolf Gouws dismissed UN criticism yesterday that his force was not co-operating with UN police monitors.

General Gouws said co-operation between the policemen was excellent.

"As a matter of fact, Untag are invited almost daily to work more closely to facilitate their monitoring function," the statement said.

Access to all police installations, as prescribed in UN Resolution 435, had been granted, he said.

But at a UN press conference on Wednesday, spokesman Mr Fred Eckhard said in reply to a question: "There have been problems with access (to police installations) in a few cases, primarily in the north."

He said the matter was under discussion.

There are 500 UN police monitors in Namibia at present tasked with monitoring the SWA Police who have to maintain law and order during the country's transition to independence.

Provision is being made to double the number of UN policemen to 1 000 to fulfil this function.

## DP fights in Witbank

15/6/81 Highveld Bureau 304A

The Democratic Party is making its presence felt in conservative Witbank.

Within weeks of forming, the DP has announced its candidate for the September general election, opened a large office in downtown Witbank, and signed up hundreds of members.

A well known Witbank businessman, Mr Koos Venter, has been chosen to stand for the party.

## THE ELECTION

# Scrambling for safety

All three main white political parties faced internal squabbles this week as they moved towards finalising candidates for September's general election.

It is estimated that 350-plus aspirant MPs will stand for the 166 seats at stake in the House of Assembly. With the possible exception of one or two Democratic Party (DP) strongholds in Cape Town, all the seats are expected to be contested.

The fluidity of white politics following the formation of the DP and the growth of the Conservative Party (CP) since the 1987 election has left very few "safe" seats — particularly for the National Party (NP) — and means that plum constituencies are at a premium.

The DP, still struggling to present a united front, is plagued by suspicion and mistrust on the one hand; and on the other by a scramble for seats as aspirant candidates sense a voter swing to the Left of government. Most sitting DP MPs, particularly those in seats regarded as strongholds — such as Groote Schuur, Claremont and Bryanston — faced nomination contests this week.

Ironically, of all three parties it is the CP that faces the most serious potential threat. Many observers believe the party is set to make massive gains in the election, but Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene Terre'Blanche is apparently seeking to impose AWB dominance on the CP's campaign by threatening to split conservative support unless a rightwing pact between the CP, the AWB and the Herstigte Nasionale Party is concluded before the election. Terre'Blanche was due to announce his intentions late this week. A split in the rightwing vote, as in 1987, is the only hope the NP has of retaining about 15 seats expected to fall to the Right in September.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht, just back from a European tour that was a public relations disaster, has not yet responded to Terre'Blanche, but is likely to keep as far away as possible from what is becoming an increasingly embarrassing relationship — particularly following the AWB's open support for the condemned Strijdom Square mass murderer, Barend Strydom. But hardliners in the CP, particularly those who also support the AWB, are expected to press for a pact and the opportunity of winning 40-50 seats.

The NP, still smarting from last week's loss to the DP of the "safe" Linden ward, now faces a fresh crisis in the city following the unopposed nomination in Bezuidenhout this week of sitting MP Sam Bloomberg. The nomination was expected to go to the NP's municipal election campaign organiser for

Johannesburg, Alwyn Marx. However, the threat of further ructions in the NP's city council caucus if Bloomberg was ousted is believed to have forced party bosses to step in and insist on his nomination. Marx supporters are now peeved and some are believed to be threatening to quit the party. Divisions in NP ranks in Bezuidenhout could give the DP a chance to regain the seat.

In another bitter Nat nomination struggle, rival candidates in Worcester in the Boland have split the party's support there. Local mayor, Kolic Nelson, is being opposed by party organiser Ryno King from Robertson. The extent of the bitterness is illustrated by reports that rival camps refer to each other as "the enemy," and that Nelson and King have opened separate offices in Worcester from which to plot their strategies. Sitting MP Hans Rabie is retiring. In an unusual move, the dispute will be settled by a poll on Saturday in which the constituency's 5 000 registered NP members will be entitled to vote.

The DP also faces problems. Sensitivity in some circles over Esther Lategan's bid for the party's nomination in Cape Town's Gardens constituency, and Denis Worrall's nomination in Durban's Berea seat, has again emphasised the difficulty of forging the new party into a unified opposition force.

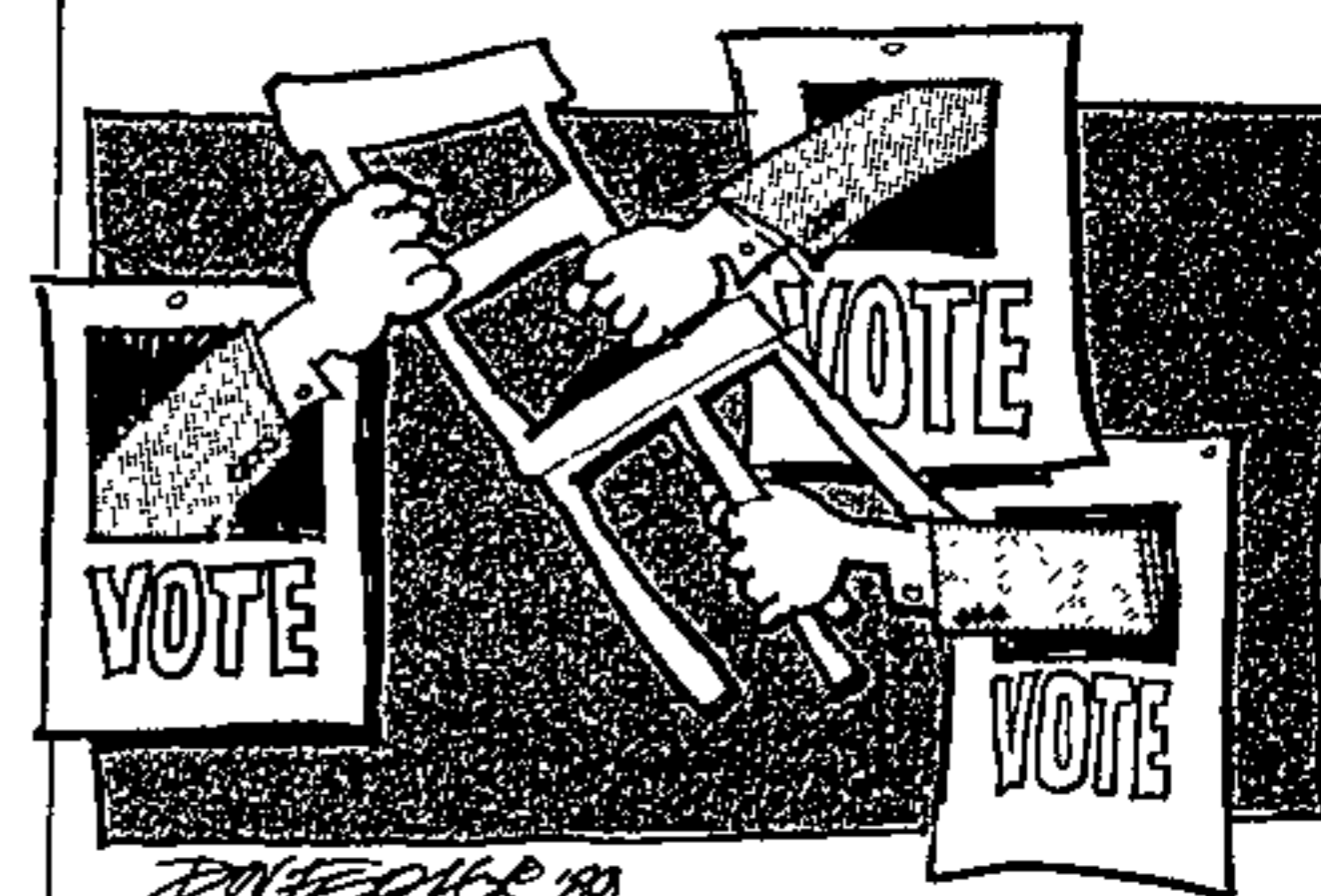
Lategan came within 1 800 votes of winning the Nat stronghold of Stellenbosch in 1987, when she stood under the banner of Denis Worrall's independent grouping. Her critics, mainly former PFP stalwarts, say she should again contest a winnable Nat seat rather than try to oust Gardens' sitting MP, Ken Andrew, from what is regarded as a fairly safe DP constituency.

She disagrees and points out that she did not foist herself on Gardens, but was approached by members of the DP's constituency committee to make herself available as a candidate. On the issue of whether she should have opted rather to stand in a Nat-held seat, Lategan says she has been very involved in establishing organisational structures in Nat constituencies in the Boland and western Cape since the last election. She concedes that she does have voter appeal in the platteland, but believes that the DP's best bet to win Nat platteland seats is to put up candidates with strong local standing. She is going "full out" for the Gardens nomination and declines to say if she will seek a seat elsewhere if unsuccessful against Andrew.

In defence of Lategan, Worrall (a former Nat MP for Gardens) says it must be accepted that the DP members have the right to seek nomination in whichever seats they

wish. "As I understand it she was approached by members of the Gardens constituency committee at a time when it was expected that Van Zyl Slabbert would accept the DP nomination for Stellenbosch."

He rejects accusations that members of the former Independent Party (IP) and National Democratic Movement (NDM) are trying to oust sitting MPs of the former PFP, and says Gardens is the only constituency where it is happening. He points out that in a number of other constituencies held by former PFP MPs in both the Transvaal



and western Cape they are being challenged by former members of the PFP — and not the IP or NDM.

"The fact is that we are putting up candidates all over SA who are not traditional PFP candidates," Worrall says.

Worrall himself was confirmed as the DP candidate in Durban's Berea constituency this week despite opposition from former PFP members in the area — including the retiring MP, Ray Swart. He says his decision to stand in a safe DP seat rather than contest a winnable Nat seat is justified because it will give him more time to assist with campaigning in marginal seats. He is spearheading the DP's campaign and has spoken at 60 public meetings across the country in the past 10 weeks. He also argues that Natal will be the DP's main battlefield in the current campaign.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

## That Linden high

Thrilled by two municipal by-election victories, the Democratic Party (DP) believes it is now feasible to contest — and win — 52 parliamentary seats. If it achieves this, the possibility of a hung parliament comes into view — which would give the DP the balance of power that co-leader Denis Worrall often talks about.

Some, like Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, are not so sanguine about such an outcome in September. However, the DP's national director of political organisation, Neil Ross, reckons the party's capture of two National Party (NP) held municipal seats, Linden (Johannesburg) and Kabega Park in Port Elizabeth, are obvious pointers to a "swing" away from the NP by Afrikaner voters.



DP's Spies... Linden win could signal a swing

Ross stresses that, although the DP won Linden by 340 votes, the election represents a 65% increase in the number of votes to the left of government, compared to last October's municipal poll. "Given the dynamics of these figures, seats such as Queenstown, Maitland and Johannesburg West are now viable to contest."

There are up to 10 such seats, he adds, making a total of 52 possible DP wins.

Slabbert says that while the Linden result significantly reflects the level of disenchantment among middle- to upper-class Afrikaners, he doubts what he calls Ross's "turbo-charged" mythology: "I certainly think the Linden result will be a national phenomenon, but how it will manifest itself is difficult to say. I think the DP will win seats, but I don't think enough to create a hung parliament."

According to DP co-leader Wynand Malan: "Linden signals that the DP is a kosher topic in the establishment." He also believes the so-called *swartgevaar* needs to be tackled if there is to be peace in the future. Malan's belief is that it is not impossible for the DP to become the official opposition on September 6, with a view to winning the next general election.

Psephologist Willem Kleynhans says his research over a decade shows that municipal elections fought on party lines, with a high poll, have direct national implications. Both parties were aware of this in Linden and went "full out," he says. "I concluded the swing to be 12%, which is very impressive and augurs well for the DP."

As an urban area, Kleynhans explains, Linden will be seen as a national test of the urban vote. "For the first time, there has been an appreciable swing of middle- and upper-class Afrikaans voters to a leftwing party. A number of English voters also returned.

"I believe voters are sick and tired of the NP and realise that their sentimental support for the NP is being manipulated. They want a change to a party with reformist ideas. This, I think, means to them that black people are to get fair representation in parliament where decisions are made which affect them. I think they realise that blacks won't be satisfied with a minority vote."

NP-backing political commentator Otto Krause sees the Linden result "as a protest against everything that has gone wrong with the economy and a protest against the NP's failure to deliver in terms of a more modern view of SA. There was clearly a need to register such protests without really rocking the boat, expressing a feeling that the NP needs to be shaken by the shoulders if not kicked in the pants."

Although Krause does not believe the election will result in a hung parliament, "the increase of the leftward urban protest will ironically increase rightwing rural and blue-collar protest in favour of the Conservative Party (CP), leading to greater polarisation." Ross agrees with this.

Meanwhile, at the DP opening of its Benoni office this week, an enthusiastic crowd of about 100 supporters heard Wynand Malan promise that the DP would "take the East Rand." Malan said the trend in SA was to the left; the CP reflected the NP of 1977, while the NP today had nothing to put in place of its failed apartheid ideology. Real

power, said Malan, had been handed over to the State Security Council — and it remained to be seen whether NP leader F W de Klerk could regain control for the party. ■

# AWB leader is to run for Parliament

8/16/89 By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter (304A)

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche has dropped a bombshell in right-wing political circles by announcing he is to run for Parliament in Rustenburg.

Mr TerreBlanche told a 700-strong AWB meeting in Rustenburg last night he would contest the National Party-held seat in the September general election.

He received enthusiastic applause when he said he would either contest the seat as an independent or under the banner of the Boere Volkstaat Party, the AWB's registered political party.

In an impassioned plea for right-wing unity, he requested Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht to withdraw Professor Willie Botha as the CP candidate in the Rustenburg constituency.

"I don't ask Dr Treurnicht for an election pact. But for many years I have pledged my loyalty, and that of my followers, to him. The time has come for me to go to Parliament. I expect the CP not to oppose me."

He would not join the CP or become a member of the CP caucus if elected to Parliament, he said.

"If it means getting more opportunity to speak in Parliament, then I'll sit as the sole member of the Boere Volkstaat Party."

"It is not the quantity that counts, but the quality of a man who walks into Parliament and who fearlessly demands to know what is being done to his country," he said to loud applause.

Mr TerreBlanche urged parties on the right to bury the hatchet and to consolidate as much voter support as possible "in this last election".

He asked the leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, not to stand against Dr Treurnicht in his Waterberg constituency.

"I don't want Mr Marais and Dr Treurnicht to fight against each other in Waterberg. Let Mr Marais contest a safe seat so that he can go to Parliament, because a parliamentary seat has been evading him for almost 20 years."

He challenged both men to respond within the next week and to "accept my plea for unity so we can make Dr Treurnicht the president of South Africa".

## 2 President's Council men could stand for the Nats

By Esmaré van der  
Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Two President's Council members could be among the seven National Party parliamentary candidates still to be announced for Transvaal constituencies.

Mr Laurie Poorter is expected to get the party's nomination for Parktown North, the seat held by the Democratic Party's Southern Transvaal chairman, Mr Peter Soal.

In Yeoville, held by the DP's Mr Harry Schwarz, PC member Mr Issy Pinshaw could be nominated by the National Party.

Mr Pinshaw said earlier he had been approached by the NP's Yeoville divisional council, but would only this week decide on whether to stand.

### NOT ANNOUNCED

Other Transvaal constituencies where the NP has not yet announced candidates are Sandton, Parktown, Randfontein, Pretoria West and Stilfontein.

In Randfontein, a nomination contest is still being fought between Mr Barry Botha of Linden, Johannesburg, and Mr Frank van der Tass of Pretoria.

Three possible candidates are being mentioned for Parktown, with National Party sources hoping that sitting MP Dr Marius Barnard will contest the seat as an independent. They believe the NP would have a chance of winning if Dr Barnard stood against DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and split the vote.

# TV election crisis 'prevented by FW'

5/24  
16/6/89 By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

304A

CAPE TOWN — National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk prevented a "catastrophic" breakdown in the SABC television coverage of the 1987 elections by intervening in a row between President Botha and SABC news director Mr Sakkie Burger.

This is according to *Beeld*, the National Party-supporting Transvaal newspaper, which yesterday reported the latest revelation in the Burger-Botha row.

Mr Burger has subsequently been overlooked for promotion in the SABC news division.

At the weekend the Sunday Star revealed that President Botha had objected to the panelists selected for the election programme, but no changes had been made to the panel.

Professor Dirk Laurie, an election analyst who was a panelist on the election programme concerned, con-

firmed aspects of *Beeld's* report to The Star yesterday.

He said Mr Burger, "wearing a wry smile", told them in the studio he had been informed the panel was not giving enough attention to the NP.

Fellow-panelist Mr Otto Krause had volunteered to mention the successes of the NP when he spoke again.

Professor Laurie said everyone in the studio was aware the call had come from President Botha, although no one had said so.

He said he knew Mr de Klerk was in the studio, but did not witness him restraining Mr Burger from storming out of the studio.

Mr de Klerk was approached for comment on the story but had not replied at time of going to press. President Botha's spokesman was unavailable.

*Beeld* reported yesterday that after being telephoned in the studio on election night by Mr Botha and chastised for not presenting the election results as a "triumph for the National Party", Mr Burger stormed out.

Without quoting sources, *Beeld* said Mr Burger was calm and even apologetic on the telephone to Mr Botha.

But afterwards he grabbed his jacket and stormed out of the studio, vowing to take no further part in the panel discussion.

This was at about four or five in the morning. Mr de Klerk happened to be at the studio for an interview at this time.

When Mr Burger tried to leave the studio, Mr de Klerk stopped him.

He persuaded Mr Burger to remain in the studio and to continue with the broadcast "to prevent a catastrophe".

Mr Burger agreed.

Star

16/6/89

(304A)



**Ms Dene Smuts . . . the pen is mightier than a sitting MP.**

## Woman journalist ousts MP for DP nomination

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — In a major upset, the former editor of *Fair Lady* magazine, Ms Dene Smuts, has ousted MP Mr Jan van Gend in a nomination tussle as the Democratic Party's candidate for the key liberal Groote Schuur seat.

In Simon's Town, former senior Independent Party official Mr Jannie Momberg beat Mr James Selfe, DP communications director and former chief of the Silvermine base, for the nomination.

MP Mr Ken Andrew retained his hold on Gardens against former National Democratic Movement member Dr Esther Lategan, and Mr Robin Carlisle was chosen as candidate for Wynberg, which he fought, and lost narrowly, in 1987. Sitting MPs Mr Roger Hulley in Constantia and Mr Jan van Eck in Claremont won with ease.

A weary electoral college emerged in the early hours yesterday from a gruelling selection process which had lasted nearly nine hours.

Prominent DP figures expressed satisfaction at the outcome. They welcomed the new faces, and extended encouragement to the losers to consider serving the party.

The tussle for the Groote Schuur nomination was the hardest fought.

Mr van Gend faced challenges from Ms Smuts; DP youth president Ms Michelle Guttler; finance manager Mrs Margaret Fourie; and Cape Town councillors Mrs Eulalie Stott and Mr Arthur Weinburg.

DP regional chairman Mr Bill Sewell said Mr van Eck was the clear choice of the electoral college, but there was a strong feeling that the skills of the two other nominees, businessman and lawyer Mr Robert Conway and manufacturing executive Mr Justin Schaffer, should somehow be used. The DP hoped Mr Schaffer might be available, if not for other seats, then as a nominated MP.

Nominations have still to be announced for Maitland, Durbanville, De Kuilen, Paarl and Stellenbosch.

Star 16/6/89 (304A)

## Europeans understand CP — Dr T

By Therese Anders  
Highveld Bureau

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's recent trip to Europe showed him there was an understanding overseas for his party's policies.

Speaking in Middelburg last night before addressing a 700-strong audience at the town hall, Dr Treurnicht said he had achieved everything he had set out to do in Europe.

"We met various parliamentarians, bankers, professors and journalists. I addressed the Monday Club and even held a press conference in the House of Lords."

He had found a definite awareness of the CP in Europe.

While perhaps not support for his back-to-apartheid policies, there was at least "an understanding".

"There is understanding for the basic philosophy for which we stand — that is sovereignty in your own land."

He said the CP's claim to sovereignty in South Africa could be compared to Britain's claim to sovereignty within the European community.

He had found the overseas visit interesting.

"I'm more convinced than ever before that a policy of separate freedoms is the recipe for good relations between the nations."

# 101 Ways To End Apartheid is theme of Five Freedoms book

Star 16/6/89

304A

Practical suggestions by ordinary South Africans about how to bring about a better South Africa are the stuff of a new book by the Five Freedoms Forum.

Its called "101 Ways To End Apartheid" and will be launched by Pieter Dirk Uys and Jennifer Ferguson at the Wits Bozzoli Pavilion on June 26.

"There are thousands of ways to end apartheid," Uys's alter ego Evita Bezuidenhout suggests in her foreword to the book. The Five Freedoms Forum has picked 101 (and more) of these and put them together in this novel publication.

The idea of finding out what the man and woman in the street were doing about ending apartheid was the brainchild of former Five Freedoms Forum vice-chairman Dr David Webster, to whom the book is dedicated.

A year ago, the "101 Ways to End Apartheid" campaign was launched at a gala event at the Market Theatre. Hundreds of ideas were placed in suggestion boxes about how to help the apartheid dinosaur find its way to the museum.

Some who made suggestions were personalities like Johnny Clegg, Des and Dawn, Harvey Tyson, Jane Raphaely and Beyers Naude. Many others were ordinary South Africans in their day to day lives.

Other events such as a "101 Ways to

End Apartheid" fair and a children's essay competition filled the suggestion boxes. The book is an edited compilation of these.

It is divided into seven sections: Living, Sport and Culture, Religion, Economy, Education, Politics and Media, covering practical ideas about what can be done to turn today's dinosaur into tomorrow's mythical dragon.

Some suggestions are of everyday actions such as:

- "Make a point of speaking up wherever you hear people acting in a racist or unjust manner. It might mean a polite word or two, a letter to the newspapers or some more direct form of intervention."

Other suggestions require work:

- "To get to know, love and understand people from another community the best way to start is to learn to speak their language and encourage your children to do the same."

A few require organisation:

- "The Church ... should organise meetings between domestics and their employers so that they can get to know each other's feelings, aspirations and grievances."

The final section of the book is a list of over 80 anti-apartheid orientated organisations with descriptions of what they are.

The book will be available at R10 from June 26.



The new book, dedicated to Dr David Webster, aims to consign a "political dinosaur to the museum".

# Political appointments in public service denied

ster 16/6/89  
Pretoria Correspondent

Political loyalties of public servants do not play a role in their chances of appointment or promotion to top posts, says the Commission for Administration.

Reacting to criticism of increasing politicisation of the public service, the commission denied the appointment of directors-general could be seen as "political".

And Public Servants' Association president, Dr Colin Cameron vouched that appointments and promotions were made on the basis of merit, and not politics.

In an inaugural lecture this week Professor Donovan Marais of the Unisa department of political science said the Government had increasingly tightened its grip on the public service.

Professor Marais said top officials' appointments had to be approved by the relevant Minister, which opened the door for political appointments.

They were required to swear an oath of secrecy, and information released by departments often reflected an obsession with Government policy. Increasing public exposure, and television appearances, showed support for Government policy, he said.

Dr Cameron said Professor Marais's comments were his perceptions and interpretations of the situation in the public service.

Professor Marais declined to comment on the reaction to his lecture.



Professor Donovan Marais ... Party politics in the public service is here to stay.

(304A)

# Maggie No 1 for De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — National Party leader and State President-elect Mr F W de Klerk is expected to visit three other European countries after meeting British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London next week.

Official sources remain tight-lipped about the arrangements for his visit and have not confirmed the European leg of it or said who will be meeting him.

Mrs Thatcher invited Mr de Klerk some time ago as part of her effort to get to know the "new generation" of National Party leaders.

He is expected to brief Mrs Thatcher and possibly other leaders on his plans for the country once he becomes State President.

David Braun reports from Washington that there are still no definite plans for a meeting

between Mr de Klerk and senior US government officials, a spokesman for the State Department said yesterday.

It had originally been thought Mr de Klerk might make the journey to the US after visiting Europe.

However, according to the State Department, there are no plans for Mr de Klerk to meet US officials either in Europe or in Washington.

Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater has indicated there are no plans for President Bush to meet Mr de Klerk.

The desirability of inviting Mr de Klerk has been floated but liberal elements and the American black political leadership are not keen that he should be invited to the White House unless Mr Bush also agrees to meet the president of the African National Congress Mr Oliver Tambo.

# Election: This is war!

Wt. Alls 17/6/89  
Voters show signs

## of breaking pattern

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff  
FACE-CHANGING upsets and fierce constituency duels are set to add excitement to South African politics as the din of an aggressive election jamboree gathers force.

Parliament will be markedly different when it returns to Cape Town to govern: A record 400 candidates are expected to contest 166 vacant seats and analysts predict one of the biggest turnovers in MPs the country has seen.

Several memorable figures are bowing out — veterans among them, and five Cabinet grandees — and the ballot will bring in many new ones.

With President Botha going, the National Party will be under a leader, Mr F W de Klerk, who will face increasingly forceful demands to usher in the new era with which the NP has tantalised the West.

Talk of a hung parliament — featuring big in Democratic and Conservative party election assessments — adds spice to an event some predict could change the pattern politics has followed since 1948.

In the end, who gets the laurels and who gets the bruises will depend on an electorate already showing signs of breaking out of the familiar mould of the past.

Bargaining, back-stabbing and bitter nomination contests have been evident in the first round, pushing new faces to the front in a process that reflects in part a move away from dyed-in-the-wool language and party loyalties.

Right-wing politics is coming to the boil with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche casting a challenge to the Conservative Party.

He wants to stand in Rustenburg — and "take my fight to parliament" — but the CP has already chosen its man for the seat, business economist Professor Willie Botha, and is sticking to him. CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht clearly isn't keen to give any quarter.

His reaction: "We have chosen our candidate in Rustenburg and we are going forward. There is no possibility of an arrangement with the AWB or the HNP."

Significant, however, is HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais's word on the subject.

Mr Marais said he was prepared to discuss strategies with the AWB, and would share a political platform with Mr Terre'Blanche if asked.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall had his own nail-biting to do in the week when he faced a nomination contest in Berea, conscious of the grumbles of locals. But he won. Evidently recognising Dr Worrall's drawcard appeal, the party put him there so he would be reasonably free to campaign nationally.

The "three musketeer" image of the party's troika leadership troubles many, but the party argues this is democracy personified. Insiders fear picking one of the three would disaffect the others' supporters.

Rivalry is blistering on the surface elsewhere. A feud between two NP nominees in Worcester

— mayor and former dominee Mr Kolie Nelson and former MPC Mr Ryno King — is having to be settled today with a vote by paid-up Nats in the constituency. The nomination row got so bad each rival camp set up its own office in the town!

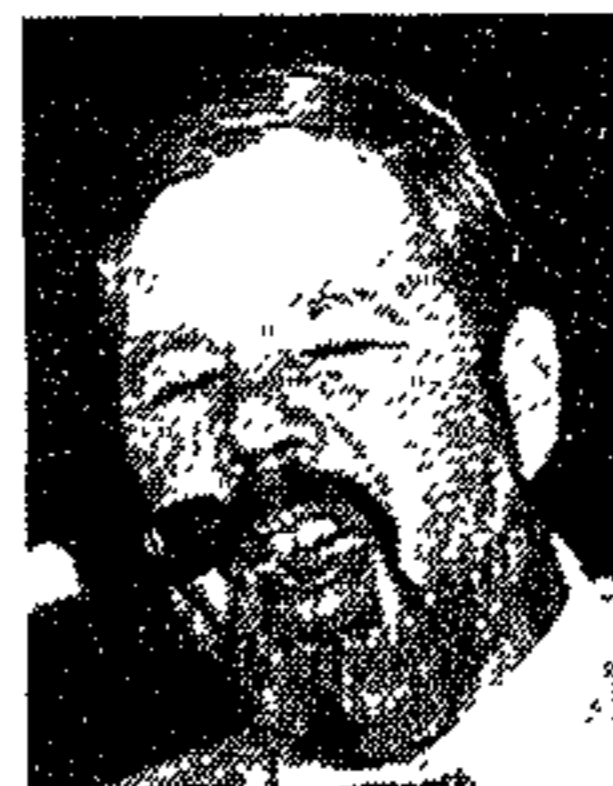
Tight nomination tussles were resolved this week in Gardens, where Ken Andrew brushed off a challenge from former National Democratic Movement star Dr Esther Lategan; and Groote Schuur, where ex-Fair Lady editor Ms Dene Smuts ousted sitting MP Mr Jan van Gend and sidelined four others.

Groote Schuur is a safe bet, but Gardens — won by 486 votes in 1987 — will be a hard fight with the NP deploying former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and one-time Natal leader of the New Republic Party, Mr Ron Miller. It will be a seat to watch.

In the Western Cape, attention now turns to who the DP will put up to harass the Nats in their generally safe northern suburbs and Boland seats.

Other seats to watch:

● KKuruman, taken from the CP in 1987 with a marginal majority of 352;



Mr de Klerk

● Green Point: DP MP Tian van der Merwe scraped home with only 39 votes over Mrs Esme Chait, who he faces again now;

● Helderberg, a perilous 39 majority for the Nats last time;

● Simon's Town, a slim NP majority of 268 in 1987;

Mr Terre'Blanche

● Albany: NP majority of 844 over the PFP;  
● Port Elizabeth Central: PFP majority of 596 over the NP in 1987;

● Walmer Estate: NP majority of 539.

On the Cape Flats, and other coloured and Indian Group Areas around the country, the tricameral system is being put to the test for the first time since 1984.

A "charade... which will hardly deal with the critical question of power for all South Africans" is how Archbishop Desmond Tutu sees the election.

Blacks are excluded from the process, but remain at the very core of it. Reform is the fulcrum of South African politics: keeping whites happy about how to make blacks happy is the essence of the great political balancing act.

Issues likely to be prominent are the ANC and money. Drawing up its armour on two fronts, the NP is taking a middle road, appealing to the "moderate, balanced" voter — as Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers put it recently — to back "stable", cautious reform in a "orderly" climate tempered by law enforcement and "responsible" policies.

A compelling thought for campaign workers is that a whole 30 percent of the white electorate did not vote in 1987, according to a study by analysts.

Whoever lures the men and women who stayed away from the ballot last time could reap richly.

September 6 will tell.

## Cautious welcome to AWB unity plea from HNP

(3049) Star 17/6/89  
THE leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, has cautiously welcomed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre-Blanche's plea for unity on the political Right.

Mr Marais said yesterday that he had always been in favour of incorporating the AWB in a "consolidated front", but he criticised the Conservative Party leadership of having rejected calls for unity since its formation in 1982.

After CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's immediate rejection of Mr TerreBlanche's proposals — made at a public

**ESMARE VAN DER MERWE**  
Political Reporter

meeting in Rustenburg on Thursday — chances for an election pact on September 6 were bleak, Mr Marais said.

However, closer ties between the AWB and the HNP could benefit the latter, which would contest at least 25 seats in the General Election.

The HNP, which had planned to contest Rustenburg — where Mr TerreBlanche intends standing as an independent — had decided to postpone an announcement on its Rustenburg candidature until next week.

Mr Marais said he was prepared to discuss strategies with the AWB, and would share a political platform with Mr Terre-Blanche if he was so requested.

He was determined to fight Dr Treurnicht in Waterberg unless the CP leader approached him about a possible pact.

The HNP leader said if the AWB seriously wanted to enter Parliamentary politics, it would have to rid itself of its "militaristic image".

He said the latest "interesting developments will have a catalytic effect on politics to the right on the National Party".

● The leader of the Conserva-

tive Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday that Mr TerreBlanche's announcement of his intention to run for Parliament was a pitiful break from his repeated public undertakings that the AWB would not get caught up in party politics.

In a statement, he said the CP had held Mr TerreBlanche to his word, and, on the strength of that had nominated its own candidates, made thousands of new registrations and was well prepared for the September election.

He acknowledged it was the AWB leader's democratic right to fight the CP in Rustenburg

ould by voting them- areas. The continually  
selves a 10 percent pay escalating prices are due  
cut and fund their own to the apathetic situta-  
pensions by paying tion of the public towards  
oirs 75 percent of their premi- the Government.

must elapse between the date of proclamation and nomination day.

By nomination day all candidates for the election must be finalised. Political parties are expected to receive provisional voters lists soon although the official list will not be published until later.

## Webster killers: the cash rolls in (304A)

UNIVERSITY of the Witwatersrand lecturers this week repeated their determination to continue campaigning for the capture and trial of the killers of anti-apartheid activist Dr David Webster.

More than R25 000 has been pledged by people towards a reward for information leading to an arrest, said Dr Alan Mabin, a member of the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (Udusa), this week.

He said: "Already six weeks have elapsed since David's assassination and there are no signs of positive leads.

"It seems under the circumstances that the only way the case will be solved is with information from someone privy to the deed."

JANET HEARD

Dr Mabin said about 60 South Africans had been killed in similar circumstances, and the police's record with those made it unlikely that the Webster killers would be found.

The total reward offered now stands at more than R50 000, including the police offer of R10 000, and the equivalent offered by Wits University.

Colonel Floris Mostert, head of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad, supported the Udusa offer and said it could help to activate a person to come forward with information.

He said he suspected there were people who could contribute to solving the case who had not yet come forward.

"Other witnesses are needed. It may take a long time for them to come forward, but eventually people will start talking."

He said the investigation was continuing, but there had been no further leads during the past few weeks.

"The investigating officer has not had a weekend off since Dr Webster was murdered," said Colonel Mostert.

● Udusa pledge forms can be obtained by writing to the Treasurer, Udusa, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. Telephone: 716-2864.

# DP could make Viljoen 'a goner'

CME Times 17/6/89 (304A)  
Political Correspondent

CABINET MINISTER and MP for Vanderbijlpark Dr Gerrit Viljoen would be "a goner" if the Democratic Party put up a candidate in his seat in the coming election, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

Should the DP decide to contest the constituency, the 2 336 majority Dr Viljoen gained over the Conservative Party in the 1987 poll could come under severe pressure.

The threat was part of a pre-election war of words that broke out between the former ambassador and the Minister of Education and Development Aid.

Earlier this week Dr Viljoen accused Dr Worrall of "arrogance".

Referring to Dr Worrall's candidacy in the safe seat of Berea, Dr Viljoen reportedly accused Dr Worrall of leaving his political fighting to others.

Dr Worrall hit back yesterday, saying "there is no breed in South Africa so arrogant as NP cabinet ministers — but that would be to state the obvious".

Dr Worrall said while he respected and "liked" Dr Viljoen, the minister should steer clear of personal abuse because "he is very vulnerable politically".

## Vote to choose NP candidate DP doubtful on election stand

UP to 5 000 signed-up Nationalists will vote in a mini-election today to decide on the NP's candidate in the Worcester constituency.

The voting will resolve a bitter nomination contest in the area between former dominee and mayor of Worcester, Mr Kolie Nelson, and ex-MPC and NP organiser, Mr Reyno King of Robertson.

Some of Mr King's supporters believe that the fact that he is the brother-in-law of Dr Dawie de Villiers might give him the edge.

THE Democratic Party appears to have failed once again to resolve the thorny question of participation by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates in the coming election.

The executive of the DP's national board met in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the issue but did not release a statement afterwards and DP co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, refused to answer questions.

There are three sitting DP MPs in both the Houses of Representatives and Delegates.

# No chance of right unity?

Mr. Times 17/6/89  
38411

By BARRY STREEK

RIGHT WING disarray increased yesterday, with the announcement of 14 HNP candidates in the September 6 election and a sharp attack by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht on AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

The HNP candidates are all standing in seats where the CP has nominated candidates and they could, as in the 1987 election, split the right-wing vote, enabling the National party to hold onto seats which it could otherwise lose.

Dr Treurnicht's younger brother, Mr Attie Treurnicht, who is to stand in Boksburg, is one of the 14 HNP candidates.

The HNP also said that in about 10 other

constituencies, procedures were under way to nominate candidates.

It had earlier announced that party leader Mr Jaap Marais would stand against Dr Treurnicht in Waterberg, where in a 1983 by-election Mr Marais obtained 2 639 votes in a three-way fight — more than Dr Treurnicht's 2 375 majority in 1987.

In a statement yesterday, Dr Treurnicht said Mr Terre'Blanche's announcement of his intention to run for Parliament was a pitiful break from his repeated public undertakings that the AWB would not get caught up in party politics.

The CP had held Mr Terre'Blanche to his word and on the strength of that had over the

past few months nominated its own candidates, made thousands of new registrations and was well-prepared for the election.

Dr Treurnicht did, however, acknowledge that it was the AWB leader's democratic right to fight the CP in Rustenburg.

Dr Treurnicht added that his policy of right-wing unity had already taken on status within the ranks of the Conservative Party.

At a meeting in Middelburg, Transvaal, on Thursday night, Dr Treurnicht also dismissed the possibility of an election alliance between the CP and the AWB.

He said the party's election preparations were already too far advanced for any CP candidate to stand back for another.

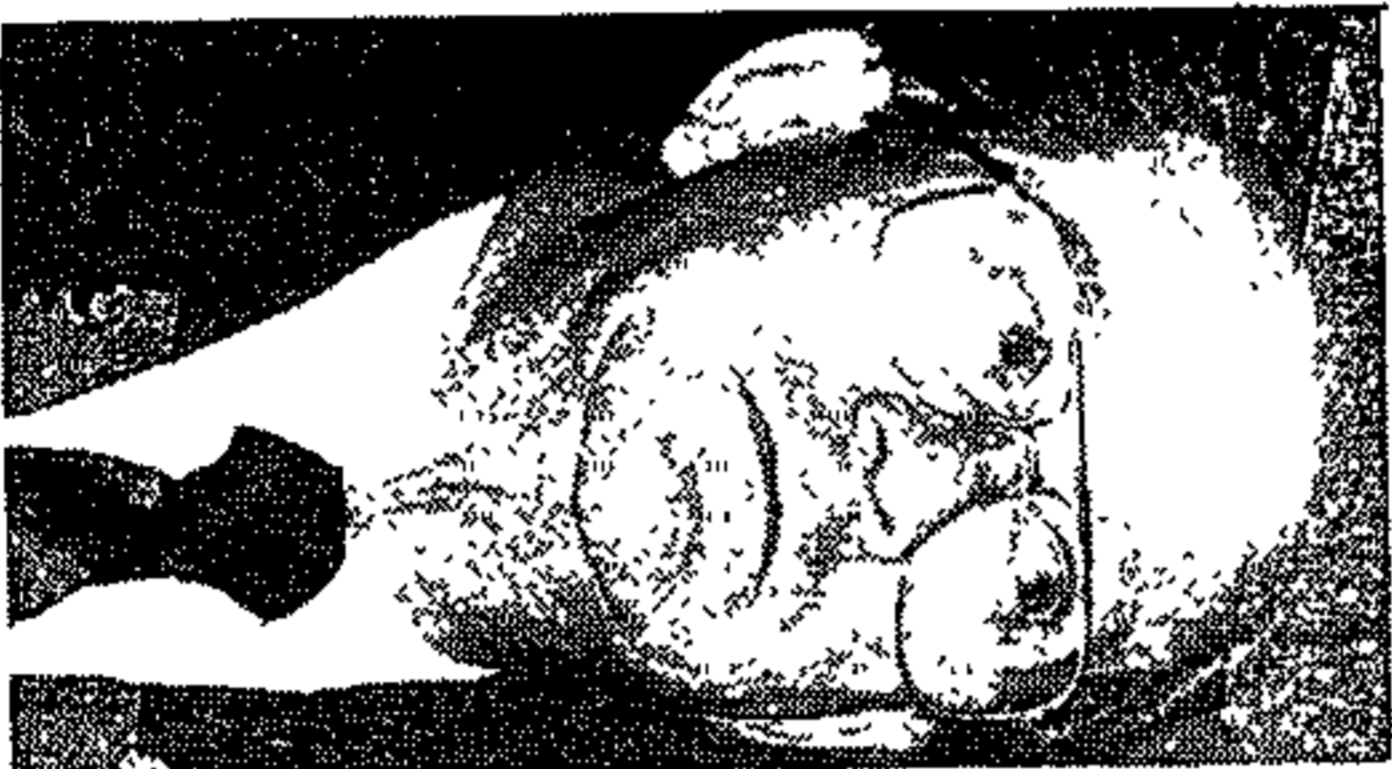
The HNP's secretary, Mr Louis van der

Schyff, told Sapa yesterday his party would discuss Mr Terre'Blanche's proposal for a combination of the HNP, the CP and the AWB at a meeting in Pretoria today.

However, the HNP had not yet entered into any direct negotiations with the AWB.

The candidates announced yesterday by the HNP are: Mr J J Ferreira (Bethlehem), Mr N J Saunderson (Fouresmith), Mr P S Kruger (Heilbron), Mr O J F Hartung (Hercules), Mr J J Badenhorst (Kimberley South), Mrs S R van Heerden (Maraisburg), Mr A I J van Wyk (Nigel), Mr H P de Wet (Port Elizabeth North), Mr P R Nel (Pretoria Central), Mr M H Potgieter (Venterdorp), Mr J L Erasmus (Vryheid) and Mr I J Knoetze (Welkom).

2 Cape Times, Sat.



CP LEADER ...  
Andries Treurnicht



AWB LEADER ...  
Eugene Terre'Blanche

# DP weighs up the merits of tipping the scales

MANY members of the Democratic Party and their supporters now appear to be having increasing misgivings about the prospect of a hung Parliament after the September 6 elections.

A bare three months ago, any suggestion of a hung Parliament — one in which the ruling National Party would lose its overall majority in the House of Assembly — was so improbable as not to merit serious thought.

But several factors since then have made it a possibility, though perhaps not yet a probability.

They include: the resignation or scheduled resignation of a third of the Cabinet, suggesting a damaging image of nervous men abandoning a sinking ship, and last week's Linden municipal by-election result, where the DP turned a NP majority of a 394 last year into a DP majority of 390.

The high hopes of more aggressively-minded DP loyalists that Linden portended a hung Parliament, in which the NP would have to make a deal with the DP to stay in power, are echoed by NP-supporting Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Transvaler*. It speaks openly of the possibility of the NP not winning an overall Assembly majority.

But instead of being excited at the prospect of a hung Parliament, some less intrepid DP supporters react cautiously, emphasising the dangers of the NP turning to the Conservative Party to stay in power rather than forging an alliance with the DP.

These manifestations of intellectual pessimism, if not timidity, are not shared by the DP men in the frontline: its leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, and its three national co-leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer.

Mr Leon's comments are perhaps particularly pertinent because, as he notes, there is the local equivalent of a hung Parliament in the Johannesburg City Council.

With 24 seats in the 51-member city council, the NP does not have an overall majority and is forced to forge alliances to stay in power.

Combative Mr Leon does not fear a NP-CP deal in the event of a hung Parliament. His ob-

## PATRICK LAURENCE

servations of the intensity of the NP-CP "broedertwis" in the city council make, for him, the prospect of such a coalition "implausible to the point of improbability".

Nor does he fear the DP being swallowed by the NP in the event of a NP-DP coalition, provided the DP is clear about its policies and principles.

He is confident that it is.

The NP, he argues, is hoisting up the flag of ideological surrender. "It is going to the election saying, 'We want a new constitution'. The 1983 referendum was about a new constitution. The 1987 election was fought on that constitution. Now, a few years later, it is still saying, 'We want a new constitution'."

Mr Wynand Malan is not haunted by anxieties of a NP-CP deal either, nor of massive defections from NP ranks to the CP in the event of a hung Parliament which he says is now "certainly a possibility".

A member of the NP caucus until 1987, Mr Malan has no doubt that the most Nat MPs know in their hearts that there can be no return to the Verwoerdian past espoused by the CP. "I have no doubt that they will turn to the DP," he says.

More cautious members of the DP, who

grow anxious at any thought of a hung Parliament and a "blood-is-thicker-than-water" axis between the NP and CP, are making deductions from an outdated premise.

In the final analysis, says Mr Malan, the real struggle in the white community is between the NP and the CP and the NP is preferable as the "lesser of two evils".

But, he says, that is like opting for a heart attack instead of cancer when health is available.

Dr Worrall sees three theoretical targets for the DP in the pending election: outright victory, securing a hung Parliament, or becoming the official Opposition.

He concedes that a DP victory is unlikely. But a hung Parliament is not. It is the "next best option" to power, it should be sought energetically because then "you are into a new alignment".

But, Dr Worrall reasons, aiming for a hung Parliament is incompatible with striving to become the official Opposition.

A hung Parliament implies that the DP should fight on as wide a front as possible, even if it means running the very real risk of CP victories in some seats by splitting the anti-CP vote.

Securing enough seats to become the official Opposition means being very careful not to fight seats if DP participation might open the door for the CP in a three-cornered contest.

Dr Worrall is critical of the more faint-hearted members of the DP who, nurtured by long years in opposition, cannot think beyond a paradigm in which the DP is the main opposition.

"They have an Opposition mentality," he says.

Their thinking, he explains, is shaped by an unconscious assumption that they have a "divine right to be in Opposition".

He wants to chivy them out of that negative state of mind.

Dr de Beer, however, is more circumspect about the implications of a hung Parliament.

"If the CP is the dominant Opposition party, it becomes less certain whether the outcome would be desirable," he says.

It depends on the precise numbers, by what margin it is hung and how the Opposition strength divides.

"Therefore, I am a little disposed not to discuss it in any detail, not on the record anyhow."

There are dangers that one makes false assumptions.

"What is clearly desirable is that the DP has got to win more seats."

Every extra seat the DP wins has got to be a good thing.

I would rather concentrate on that, so that we can build up our

## It's Catch 22 in other two Houses

### JANET HEARD

would deplete our energy and resources. We want to continue our programme of interaction with all political groupings across the political spectrum," he said.

If the DP does field candidates, it will be face an active opposition from the mass democratic movement, a broad alliance of extra-parliamentary anti-apartheid organisations which includes the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

Their spokesmen have stated clearly that their organisations have rejected the tri-cameral parliamentary system since its inception in 1984.

Mr Murphy Morobe, the UDF's acting general-secretary, said: "Our position has not changed and it will be regrettable if the DP decides to field candidates in the two Houses."

He said, while the anti-apartheid organisations would be as "pragmatic as possible" in dealing with the DP, it would not support them participating in the two Houses.

Mr Cassim Saloojee, the Transvaal Indian Congress president, said in an article in a Sunday newspaper that the low polls at previous elections in coloured and Indian areas "reflected the oppressed majority's total rejection of these institutions".

IF THE Democratic Party decides to campaign for seats in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates in the forthcoming elections, it will face strong opposition from several anti-apartheid organisations.

It was reported last weekend the party would announce its decision by the end of this week, but DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the matter was still being discussed by the executive.

While the DP has already accepted coloured and Indian MPs as members, there is division within its ranks on whether it would be strategic for it to field candidates in the two Houses in the September 6 General Election.

### An understanding

Dr Worrall said those MPs who had been accepted as members had joined with the understanding that it did not follow that they would stand as candidates in the elections.

Expressing the dilemma facing the DP, co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said the party's programme of action had taken a position that it would participate in all the elements of the electoral process with the object of gaining electoral control in order to draw up a new constitution.

"Our main opponent is the National Party. We would prefer not to open up more wars (with other groups) which



# Inactive electorate could alter SA politics

BY MICHAEL MORRIS

Untested "silent votes" — that 30 percent of the white electorate which did not cast a ballot in the last general election — hold "immense" power in the coming campaign.

Parliament could be dramatically reshaped if even a small fraction of the "silent vote" is motivated to participate in the coming election, according to Johannesburg-based analysts, Econometrix.

If the Government woos them in significant numbers, says political analysis leader Mr Tony Twine, the opposition on the left and right will suffer key defeats.

Similar success for either opposition party could reap rich rewards too.

In an analysis that "points to the brittle balances in many of the House of Assembly constituencies", Mr Twine says: "All this could be achieved without a single voter defecting from the party which he or she supported in 1987."

Looking back on 1987, he says that if the opposition parties to the left and right of Government had each been able to motivate only five percent of the silent vote, the NP would have secured 112 seats, instead of the 123 they actually won.

Within this scenario, the CP would have taken 28 seats, and the PFP/NRP alliance, together with the independent candidates, would have taken 26 seats.

This compares with the 22 seats actually taken by the CP and 21 seats taken by opposition parties to the left of the Government. If 10 percent of the silent vote could have been attracted to the left and right wing parties, the NP would have ended up with 108 seats, the CP with 38 and the combined left with 28. Ten percent of the silent vote makes up only three percent of the total electorate.

This would have found the CP adding Stilfontein, Lydenburg, Parys, Maraisburg, Meyerton, Wonderboom, Potchefstroom and Krugersdorp to the 22 seats they actually won. Parties to the left would have won Hillbrow, Simon's Town, Wynberg, Helderberg, Edenvale, Umbilo and Umhlanga over and above their 21 seats.

Mr Twine says: "For a balanced analysis, one must consider what would have happened if that three percent had voted for the NP. In that case, the NP would have retained all the previously mentioned seats, won Green Point and Gardens from the left, and prevented the CP from winning Soutpansberg, Brakpan, Schweizer-Reineke, Delmas, Carletonville, Roodepoort, Nigel, Barberton and Middelburg."

This would have given the NP 134 seats, the CP 13 and the left wing opposition 19 seats.

Mr Twine's view of the past election has a key bearing on the result of the campaign South Africa is about to enter.

He points out that "it must surely be easier for political parties to motivate support from uncommitted voters than to persuade more committed voters to change alliances".

In a conclusion that is bound to intrigue party organisers seeking effective campaign targets, Mr Twine says: "Finding the 1987 voters who stayed away from the ballot box could, therefore, be a very fruitful way of capturing constituencies."

"If any party can persuade 10 percent more of the silent vote, the changes could come about."

# FW to meet Bush next month

Sunday Times Reporters  
THE President-to-be, Mr  
F W de Klerk, is due to  
meet US President  
George Bush in the third  
week of July.

Confirmation of the US invi-  
tation comes on the eve of  
Mr De Klerk's departure  
on a five-day foreign tour  
during which he will meet  
four heads of government.

The decision to invite Mr De  
Klerk to the US follows a  
vigorous debate within  
the State Department, pit-  
ting Assistant Secretary  
of State Herman Cohen  
against Under-Secretary  
of State for Political Af-  
fairs Robert Kimmit.

Mr Kimmit, one of Secretary  
of State James Baker's  
politically appointed in-  
ner circle, argued that Mr  
De Klerk should only see  
Mr Baker, fearing that a  
White House meeting  
would be attacked by pro-  
sanctions Democrats.

The Bush invitation, it is un-  
derstood, was encouraged  
by Zambian President  
Kenneth Kaunda who has  
himself expressed an in-  
terest in meeting Mr De  
Klerk — a proposal  
favourably received in  
Pretoria.

Why he should listen  
not talk: Page 18

Meanwhile, it has been  
learnt that Mr De Klerk  
intends outlining to Brit-  
ish Prime Minister Mar-  
garet Thatcher and other  
heads of government a  
strategy which he hopes  
will persuade Western  
governments that he is  
serious about implement-  
ing fundamental reform.

Details of the plan are secret  
— and may be announced  
when he addresses the  
National Party's federal  
congress on June 29 — but  
sources believe it relies  
heavily upon the princi-  
ples of a Bill of Rights.

Many expect Mr De Klerk to  
go on the offensive by  
challenging black politi-  
cal movements — and  
Western governments  
sympathetically disposed  
towards them — also to  
endorse principles that  
protect individual liberty,  
freedom of association, a  
free-market economy and  
private property.

The basis of Mr De Klerk's  
argument is said to be the  
Olivier Report on a Bill of  
Rights published earlier  
this year by the Law Com-  
mission.

It emphasises voluntary  
association and proposes  
the scrapping of all re-

□ To Page 2

## De Klerk to meet Bush during July

□ From Page 1

maining discriminatory  
laws and practices.

It was learnt in London this  
week that he would meet  
Mrs Thatcher, West Ger-  
man Chancellor Helmut  
Kohl, Italian Prime Min-  
ister Mario Andreotti and  
Portuguese Prime Minis-  
ter Cavaco Silva.

In government circles there  
is intense awareness that  
Western patience with  
Pretoria is running out  
and that Mr De Klerk's  
meetings could shape SA's  
relations with the interna-  
tional community during  
his presidency.

In his favour is SA's meticu-  
lous observance of the  
Namibia-Angola settle-  
ment plans, which have  
been much applauded  
abroad.

The NP leader may also  
reassure European  
leaders that he has spec-  
ific plans for the release of  
high-profile security  
detainees — including  
ANC leader Nelson Man-

del — soon after the  
election.

Whitehall sources said this  
week that Mrs Thatcher  
would try to impress upon  
Mr De Klerk the impor-  
tance of releasing Mr  
Mandela into a political  
process rather than into a  
vacuum.

There is also speculation  
that other members of the  
top structure of the ANC  
still in detention may be  
freed.

This would entail an early  
release for former ANC  
secretary-general Walter  
Sisulu "to test the water".

Suggestions that the process  
was about to begin with  
the release of Mr Sisulu  
were boosted this week  
when his wife, Albertina,  
was given a passport to  
visit Washington and  
Paris.

In Germany, Foreign Minis-  
try officials confirmed  
that Mr De Klerk would  
visit Bonn on Thursday  
for a private meeting with  
Chancellor Kohl.

# Better small steps than no steps at all

S/Times 18/6/89.

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IT is perfectly understandable that the ANC — which was compelled by the actions of Malan, Verwoerd and Vorster to replace its non-violent character with the armed struggle — should propagate non-participation in instruments of peaceful, though piecemeal, reform.

Whatever the Nats may say, it is unarguable that the ANC, like the PAC, consists of South African patriots. It is equally true that, having adopted the path of armed liberation, they cannot view with equanimity other forms of political reform which they do not dominate.

It is true that there are only two ways available to bring about the desired political changes in SA — violent revolution or constitutional progress. It follows that unless the Government is to be forcibly overthrown and chaos and anarchy risked, the process of constitutional change must come via Parliament. Communist

## Pat Poovalingam

DP MP in the House of Delegates, takes up the cudgels on behalf of participants in the tricameral Parliament



China reminds the world of the ferocity of which beleaguered oligarchists are capable.

And it cannot reasonably be denied that it is preferable to move even a little at a time towards the desired destination of full democracy in a rickety, put-together three-wheeler than to do nothing. Until, at any rate, a better vehicle can be found.

The tricameral Parliament is no great shakes. But it did have the great benefit of assisting white MPs to cross an important colour and racial hurdle. Even five years ago, it was unthinkable that brown MPs, some

very dark-skinned, would sit in the same parliamentary chamber and engage in direct debates with white NP as well as CP Members of Parliament. And for those whites to be obliged to listen to some harsh home truths told directly and bluntly by the darkies.

The whites not only had to take it, but seasoned political journalists have commented that it was this straight talking that so affected many Nats that the Government had to withdraw the Group Areas Amendment Bill.

## Wolves

Toothless forsooth! Indeed this horrific Bill had in fact been passed by the all-white House of Assembly despite strenuous opposition from the PFP. But it was rejected by the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates. Had the brown MPs not been in that Parliament, President P W Botha would have signed the Bill — and thousands of South Africans, now protected by a judicial pronouncement, would have been thrown to the wolves.

It is hardly likely that such a result would have been welcomed by those in the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress. So why then do

they oppose participation by the Democratic Party in the House of Delegates, while agreeing to support candidates for the white Assembly?

Why this seeming racial discrimination from two self-styled and racially structured "Indian" political organisations? (Incidentally, in cultural terms, I am Indian, but politically I am absolutely South African. Which is why, way back in 1954, I left an Indian political body and joined the non-racial Liberal Party. Which is why, once legal restraints were removed, several of us sought membership of the nonracial PFP, the major component of the DP.)

Why then the racial attitudes of the NIC and TIC? Well, they were the "Indian" components of the Congress Movement, in which the ANC was the leader. It would appear that they regard the "Indian" group in SA as their particular political market and they do not want anyone else having any part of that market.

In 1984 the NIC and TIC called for a total boycott. They succeeded partially, to the extent of keeping away many high-calibre persons from Parliament and the polls low. Are the two "Indian" congresses now afraid that, if better-quality candidates succeed this time on a higher percentage poll, it would reflect poorly on their claim to be "real representatives" of the "Indian" population?

The ANC indicated some while ago that it would support the DP, provided the DP sacrificed its brown members on the altar of cheap expediency. It would suit the ANC if the DP re-

mained a purely white organisation

That endeavour did not find favour with the DP, which, both in its constitution and in its statement of principles, has declared unequivocally that it is non-racial in structure and content and works for a non-racial democracy, and that it will make use of all available instruments at all levels of government to propagate its ideals

Only the very dishonest and the terribly cynical will want to jettison these noble aims for the sake of the conditional support of the UDF and its affiliates. The condition, or the implied threat, is that, if the DP does not stab its brown members in the back, then the promise of support will not materialise.

## Morale

In fact, the three DP leaders made it perfectly clear that not only will the three seats held by the DP in the House of Delegates be defended, but the DP will field additional candidates

Work has proceeded and, despite propaganda designed to dampen morale, there is tremendous enthusiasm for the DP and its non-racial ideals. Within only the past few weeks more than 1 500 House of Delegates voters have signed up as DP members and organisational work is being strengthened.

There is no turning back. Those who hope that the leadership of the DP or its National Board will betray the ideals of the DP for a mess of dubious pottage or that they will tread the path of radicals will be sorely disappointed.

# Squabbling and violence on the way to the forum

S1 Times 18/6/89

IN looking to the future one must always guard against confusing what one hopes will happen with what one thinks is likely to happen.

Internally, some sporadic unrest in certain areas must be expected. In particular, the violence in Natal's townships seems set to continue, at least for some time.

This situation requires a getting together of black leaders to agree on a means to end the violence and a much firmer stand by the authorities.

Though there is much talk of a change in ANC tactics, the chances of an abandonment of the so-called armed struggle seem remote in the short term. This is despite what appear to be suggestions from Eastern Bloc countries that negotiation is preferable to violent change.

## Mandela

One must expect a continuation of attacks involving limpet mines and other explosives, as well as shootings. However, these will be combined with efforts to present a more acceptable image. Therefore there are likely to be fewer attacks on soft white targets.

Meetings between the ANC and selected white groups are likely to continue.

The release of Nelson Mandela continues to be an issue. One can reasonably forecast that he will be

**Harry Schwarz**

DP economics spokesman, offers some predictions on domestic issues

released relatively soon. The Government is probably waiting only for the right moment, from its viewpoint, to do so.

Questions of negotiation will, I believe, see considerable development in the short and medium term. There may be a change in the attitude towards boycotts by certain organisations which have in the past refused to participate in elections.

Meetings and discussions, consultations and eventually negotiations, will achieve a degree of success, but meaningful negotiations resulting in a constitutional settlement are probably still a long way off.

The parties in conflict are probably not ready for such negotiations and posturing will continue for quite a while.

In the meantime the reform process will carry on in a stop-start manner.

The three pillars of social separation and discrimination — the Population Registration, Group Areas and

Separate Amenities Acts — will be subject to amendment, gradually moving towards repeal.

The first amendment to the Population Registration Act will probably be to remove the State's right to determine race and substitute a degree of choice.

The Separate Amenities Act will probably see a provision halting the creation of more "separate but not equal" public facilities. In other words, steps will be taken to prevent a reversal of the process of opening facilities by public authorities.

## Fears

The Group Areas Act will become less meaningful because of an increase in the number of free settlement areas.

There is no doubt that eventually all three Acts will go. My own guess is that the Separate Amenities Act will be the first. Regrettably, however, laws will not be repealed before further hurt, protest and friction.

The constitutional problem will be with us for a long time. Fears of domination loom large in the minds of the white population — including many of those who describe themselves as liberals.

The problem of group and individual rights and of protection against domination will be around for many years to come.

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## 120-strong white group plans to meet the ANC

Sunday Times Reporter

5/11/89 18/6/89  
A DELEGATION of about 120 white South Africans leaves for Lusaka early next month for talks with the African National Congress.

The biggest ever white delegation of politicians, academics and businessmen will travel to the Zambian capital to "discuss the role of whites in a changing SA society", a Five Freedoms Forum statement said this week.

An official of the FFF said all information about topics on the agenda and the names of the delegates is being kept secret.

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This, she added, was to avoid the possible harassment of delegates. Details of the trip will be made public closer to the departure date.

The FFF statement adds that the talks would:

- Be attended by about 40 ANC members;

- Be funded by the United States, Canadian, Dutch and Danish governments;

- Comprise a cross section of representatives from organisations working in white communities "who shared the goal of bringing an end to apartheid".

SEVENTEEN marginal National Party seats could go to the Conservatives as a result of the Democratic Party's decision to fight the September elections on as wide a front as possible.

Not even the so-called "New Nats" — government MPs who favour accelerated reform — will be spared.

DP co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday his party was definitely not going to rein in its campaign simply to protect the NP against the CP or to save the political hides of Nationalist MPs.

"The old PFP decided not to oppose so-called verligte Nats in 1987 — and it proved to be a mistake," he said. "We are definitely not going to repeat this shortsighted policy."

The tough stance comes despite a number of personal appeals by sitting reformist NP MP's to the DP not to split the vote in their constituencies.

The strategy could mean poll defeats for liberal Nats like Deputy Minister of Education and Training Sam de Beer, Deputy Minister of Law and Order Leon Wessels and other prominent party members — including the

## DP will fight on all fronts, even against verligte MPs

By DRIES van HEERDEN

Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, and NP information officer Piet Coetzer.

The most important seats now in jeopardy are Krugersdorp (Mr Wessels), Maraisburg (Mr Piet Pretorius), Meyerton (Mr At Snyman), Potchefstroom (Mr Le Grange), Springs (Mr Coetzer) and Wonderboom (Cabinet Minister Danie Steyn, who is retiring).

All these seats have NP majorities of less than a thousand.

Also vulnerable in a three-party contest would be Alberton, Geduld (Mr De Beer), Innesdale, Roodeplaat, Oudtshoorn, Newcastle, Umfolozi and Mr FW de Klerk's old constituency of Vereeniging.

In these seats the Nat majority is between one and two thousand.

Longer shots may be Brentwood, Koedoespoort, Nelspruit, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet and Germiston.

Marginal CP seats such as Brakpan, Delmas, Roodepoort and Soutpansberg may become safe for the right if the DP stands.

It is reliably understood that the DP is investigating whether to put forward candidates in all these constituencies.

Mr Malan predicted that a major element of NP strategy would be to urge voters to vote Nat to "keep the CP out".

He said: "In particular they will appeal to DP supporters in marginal seats to help prevent CP gains."

### Corruption

"Even the CP itself in its most optimistic moods does not predict a majority of seats. It is mathematically impossible for it to win and I doubt whether they can take more than 40 seats — even if we split the vote."

Mr Malan said: "This Government is underestimating the 'fed-upness' with the NP's legacy of incompetence, mismanagement and corruption. They would rather not vote at all than vote NP to keep the CP out," he said.

According to Mr Malan, the Democrats are expected to contest about 100 of the total of 166 seats.

● Mr Brian Goodall, former PFP MP for Edenvale, has won the DP nomination for the constituency.

We won't spare Nats!

5/11/87 18/6/89

IF the Leonard-Hearns rematch could be billed as "the war", the rumble in Rustenburg should be called Armageddon.

What everybody in rightwing circles expected would happen, eventually did on Thursday night — AWB supremo Eugene Terre Blanche decided to reach for the title of undisputed leader of the right.

And the main contender — Dr Andries Treurnicht of the Conservative Party — is not amused.

The Western Transvaal mining town of Rustenburg — often called the "white suburb of Sun City" — is the place where the competing ambitions will clash.

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Speaking before an audience of 600 — subdued by AWB standards — Mr Terre Blanche threw down the gauntlet to Dr Treurnicht: "I want to stand in Rustenburg as an independent and I want the CP to stay out of the fight."

But almost at the same time, in another Transvaal plateau town, Middelburg, a grim-faced CP leader pre-empted the AWB's bid: "We cannot stand back for Mr Terre Blanche in Rustenburg."

"We have already chosen a candidate there and we are not going

## Eugene's cruising in for a bruising in Rustenburg brawl

to withdraw him."

Privately, some CP MPs could hardly conceal their joy over what as a handsomely paid member.

In Rustenburg on Thursday there was something almost pathetic about the AWB leader's insistence that the CP should give him a free ride to Cape Town.

Sweating profusely on one of the coldest nights of the Bosveld winter, Mr Terre Blanche practically begged the CP not to oppose him at the polls.

"They may call me a Johnny-come-lately but I have been in the struggle on behalf of the right for more than 20 years," he said.

But CP sources were yesterday adamant that the party was not

going to stand back for the AWB. Even if this meant forfeiting Rustenburg to the NP.

They see in Mr Terre Blanche's insistence in fighting the election an easy way of ridding themselves of a meddlesome figure who tainted conservative politics with his political excesses and personal indiscretions.

"Terre Blanche will not get 1500 votes in Rustenburg — which is less than the HNP polled in 1987," was the confident prediction in the CP camp.

"It will be a fairly easy campaign against the AWB," one CP MP said. "We will not even have to tackle him head-on."

"All we will say is: Eugene, why

did you break your sacred promise?" This is a reference to a deal struck between the AWB and the CP that the former would stay out of party politics and confine itself to the "cultural struggle".

In Rustenburg itself, reaction to Mr Terre Blanche's announcement varied according to political persuasion.

In 1987 the NP retained the seat because of the split rightwing vote between the CP and the HNP.

NP chairman Mr Dieter Kruger says he believes history may repeat itself.

"We are obviously going to have boy in Dodge City who dealt himself five aces, this may be Mr Terre Blanche's final game."

A little known fact about the fender-bender from Ventersdorp is that his previous attempts to reach the green seats of Parliament ended in miserable failure.

In 1970 he stood for the HNP in Heidelberg and polled a paltry 886 votes.

He had to forfeit his deposit. In 1977 he couldn't even get a nomination.

Somewhere along the winding road the AWB was founded with the express purpose of fighting "the British-Jewish parliamentary system" — the same system Mr Terre Blanche now wishes to join



TREURNICHT



TERRE BLANCHE

they perceive to be Mr Terre Blanche's "greatest mistake" of his political career.

"He made the mistake of believing his own propaganda, but Rustenburg will bring him down to earth with a thud," one MP said.

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"He will lose so heavily that it will destroy his political ambitions."

CP insiders described Mr Terre Blanche's foray into party politics as "a high-stakes poker game in which he tried to stare down Dr Treurnicht".

But the CP leader refused to blink. And like that unfortunate cow-

a very interesting election battle," he said.

In local Conservative circles it is believed that Mr Terre Blanche tried to exploit internal differences in the CP to get himself nominated.

A split between two rival factions in the CP led to strong disputes on the nomination of candidates for last year's municipal elections.

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This year the differences were such that CP head office had to appoint a candidate from outside the constituency — University of the North academic Professor Willie Botha — to carry the party's flag in Rustenburg.

All agree that Mr Terre Blanche is playing a high-stakes game by standing for election.

"Everybody suspects that his support is dwindling since the revelations of his private life were made earlier this year. Rustenburg will just confirm it," a CP MP said.

From now until September 6, the gloves will be off in rightwing politics.

Hearns and Leonard fought to a controversial draw. In the Terre Blanche-Treurnicht bout a knockout can be expected.

# Why FW faces

# the

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S/Times 18/6/89.

# music



## Fleur de Villiers

*cautions that Mr De Klerk should listen rather than talk in London this week when he meets Margaret Thatcher to discuss the state of emergency and Nelson Mandela*

AS South Africa's putative president-in-waiting boards his jet this week for a foreign tour that will take him from Helmut Kohl's Chancellery to 10 Downing Street and (just possibly) a grand finale at the White House, he would do well to keep a tight grip on reality.

Invitations to South African leaders to come calling in the West have a rarity value which would excite a Sotheby's auctioneer.

The cards which now litter Mr F W de Klerk's mantelpiece will almost certainly extract new heights of journalistic hyperbole from those ever anxious to claim that South Africa is about to be readmitted to the world commun-

Europe and the Commonwealth and dangerous divisions at home.

Nevertheless, the phoney peace which South Africa now enjoys in the councils of the world derives, at least in part, from Mrs Thatcher's commitment during her African trip to use her influence with Pretoria and thus prove that dialogue works where isolation has most conspicuously failed.

The exemplar of her hopes remains Namibia and she remains convinced that — if the agreement stays on track — Namibia is all she will need to defend her position at the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur in the autumn. After that, however, the time frame begins to shorten.

## Hounded



ity.

It is to be hoped that, as a sensible and rational man, Mr De Klerk will close his ears to such nonsense and realise that this week's travels are not a grand tour but a study tour. If he flunks his exams — some time in the spring of next year — not only will he not be invited back, but South Africa's isolation from the West could well be terminal and complete.

That time frame — some nine months after he assumes office — is not an idle threat or an attempt to persuade Mr De Klerk to move faster than his constituency will allow.

## **Crisis**

It is simply Whitehall's realistic assessment of how long Mrs Thatcher has to use her persuasive powers on the South African leadership before the world closes ranks against her and she stands alone.

And that the British Prime Minister, her government evincing all the signs of a serious midlife crisis, beset by a slumping pound, rising inflation and a resurgent Labour Party, is no longer prepared to do.

This week's seminar over tea and biscuits at No 10 therefore does not mark the beginning of a new public Thatcher initiative on South Africa. That speculation, which had its origins in some wild over-interpretation by the British Press during her African safari earlier this year, was not feasible then and is even more high-risk now when conspicuous failure could expose her to ridicule in

hopes of the new South African leadership are disappointed, the Bush administration and the centrists in the US Senate will no longer be prepared to battle with the sanctioners. In West Germany Chancellor Kohl, already something of a broken reed on South Africa, will in all probability be serving out his last months in office before handing over to an SDP-Green alliance.

American pressure on Europe and European pressure on Mrs Thatcher to show a united front on South Africa will mount — and will meet with decreasing resistance. For, while she will remain opposed to sanctions in principle, her opposition will no longer be as loud or as resolute. Simply put, in terms of her own political interests, South Africa will no longer be worth the candle.

If Mr De Klerk fails to show willing, so will she.

So what does she expect Mr De Klerk to do to prove that he is a risk worth taking? The answer — which betrays close consultation with the Bush administration — should surprise nobody. It includes the lifting of the state of emergency, the release of all political detainees and the release of Nelson Mandela into a negotiating process. If any or all of these events take place, Mrs Thatcher will not rush to claim the credit, although she will most certainly use them to argue that a South Africa not hounded by the sanctioners is capable of facing up to its future with imagination and courage.

The discussion is unlikely to end there. Deeply and justifiably an-

gered by the "Blowpipe" fiasco, the British Prime Minister is also concerned by the continuing capacity for mischief by elements of South Africa's security establishment in both Mozambique and Namibia.

In assessing Mr De Klerk's reformist instincts, she will also assess his willingness to reassert civilian authority.

## **Challenge**

It is not a little ironic that Mr De Klerk owes this trip in no small measure to his failure to dislodge Mr Botha from office in February. The subsequent hiatus may have all but paralysed government but it was also largely responsible for the brief respite South Africa has enjoyed as the world waits to take the measure of Mr Botha's successor.

Its willingness not to leap to judgment has been fuelled by Mr De Klerk's own adroit use of language which in turn has fed hopes that he is not simply a younger, more emollient version of Mr Botha, but a leader who, despite his conservative background, is capable of responding to the challenge of the times.

But language is no longer enough to satisfy a world grown wise to Pretoria-speak. If Mr De Klerk is to widen South Africa's diminishing options and end the hand-to-mouth existence it has led both economically and politically for the last four years, he will listen very attentively when he takes tea at Downing Street.

If he fails, the opportunity will not come again.

# Apartheid's worst foe: The ordinary, struggling citizen

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SI Times 18/6/89

THE closing years of the '80s in South Africa might retrospectively become known as the era of the true social revolutionary.

This species is not found with an AK-47 stashed in the car boot nor on platforms here and abroad sounding off about the inevitability of the regime's demise.

The true social revolutionary, rather, is the ordinary citizen doggedly pursuing his own economic interests and in the process utterly confounding apartheid — whether by flouting influx laws, mixed marriage laws, Group Areas, trading restrictions or by banding together as consumers or workers to ensure a square deal.

This revolutionary, in all his becoming modesty, is now enjoying considerably more attention from serious political analysts and writers — indeed a surge of writings from Dennis Beckett's ideas of "rich democracy" to Don Caldwell's free market radicalism in South Africa: The New Revolution to Aggrey Klaaste's "nation building" concept.

Welcome, then, the latest contribution: Frances Kendall and Leon Louw's *Let The People Govern* (Amagi Publications). The au-

**Brian Pottinger**

*reviews a new book on do-it-yourself liberation*

thors, it may be recalled, wrote the immodestly titled *South Africa: The Solution* which became a runaway best seller three years ago, largely because it offered simple and concrete proposals for restructuring our society.

## Credit

The crux of their constitutional proposals was the creation of cantons on the model of the Swiss system so that effective power is devolved to the lowest level possible and can be enjoyed in conditions of the maximum freedom of choice and opportunity.

Let the People Govern adds meat to the constitutional argument for devolution but, perhaps more important, takes a searching look at precisely those conditions which are necessary to em-

power (forgive the Americanism) the true social revolutionaries in such a way that they can continue improving their own circumstances and simultaneously roll back apartheid.

The authors are free-market-eers (Louw is executive director of the Free Market Foundation) and, they argue, one of the real problems is that black South Africans are given inadequate credit for what they have achieved in their own right.

"It is a paradox of racism that interventionists view blacks as victims who are wholly incapable of improving their circumstances without massive injections of aid, while the conservative right has at least sufficient respect for blacks to regard them as a threat."

It is the methods for turning victims into victors that most fiercely grip the authors' attention. In so doing they add to the growing volume of literature on do-it-yourself, sweat-of-the-brow liberation.

And a refreshing change it makes too from the presumptuous social engineers of the left or the right.

# We'll win 40 seats, vows Worrall

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has predicted that the DP will win at least 40 seats in the general election.

The "tide" had turned in South African politics and more people were turning to the DP for a new approach to problem-solving.

Speaking in Cape Town at the launch on Saturday night of the DP's Wynberg campaign — after a month in which he had addressed 60 meetings nationally — Dr Worrall said: "The National Party and the Conservative Party have had their time. The Democratic Party is with the tide."

"We are talking about taking at least 40 seats in the election ... and I predict that on the morning of September 7, they will say: 'Wynberg — DP gain'."

Dr Worrall gave notice of the DP's determination to "hit" the Nationalists on their economic record.

He said: "F W de Klerk reminds me of Ben Johnson on steroids, trying to run away from his records. F W's also trying to run away from his records ... the records of 41 years in government."

He advised campaign workers: "Go easy on the Nats. We want to win them over and you won't do that by telling them how bad they are. Tell them how weak their leadership is."

Dr Worrall told the meeting he had entered the National Party with the belief that South Africa could be "changed from within".

"But I realised in London (when he was ambassador) that it could not be done from within. I was close up, and I saw the incompetence and ineptness, the lack of vision, direction and understanding."

## Game is up

Speaking after the meeting, Dr Worrall said that after touring the country, his impression was that "people are sceptical about what the Nats are telling them; they are looking at the realities and they have given up just believing the NP".

He added: "I get the feeling that they know the apartheid game is up and they are ready for quite radical changes."

● Democratic Party candidate for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle launched his campaign at the weekend with a challenge to his National Party opponent Mr David Graaff to a public debate on the NP's government record.

He told party workers at the Southfield Civic Centre on Saturday night that crime, uncertainty over the Group Areas Act and the absence of viable constitutional proposals were key topics in the election, and he hoped Mr Graaff would agree to a public debate on them during the campaign.

● See page 4.

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19/6/89

# HNP-AWB pact nothing but a farce, says political scientist

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE looming pact between the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging and the Herstigte Nasionale Party — to fight the Conservative Party for rightwing supremacy — has been dismissed as a "farce".

The pact would make virtually no impact on the elections and was no more than a last-gasp survival attempt by two politicians in decline, political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said.

He said that since the May 1987 general elections, the CP had established itself irreversibly as the political standard-bearer of the right.

Though it was difficult to assess the exact support of the AWB, most of it overlapped with the CP and most AWB supporters regarded the CP as their political representative.

Mr Jaap Marais, leader of the moribund HNP — hitherto strongly opposed to any dealings with the AWB — has declared

himself eager for an alliance with the paramilitary organisation.

He said speculation of an imminent AWB/HNP pact against the CP was "valid".

The speculation followed AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche's announcement on Thursday night that he intended to stand for parliament in Rustenburg, and his appeal to the CP to stand back for him and also to give Mr Marais a safe seat.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht firmly rejected both appeals and CP sources have said privately that they welcome the opportunity for a showdown with the AWB, which they admit has become an embarrassment to them.

They dismiss the HNP as a factor which has become irrelevant since it was soundly trounced in the May 1987 general elections.

However, Mr Marais has clutched at Mr Terre'Blanche's remarks as a lifeline thrown out to his party, which has become

virtually a one-man show since the general elections and the subsequent mass defection by office-bearers.

Mr Marais said that though he had not heard directly from the AWB, Mr Terre'Blanche's remarks had to be interpreted as meaning that the AWB and HNP should reach an understanding.

Though the HNP was opposed to the AWB's militant image, the HNP had said in 1987 that if the AWB entered the political terrain, then the HNP could form an alliance with it.

Now that Mr Terre'Blanche had announced his intention of standing for parliament, this condition had been met. Mr Marais said that though the CP had done so well against the HNP in the May 1987 elections, the CP now had the image of an old party, whereas an AWB/HNP alliance would appeal to the rightwing electorate because of its novelty.

The CP would also lose support because it would be seen as the party that was undermining right-wing unity.

De Klerk's 'make-or-break' European meetings

# Leaders asking for deeds — not words

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk departs this week on a tour of Europe, which could be crucial for South Africa's attempts to break out of isolation from the world.

South Africa's relations with sympathetic Western countries will be on the line as the State President-elect spells out his plans for the future.

Mr de Klerk's visit originally only involved a meeting with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, but has now been expanded to include West Germany, Italy and Portugal.

His office confirmed yesterday that he will be holding talks with West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl, Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva and Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti.

A meeting with US President George Bush, probably in July, also seems a strong possibility.

The meeting with Mrs Thatcher is likely to be the most crucial on the European tour.

The Star Bureau in London reports that British political observers claim Mrs Thatcher will give Mr de Klerk an ultimatum: "Prove me right — or your credit will run out."

The four government leaders are also expected to press for an end to the state of emergency, the release of Nelson Mandela and unbanning the ANC's political wing.

## Demand for details

Mr de Klerk will be subjected to close scrutiny. The leaders, anxious to assess him before indicating any form of approval, will press for details of renewed apartheid reform.

Mrs Thatcher has been impressed by the reformist rhetoric which Mr de Klerk has been making and is expected to ask for assurances that he intends to put words into deeds.

Mrs Thatcher is likely to tell him she cannot carry on defending South Africa against sanctions unless there is "real and visible reform".

Mr de Klerk's credibility and leadership will be tested in the process and diplomats have pointed out that if he disappoints expectations, South Africa's isolation could be intensified.

London and Pretoria sources have warned against undue optimism about the meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mrs Thatcher.

They have especially dismissed any suggestion that the two leaders are likely to clinch any sort of joint strategy for resolving the SA deadlock.

Widespread media speculation persists that Mr de Klerk may disclose to Mrs Thatcher the Government's post-election plans to kick-start the moribund process of negotiating a new constitution with black leaders.

Most observers believe that if he discloses anything of this sort to Mrs Thatcher, it will be a plan to release Mandela after the elections. If this happens, there will obviously be no early public announcement.

Mr de Klerk is expected to stress that reforms are not possible while SA is financially disabled by sanctions.

The Times is one of the influential newspaper voices warning Mr de Klerk that Mrs Thatcher's support would evaporate if he did not confront South Africa's problems.

In an editorial today the paper says: "If he fails to set the scene for negotiation by facing down the Cassandras of the security establishment, repealing the state of emergency and releasing Nelson Mandela into a negotiating process, the Prime Minister will be defenceless before her critics."

"Mr de Klerk, who this week visits Downing Street on the strength of great expectations, will then find himself even more friendless than the man he is about to succeed."

The paper points out that Mrs Thatcher has used developments in Namibia to persuade sanctions more can be achieved by talking to South Africa than by its isolation.

"But, as she will doubtless tell her South African visitor this week, the opportunity to prove her right will not last long."



Why do these sad men smile? ... tenants move their meagre belongings. They have been moving from church to church in an attempt to escape the

## 4 killed, 3 injured on eve of Inkatha/UDF peace talks

DURBAN — Four Inkatha members were killed and three injured on their way to an Inkatha prayer meeting in kwaMashu near Durban yesterday — on the eve of exploratory peace talks between Inkatha and the Cosatu-UDF alliance which start today in Durban.

KwaZulu police have launched a full investigation into allegations that mystery white men were seen in kwaMashu township during the height of yesterday's clashes, and murder and attempted murder dockets have been opened.

Fighting broke out when some kwaMashu residents lined the streets to protest against Inkatha members being bussed into the township for a prayer meeting at the Princess Magogo Stadium which was addressed by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Lieutenant-Colonel Jan Fourie, district commandant for kwaZulu Police, said he was the only white policeman inside the stadium where Inkatha held a rally. "I have heard about allegations of mys-

tery white men in kwaMashu yesterday and we have already started investigations to find out who they were."

Captain Reg Crewe, a spokesman for the South African Police public relations division in Pretoria, said there were three incidents at kwaMashu in which four people were killed and five others injured.

It is believed during one of the bloody clashes the groups, apparently members of Inkatha and the UDF, charged each other with knives and pangas.

Chief Buthelezi wept as he announced the deaths and injuries at the end of a prayer rally for peace.

Wiping away tears, he told a crowd of about 5 000, many carrying knobbed, wooden fighting sticks, that the attackers were suspected members of the UDF. He said that "talk which is not followed by action is disgusting".

Representatives of the warring factions in the ongoing violence in Natal were due to meet this morning at a Durban hotel.

## Will tourism return to Mozambique?



"Sight of the seafood evokes thoughts of tourism, of the prospect of South Africans back in Maputo and Xai Xai or on Paradise Island, Zimbabweans back in Beira. Will it happen?"

In the fourth article of his "Inside Mo-



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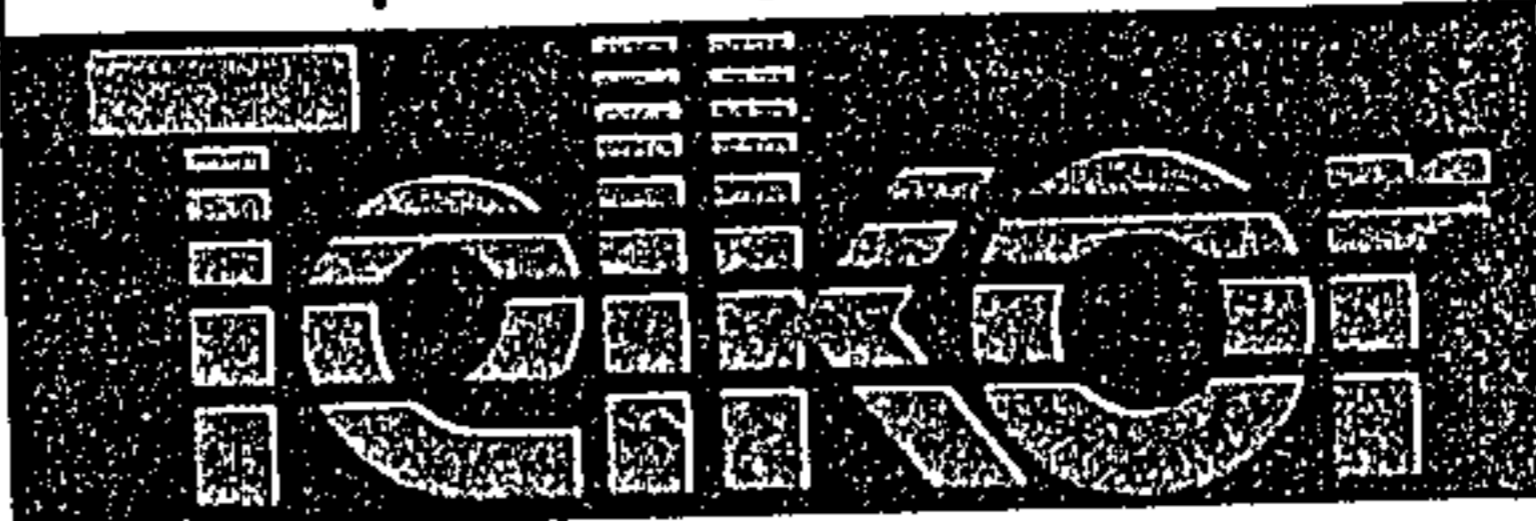
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## DP going all out to damage the NP

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party is going all out to damage the National Party as much as possible in the September 6 general elections, whether or not this favours the Conservative Party.

This emerged over the weekend when details of attempts by the NP to make election deals with the DP were leaked, almost certainly by DP factions trying to sabotage the deals.

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan has immediately denied any attempt by the NP to arrange election deals with the DP. His denial was used as the main item on successive SABC news bulletins last night and this morning. DP

sources, however, have confirmed that overtures were made by NP office-bearers.

The DP national board executive, in a weekend statement, rejected all deals with the NP, which means that around 15 marginal seats where the NP narrowly defeated the CP in 1987, could be lost if the DP puts up candidates and splits the anti-right vote. *Star 19/6/89*

DP sources have indicated that DP co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan are mostly responsible for the new no-holds-barred approach to the NP.

The deals disclosed include the following:

- An alleged offer by the NP to stand back in

● To Page 3, Col 1

## Malan, Worrall favour all-out war

● From Page 1

Sandton if the DP stood back in Modderfontein, the constituency of Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan. General Malan has denied the deal. ● A letter from former Cabinet Minister and Delmas MP Mr Hendrik Schoeman to DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer for the DP not to stand in Delmas. Dr de Beer confirmed the letter, but stressed that he had not leaked it.

● Approaches to the DP not to stand in Geduld, the seat of verligte Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid Mr Sam de Beer. Mr de Beer is reported to have denied making the offer.

General Malan last night said the claims that the NP offered a deal in Modderfontein were evidence of "desperation" and "transparent disinformation" by the DP.

However, DP national board executive member Mr Tian van der Merwe last night confirmed that the party had been approached with a deal by someone on behalf of the Modderfontein NP.

Mr van der Merwe issued a statement from the national board executive at the weekend saying it was "frankly amazed" by the offer.

The deal offered by the NP was that if the DP withdrew from Modderfontein, the NP would not fight the DP constituency of Sandton.

In addition it would withhold funds for "ANC-gevaar" advertisements against the DP in the marginal Edenvale constituency which the NP wrested from the DP in 1987.

The DP national board executive rejected the deal and said it "would not be party to any quiet deals to frustrate the democratic choice of voters".

It said that as a senior member of the Government, General Malan was "just the sort of candidate who should be opposed vigorously".

Though it is likely that a deal was offered, it is by no means clear that it was immediately and indignantly rejected, as suggested by the DP national board statement.

It is common knowledge that the old Progressive Federal Party did informal deals with the NP.

In the 1987 general elections it stood back for certain verligte NP candidates to avoid giving their seats to the CP.

Mr Sam de Beer's seat of Geduld where he narrowly defeated the CP, was one of these and so was Krugersdorp, the seat of Law and Order Deputy Minister Mr Leon Wessels.

But the Modderfontein affair indicates strong differences of opinion within the DP about such deals.

While many members of the old PFP believe it is wrong to hand NP seats to the CP, Dr Worrall and Mr Malan are believed to favour all-out war with the NP.

They are said to hold the view that standing back for verligte Nats in 1987 produced no changes at all in the Government.

The Worrall/Malan view appears to be prevailing and it now seems certain that the DP will fight several marginal Transvaal seats, including Geduld, Springs (the constituency of NP Transvaal information officer Mr Piet Coetzer), Potchefstroom (which Speaker of Parliament Mr Louis le Grange narrowly won against the CP), Alberton, Helderkruijn, Florida, Klerksdorp, Westdene and Johannesburg West.

However Mr Peter Soal, chairman of the Southern Transvaal Region of the DP, said it was unlikely the DP would fight Krugersdorp (where Mr Wessels just beat the CP in 1987) or Roodepoort, where the CP won in 1987 because the PFP split the anti-right vote.

# De Klerk will meet Thatcher regarding ANC

Sowetan 19/6/89

LONDON — Mr F W De Klerk's visit here this week is being seen as the next vital step in a London-brokered plan to bring about talks between Pretoria and its political opponents, including the ANC.

There have been reports that the British Prime Minister is seeking the backing of Washington, Moscow and the Frontline states to push for this.

The ANC and other activists have been reported to be preparing their negotiating positions in advance of the talks.

ANC sources here are reluctant to give away the game plan and say that nothing in their approach has changed. But the issue is likely to have been discussed at this week's national executive committee meeting. One informed observer said some leading members of the ANC had recently been "making noises" about the possibility of talks.

ANC spokesmen say their position remains that the South African government must "create a climate" before talks can be considered by lifting the state of emergency, unconditionally releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and unbanning activist organisations. The ANC, they say, will only "think about" talks after discussion with the people of South Africa.

But a report last Friday indicated that the process towards a meeting had already begun and several anti-apartheid leaders from inside South Africa had discussed the issue with the ANC in Lusaka. The main trade unions, according to the report, have also been debating the question.

It is believed Mandela has already been drawn into the process following meetings with several senior ANC members, Govan Mbeki among them.

## Biggest group of whites to visit the ANC

THE biggest delegation of white South Africans to hold talks with the ANC is expected to fly to Lusaka this month and Cape Town city councillors will be part of the group.

The delegation is expected to include about 100 people and will be made up of a cross section of South Africans, including members of Parliament, city councillors, businessmen and people involved in other activities.

Sources in Lusaka said the delegation would not only discuss basic political issues with the ANC, but also a wide range of subjects such as education, local government and health matters.

The emphasis would be on exploring alternative policies.

### Details

The talks are expected to begin on June 29. The ANC refused to give any further details about the trip saying it was still being organised and there were fears that a "campaign" could be launched against the people involved.

The organisation would not name any of the people involved. The Cape Town City Council has not been invited as a body, according to spokesman Mr Ted Doman. "We will not be sending anybody as a council representative if individuals wish to go in their private capacities, they are entitled to do so," he said.

Mr Frank van der Velde, deputy chairman of the council's utilities and works committee, said he had accepted an invitation to join the trip with a great deal of interest.

### Conference

He could not say who else would be going — that was for them to decide. Van der Velde said he would be taking part in a conference and he believed a number of local authority people would be attending.

He said: "I believe the Government is not negotiating with the true players in the South African political scene."

He suggested that the conference would help bring together different points of view.

The conference was being held towards the end of this month, he added.

### SOWETAN Africa News Service

Town planning committee chairman Mr Clive Keegan, who was also rumoured to be going, said he was not considering any approaches.

There are always trips, he added. He said if he were approached, he would consider the offer.

But he really cannot comment on this, he said.

Executive committee chairman Mr Dick Friedlander said he was aware of the trip which had been organised on an individual basis.

Councillors who made the trip would be going in their personal private capacities.

It would certainly not be by or at the request of the council, he said. They will be paying their own way.

Asked if he had been invited, he said: "I'm not going."

### Parliament

Another councillor believed to be making the trip declined to comment and referred further questions to the organisers of the trip in Johannesburg.

National Party MP for Parow Mr Herms Kriel raised the matter in Parliament recently, saying he regarded the trip as a serious matter.

Something must be done when local government starts to involve itself in central government matters, he said at the time.

Kriel said it was no secret that the Cape Town City Council was PFP-controlled.

He wanted to ask the Democratic Party whether it approves of this. I also want to ask them who is going and who is footing the bill?

What are they going to talk about and who are they representing? How will they further the interests of ratepayers by having talks with the ANC?

He said that if councillors were intending to have talks in Lusaka, it would not be feasible for them to claim they were going in their personal capacities.

Kriel said: "I am very worried about this and I hope we will have some answers."

# DP rejects Nat deal <sup>304 A</sup> — Wynand

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has rejected overtures by the National Party to explore possible agreements not to contest certain constituencies, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

The overtures had all been made on a personal basis rather than at national level, he said.

Mr Malan confirmed an NP offer not to stand in Sandton and to withhold funds in Edenvale if the DP would not oppose the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, in Modderfontein.

Edenvale NP candidate and sitting MP Mrs Joan Hunter said yesterday she was flabbergasted to learn of the proposed deal.

Mrs Hunter said she did not receive financial support from Modderfontein or a central NP fund, but generated her own election funds in the Edenvale constituency.

The NP's Transvaal information director and sitting MP for Springs Mr Piet Coetzer yesterday denied any knowledge of proposed NP election deals.

With a 5 000-vote majority in the last election, it seemed highly unlikely General Malan would need a deal to eliminate opposition in Modderfontein, Mr Coetzer said.

The NP's Johannesburg information officer Ms Sheila Camerer said as far as she knew a fierce NP nomination struggle was under way in Sandton.

General Malan labelled the reports of a secret deal as "transparent disinformation".

He said claims that the NP in Modderfontein wanted to reach a secret election deal with the DP "reveals desperation and transparent disinformation", the SABC reported last night.

General Malan said the DP had already started looking for excuses before the election race had properly begun.

Meanwhile DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday confirmed that former cabinet minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman had sent him a letter asking the DP not to put up a candidate in Delmas.

The DP had rejected all possible election deals and will stand wherever there is a candidate who wants to participate, Mr Malan said.

● Former MP Mr Brian Goodall was nominated as the DP candidate for the Edenvale seat at the weekend.

## DP delay on Bryanston

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has delayed naming its candidate for the Bryanston constituency, because its vetting committee is not satisfied with the financial position of sitting MP Mr Rupert Lorimer.

The committee has given him until next Saturday to satisfy it that his finances are sufficiently in order, meaning that the Bryanston nomination will be decided a week after the rest of the DP candidates for the southern Transvaal are finalised.

# ET may not be qualified to stand

Staff Reporter

AWB LEADER Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, who recently announced his intention to stand as an independent parliamentary candidate in Rustenberg, may not be qualified to do so.

Several constitutional law experts and Professor Nic Olivier, Head of Research for the Democratic Party, believe that he is disqualified on account of his conviction and sentence in the Pretoria Supreme Court as an accomplice in the illegal possession of arms in 1983. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, suspended for five years.

According to section 54 of the Constitutional Act no person can be elected or nominated or can sit as a member of a House if he has at any time:

- Been convicted of any offence for which he has been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for at least 12 months, unless he has received a grant of amnesty or a free pardon; or unless:

- The period of such imprisonment expires at least five years before his election or nomination.

But last night Mr Terre'Blanche said that he had consulted his lawyers before announcing his decision to stand, and had been told that his 1983 sentence did not prohibit his bid for Parliament.

Prof Olivier said that he had consulted with two parliamentary legal experts who said that Mr Terre'Blanche was legally disqualified from standing for parliament.

meeting

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☐ To Page 2

304A ☐ From Page 1  
BIDAY 19/6/81

She will push her case for lifting the

A UDF president Albertina Sisulu and Federation of Transvaal Women (Federation) president Sister Bernard Ngcube left for France on Friday.

**U**NLESS my political antennae have been blunted by combat, there is a rising clamour from people of every race and of many political shades for their leaders to spell out clear ideas of how post-apartheid South Africa will function.

The tiresome, holier-than-thou denunciations of apartheid may clear a path to heaven, but they don't tell us much about the South African state that is struggling to be born. Personally, I'm bored to tears with threats of a night of the long knives — we only die once, and we all die — and unmoved by predictions of a bloody revolution.

What one would like to know is what the future offers, and nobody is telling us. The ANC brandishes the Freedom Charter, half of it trite and half of it socialist-inspired rubbish, and its supporters spend most of their time telling us they intend to impoverish and humiliate the white population as the white population has humiliated and impoverished the black.

**T**he consequence is to frighten whites into clinging mindlessly to power, just as a frightened monkey clings to the seed in one of those calabash traps, unable to withdraw its hand because it dare not unclench its fist.

Nor does it help much when less blood-thirsty politicians mumble about a bill of rights, or the rule of law, or free markets, or even one man, one vote — constitutions have been torn up, judges have been hanged, free markets destroyed and the universal franchise made an instrument for the genocidal repression of minorities.

For the past several years I have been asking a succession of foreign correspondents why they continue to report the obsolete story of ideological apartheid and to ignore the greater story of its collapse. It seems to me that the story of decline and fall is always fascinating, whether it

# Forward march — with leaders well behind!

3048  
13/04/19/6/89

**KEN OWEN**

concerns Rome or Pretoria.

The more honest of the correspondents confess they cannot resist the demand from their editors for coverage of the bizarre and grotesque features of our society — the ambulance that leaves a black man (or even a white man) to die in the road because it is reserved for another race, or the dark-skinned girl hounded out of her sibling's school, or the segregated obstetrics ward.

**A**t home we are no better. We continue to wallow obsessively in our outrage over the injustices of Verwoerdian apartheid, so that we don't perceive how rapidly our society is changing. The process is meticulously chronicled by the Institute of Race Relations (whose work is therefore widely ignored) and there is no need to spell out the details.

However, the interesting questions about South Africa no longer concern the overthrow of apartheid — it is collapsing of its own weight — but what will happen when it has gone. What will the new South Africa look

like? Will it be called Free Azania, and will it have a hymn for an anthem? Will it be a democracy, or another of those dreary, backward African dictatorships?

Will it have the economic system, so strongly preferred at our universities, which has brought the Soviet Union to its knees and unleashed a pitiful attempt in China to overthrow the "vanguard party" or the "dictatorship of the proletariat," or whatever brand name socialist thugery gives itself these days?

Into this political void I would like to toss two ideas: the first is that we — blacks, whites, everybody — should accept in principle the idea expressed succinctly by Mr Justice Brandeis when he said the American republic was founded for the purpose of ensuring that every citizen could fulfil his own potential.

That statement — that the very reason for the existence of the state is to ensure that each individual can fulfil his potential — is less innocent than it looks, for nobody can fulfil his own potential unless he is free to make his own choices.

And nobody has a choice unless there is variety to choose from. If the

only news broadcasts are those of the SABC, nobody has a choice of information. Fortunately, we do have the overseas service of the BBC and the Voice of America, and many people think it worthwhile to spend their own money on shortwave transmitters to pick up those broadcasts.

Similarly, if the only schooling offered is that of the state, nobody can choose his education, and the only people who will fulfil their potential are those whose personal propensities accidentally fit what, say, the Transvaal Education Department offers. In a state which allows people to fulfil their own potential, they are free to spend their own money to establish schools of their own.

**A**ll of this, of course, presupposes the existence of a system of private property. In the absence of private property, the state (or the ruling thug of the day) owns everything, and there can be no choice.

It also presupposes that individuals will be free, and have rights. Or conversely, that we shall have con-

stitutional government, restraint on the powers of the state, and all that jazz. Which, in turn, presupposes that the transfer from apartheid to democracy will have been a peaceful one — people who take power by force don't usually chain themselves afterwards — and that the new constitution will enjoy the support of the population as a whole, which is usually called legitimacy.

This child's guide to the future would not be very interesting except that the Law Commission, in its report on human rights, has put before the nation a politically sensible, workable plan to move from the disintegrating apartheid state to a post-apartheid democracy in which all people will be free to fulfil their own potential, and be equal before the law.

Ideally, the plan begins with a statement of intent from the head of state, but no Nationalist leader dares to make a statement of intent to lead us to a just and democratic state. Party leader F W de Klerk, obsessed with "groups," still ends up saying "Yes, but ..."

**N**evertheless, even the National Party can make a start on the Law Commission's plan by resolving to purge from the statute book all laws, so far as it can, which conflict with Western democratic norms. The law of West Germany, I am told, contains a mountain of precedents to guide us in constructing the legal protection of the rights of the individual which are inherent in our own Roman Dutch law.

The second idea which I would like to toss into the void is that every literate individual, every law firm, every sewing circle, every university tut group, every trade union, every employers' body, should ask the SA Law Commission, Private Bag X668, Pretoria, for a copy of its Working Paper 25 on Human and Group Rights, and study its findings.

Then we may be in a position to tell the politicians what to do, for they surely haven't the faintest idea of how to get to the future.

# SA beginning to confuse most Americans

Star 19/6/89

WASHINGTON — Are the complexities of South Africa beginning to turn the country into another Lebanon, where it is impossible to tell the good guys from the bad guys?

Will Americans become confused and bored by the protracted South African struggle?

Are there new opportunities for diplomacy in the changing expectations and increasing realism of all sides in the South African issue?

These questions were raised during a recent morning-long discussion by a group of prominent South Africa watchers and analysts in Washington.

They met under the chairmanship of the former US Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Herman Nickel, who is now with the John Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute.

The chief speakers at the gathering were Mr Michael Spicer of Anglo American in South Africa, Ms Helen Kitchen, director of African Studies at another Washington think-tank, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, and Professor John Marcum of the University of California.

The three had co-written a chapter of "South Africa Beyond Apartheid", published last year by Mr Bobby Godsell and Professor Peter Berger.

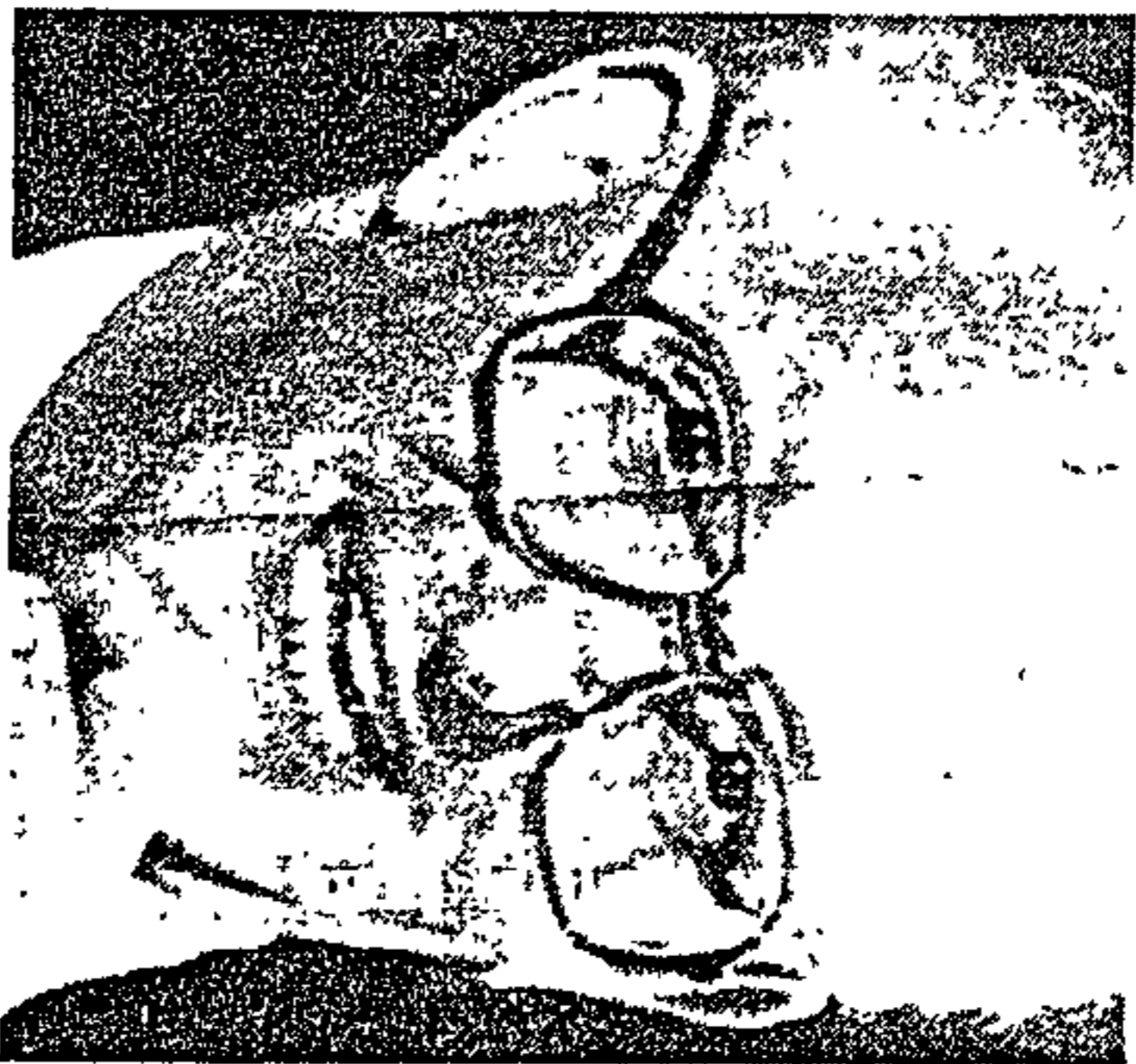
Among the other participants in the discussion were the former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker.

The theme of the discussion was the role of the US and the world in South Africa.

Beyond agreeing that the US did have a role by virtue that South Africa was as much a domestic policy issue in America as it was a foreign policy issue, the gathering appeared to be hard-pressed to come up with either a sharp definition of the nature of the situation in southern Africa or what precisely the role of the US and the world should be.

The complexities of the South African situation could be turning it into the same situation as Lebanon, where Americans could not tell the good guys from the bad, says one Washington analyst. This could be a holding pattern that will remain for a while, writes

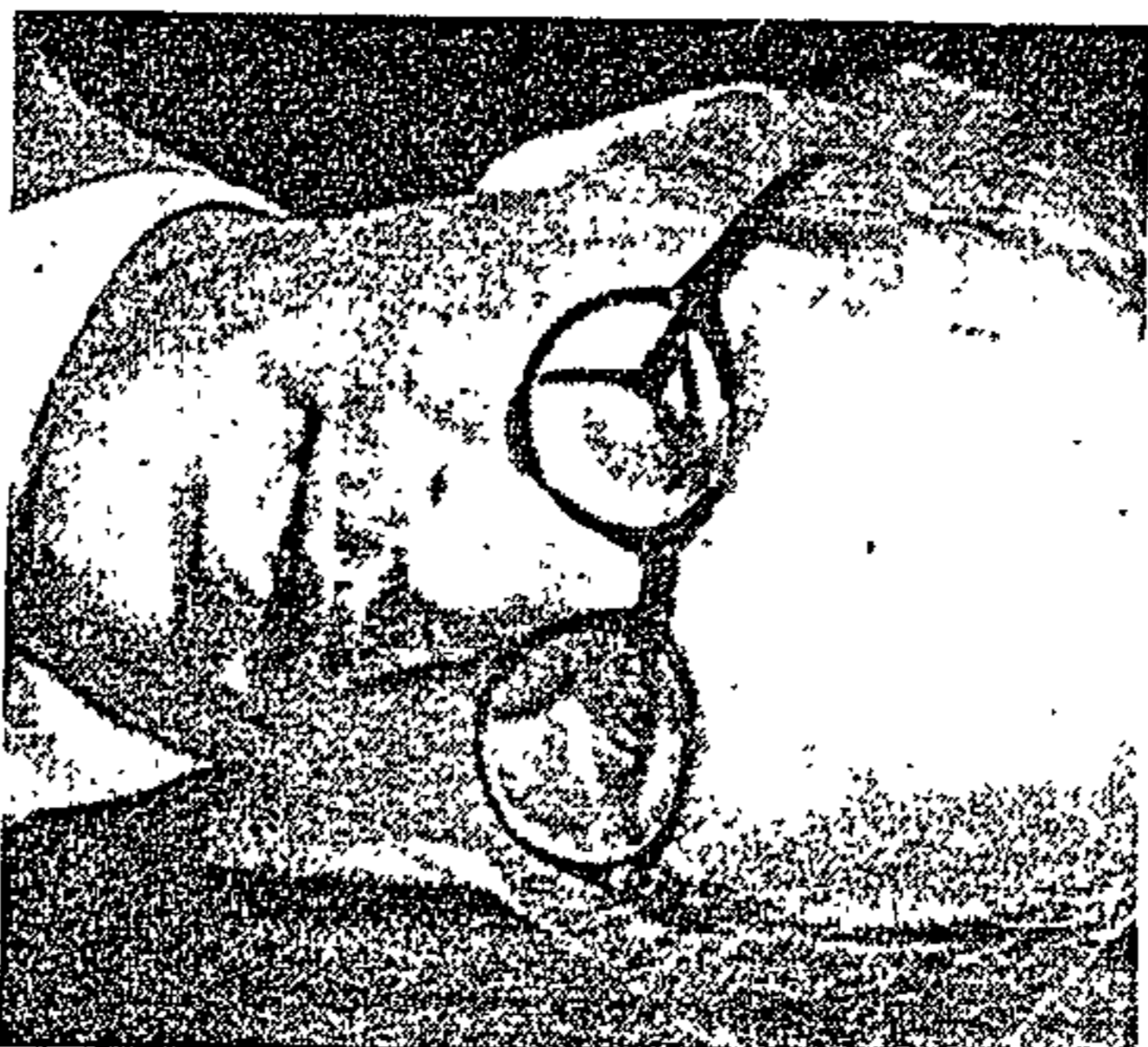
DAVID BRAUN, of The Star Bureau



Mr Herman Nickel... increasing realism of Government and opposition.

Ms Kitchen drew the Lebanon analogy when she was asked, after hours of discussion which seemingly led nowhere, to sum up her view of the situation.

Said Ms Kitchen: "One thing Americans have the most difficulty with is when things do not fit into neat boxes. The signing of the Namibia accords did not fit into a whole lot of simplistic views across the political spectrum... whenever things become complicated I always remember Lebanon where people had such strong feelings, but when they could not tell the good guys from the bad they simply turned the dial (on the television set)



Dr Chester Crocker... SA does not show signs of a country in decline.

and no-one paid any attention. They could not deal with the issues."

Ms Kitchen further attributed the holding pattern she described to the possible peaking of the disinvestment campaign, the loss of popularity of divestment on the college campuses and the manipulation of the media by the South African Government, which had kept South Africa out of the news.

If South Africa continued to muddle through as it was currently doing the holding pattern could last a few years. It really depended on whether something bad happened in South Africa. That would make the coun-

304A



try would again come back into sharp focus.

Professor Marcum was of the opinion that South Africa was in a state of retrenchment and decline, having lost much of its ability to control events inside the country and in the region.

He ascribed this and the involvement of South Africa in the Namibia accords to its experiencing the limits of its military power in Angola, both in terms of the high price it was paying in white lives and because it could not compete technologically in the field of military hardware.

Dr Crocker disagreed with this, saying the South African Government felt it was in a better position today than it had been for many years. The people who wanted the regional agreements overwhelmingly were South Africa and Cuba. Angola was opposed to them because it had to live with the consequences of having to come to an internal settlement.

South Africa had got rid for all time of the last foreign troop presence in southern Africa. It had legitimised its role as a regional player, and it created institutions to resolve regional problems. It had succeeded in putting Swapo back on its leash and in removing the ANC from the last neighbouring state from which the movement could launch any realistic attack on its frontiers.

This was not the position of a country one could say was in decline, Dr Crocker said.

There appeared to be consensus that there had been a substantial process of rethinking which had taken place recently in South Africa, both in the ranks of the government and among the black opposition, in the region and in the US.

Mr Nickel summed this up as evidence of growing realism on all sides. He said this undoubtedly created greater opportunities for diplomatic opportunities at all levels.

# HNP leader welcomes AWB plea for unity

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star 19/6/87

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party, Mr Jaap Marais, has welcomed Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche's plea for unity on the political right.

Mr Marais said he had always been in favour of incorporating the AWB in a "consolidated front" and accused the Conservative Party leadership of having rejected calls for unity.

After CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's rejection of Mr TerreBlanche's proposals, made at a public meeting in Rustenburg on Thursday, chances for an election pact on September 6 were bleak, Mr Marais said.

Dr Treurnicht criticised the AWB leader for reneging on his repeated public undertakings not to enter the party political arena. He indicated the CP would not withdraw from Rustenburg and called for support for its candidate, Professor Willie Botha.

However, Mr Marais added, closer ties between the AWB and the HNP could benefit the latter, which would contest at least 25 seats.

The HNP, which had planned to contest Rustenburg, where Mr TerreBlanche intends standing as an independent, had decided to postpone an announcement on its Rustenburg candidature until next week.

Mr Marais said he was prepared to discuss strategies with the AWB and

would share a political platform with Mr TerreBlanche if requested to.

He was determined to fight Dr Treurnicht in Waterberg unless the CP leader approached him about a pact.

But the HNP leader warned that if the AWB seriously wanted to enter parliamentary politics, it would have to rid itself of its "militaristic image".

● The Herstigte Nasionale Party has announced its first 14 candidates for September 6 in constituencies it contested in the 1987 general election.

Of those seats, three are held by the Conservative Party and 11 by the National Party.

The HNP's participation could again split the right-wing vote, possibly resulting in National Party victories in at least four marginal seats.

Those are, with the NP's 1987 majorities in brackets: Fauresmith (1 048), Heilbron (680), Hercules (861) and Maraisburg (717).

In Hercules, contested by Mr Marais in the previous general election, the combined CP/HNP vote outnumbered that of the NP.

HNP participation in the three CP-held seats could also affect results. In Nigel, the CP obtained a majority of 641 and in Ventersdorp 1 531.

Dr Treurnicht will face a tough battle against Mr Marais in Waterberg, where the CP leader had a comfortable 2 375 victory in the previous election.

Dr Treurnicht's brother, Mr Attie Treurnicht, will be the HNP candidate in Boksburg.

ANC free if we  
come to power,  
says De Beer

JOHANNESBURG. — If the Democratic Party came to power it would unban the African National Congress and include it in negotiations on a new constitution, DP co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said.

He told an SABC-TV news interviewer last night that the ANC was unquestionably an important organisation in the life of South Africa. Surveys had showed that up to half the population believed it owed allegiance to the ANC.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela should be released unconditionally and allowed to take part in negotiations on a new constitution.

But while the DP believed in talks with the ANC it rejected the ANC's use of violence, its stand for a one-party state, and its beliefs in a socialist form of government.

The DP would grant every adult the right to vote. It would in that sense govern to the wishes of the majority, "but subject to the entrenched constitution we have proposed with the Bill of Rights, the federal structure, proportional representation and everything else we have incorporated in our policy to ensure majority powers cannot be abused", he said.

The DP would contest the September 6 general election under its three leaders, himself, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan. — Sapa.

## DP would (304 A) unban ANC, says De Beer

In the event of coming to power, the Democratic Party would unban the African National Congress and include it in negotiations for a new constitution for South Africa, DP co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said last night.

In an interview on SABC-TV news, Dr de Beer said the ANC was unquestionably an important organisation in the life of South Africans. Surveys had revealed that 40 to 50 percent of the population believed they owed allegiance to the ANC.

"It would be foolish for anybody to ignore that organisation," he said.

Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela should be released unconditionally and allowed to participate in negotiations for a new South African constitution.

However, he said, there was no question of the DP entering into an alliance with the ANC.

He said the DP rejected the ANC's use of violence — "what it calls the armed struggle" — its stand for a one-party state, and its beliefs in a socialist form of government. "All these things we reject," he said.

Dr de Beer denied that the DP was soft on security because they did not arbitrarily ban groups on the basis of their political opinions.

Jailed Mandela bad for SA – Pik

# 'White domination cannot survive'

Star 19/6/89 (304A)

BONN — South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha was quoted yesterday as saying the continued imprisonment of black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela had given his country a bad international reputation.

Mr Botha was also reported as saying, in an interview with West German news magazine *Der Spiegel*, his Government knew white dominance in South Africa must eventually be replaced by a political system agreeable to the black majority.

Asked why Pretoria did not prove its willingness to reform by releasing the 70-year-old Mandela after more than 25 years in jail, Mr Botha was quoted as saying:

"That is a very serious question. I can assure you that as foreign minister I know very well what kind of damage and bad reputation this thing has caused us in the entire world.

"If he (Mandela) would renounce violence, he could be freed immediately," Mr Botha said, repeating South Africa's main condition for the release of the ANC leader.

*Der Spiegel* quoted Mr Botha as saying the National Party was now committed to dismantling the apartheid system of white supremacy because there was no alternative.

"In the long-term view there will be no future for the whites in this country if the (racial) conflict is not solved," Mr Botha was quoted as saying.

"We accept that white dominance must also come to an end here and we know that any future system in this land must find broad recognition among all South Africans," he said.

The Botha interview appeared in an advance copy of *Der Spiegel*, which goes on sale today. — Reuter.

# Former CP chairman hits out at referendum

Slav 19/6/87

Municipal Reporter

304A  
Johannesburg's referendum on open amenities was a farce and should be scrapped, said former Conservative Party regional chairman Mr Fred Rundle.

Mr Rundle, who plans to announce the formation of a white consumer and civic association this week, said it was clear the result would be overwhelmingly in favour of open amenities since residents who did not reply to the survey would be regarded as having voted "yes".

"Only the 271 326 voters on the white roll will be consulted but the average poll in a municipal election is about 45 percent. That means the National Party management committee is assured of starting off with an overall 55 percent 'yes' vote even before the questionnaires have been drawn up," Mr Rundle claimed.

"There will be no intensive political

canvassing, no transport laid on at the polls and no tracing of missing voters which contributes to an even lower poll.

"People who do not return their forms will be also be regarded as 'yes' votes.

He said going by the 31 percent poll for Hillbrow in the October municipal election, 69 percent of residents would not vote in the referendum — and these would count as yes votes.

Claremont, in the heart of CP territory, also had a 31 percent poll in the October elections, and so there would also be a 69 percent yes margin.

He said in Newlands, where the CP won by an overwhelming vote, there could be an automatic 55 percent yes vote.

"All wards which registered polls below 50 percent can already be deemed to have voted for open facilities."

# CP fields 23 runners so far in western Cape

## Political Staff

TWENTY-three Conservative Party candidates have been chosen so far to contest Cape seats — including Vasco, Ceres and Worcester in the western Cape — and the party is finalising arrangements for others.

Among the confirmed candidates is the Cape chairman of the party, Mr Jan Hoon, who will try to regain Kuruman, snatched by 352 votes in a tight contest in 1987 by National Party MP Mr Piet Swanepoel.

Candidates chosen so far are Mr Chris Meyer (Algoa); Mr Flip Schepel (Aliwal); Dr Ronnie van der Merwe (Beaufort West); Mr Koos Vi-

sagie (Ceres); Dr Jan Viljoen (Craddock); Mr Hennie Fourie (De Aar); Mr Izak Visser (Gordonia); Mr Roché van Heerden (Graaff-Reinet); Mr Mario van Eeden (Humansdorp); Mr Willie van Zyl (Kimberley North); Mr Danie Theron (Kimberley South); Mr Jan Hoon (Kuruman); Mr Johan Oosthuizen (Mossel Bay); Dr Nic Burnett (Namaqualand); Mr Jurie Schoeman (Oudtshoorn); Mr Christie van Heerden (Port Elizabeth North); Mr Gawie Rust (Prieska); Mr Marius Oosthuisen (Sundays River); Mr Willem Botha (Uitenhage); Mr Jan Rabe (Vasco); Mr Boetie Malan (Vryburg); Mr Daan Mostert (Walvis Bay) and Mrs Rennie du Toit (Worcester).

# Europe's mood bodes ill for FW

By Sue Leeman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — President-elect Mr F W de Klerk arrives tomorrow in a Europe where the political landscape has shifted markedly in the past week, and not in South Africa's favour.

The clear swing to the Left in the European Parliament elections is likely to mean an increase in pressure for sanctions, with Britain and West Germany doing their best to ward them off.

(304A) All socialist parties increased their stake in the parliament, and some favour increased economic pressure on South Africa.

The British Labour Party, on a high after securing a majority of British seats in Strasbourg, is likely to play a primary role.

The party's spokesman on southern Africa, Mr Donald Anderson, says first on the agenda would be an outright coal boycott and pressure not to reschedule South Africa's

foreign debt.

The electoral aggravation will have left Mrs Thatcher in something of a combative mood, and her message to Mr de Klerk is expected to be: "Make bold changes quickly or your credit will run out."

She will make it clear that if reforms, including the release of Nelson Mandela and the lifting of the state of emergency, are not forthcoming, she will be defenceless against those who criticise her for "protecting" Pretoria.

ERT

## AWB anger at leader's move

*Cape Times 20/6/87 306A*

PRETORIA. — Unless AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche retracted his decision to stand for Parliament, he would be seen as a person who deliberately set out to break right-wing unity, the former chief secretary of the AWB, Mr W J Olivier, and the former editor of the AWB bulletin, Mr C P Beyers, said yesterday.

In a statement to Sapa, they said that a large group of committed AWB members found Mr Terre'Blanche's decision to stand for Parliament in the Rustenburg constituency totally unacceptable.

His move clashed directly with the ideals of the AWB and his solemn undertaking to the Conservative Party that the AWB would not tread on party political terrain. — Sapa

# 'I finally saw Nats' lack of vision' **DP will seize 40 seats — Worrall**

Star 20/6/89 304A

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall has predicted his party will win at least 40 seats in the general election.

The tide had turned in South African politics and more people were turning to the DP for a new approach to solving problems, he said.

Speaking in Cape Town at the weekend for the launch of the DP's campaign in Wynberg, he said: "The National Party and Conservative Party have had their time. The Democratic Party is with the tide.

"We are talking about taking about 40 seats. And I predict that on September 7 they will say: 'Wynberg — DP gain'."

Dr Worrall said the DP was determined to strike the NP on its economic record.

He advised campaign workers: "Go easy on the Nats. We want to win them over. You won't do that by telling them how bad they are. Tell them how weak their leadership is."

Dr Worrall told the meeting he joined the NP with the belief that South Africa could be "changed from within".

"But I realised in London (when he was ambassador) that it could not be done from within. I was close up and saw the incompetence and ineptness, the lack of vision, direction and understanding."

Speaking after the meeting, Dr Worrall said that after touring South Africa, his impression was that "people are sceptical about what the Nats are telling them — they are looking at the realities and have given up just believing the NP".

He added: "I get the feeling they know the apartheid game is up and are ready for quite radical changes."

**Political Staff**  
CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan has challenged Defence Minister General Magnus Malan's constituency chairman to deny that the National Party approached the DP with an election deal.

Speaking in Queenstown last night, Mr Malan rejected General Malan's claim that reports on the attempted election deal amounted to "disinformation".

Mr Malan said: "His officials had approached the DP for an election deal embracing Modderfontein (General Malan's seat) and Sandton.

"His calling reports on the attempted election deal 'disinformation' falls in the same pattern as his denials on other matters in the past on which he has been proved wrong. We have learned that when the Minister

## DP co-leader rejects Nat denials of election deal

says 'disinformation', it means he is, in fact, guilty.

"Why does the long-standing chairman of General Malan's constituency committee, Mr Ben Smit, not deny the report if there is no truth in it?"

Mr Malan welcomed NP leader Mr F W de Klerk's rejection of election deals.

"His viewpoint, as is ours, is that all parties must put up candidates where they want to so that the electorate should have the widest possible choice.

"We welcome this approach by the NP and trust it will bring an end to appeals from some constituencies for the DP to stand back because the NP candidate is afraid he might lose the seat to the CP.

"We also trust this will bring an end to NP propaganda that the DP's approach will help the CP..." Mr Malan said.

● Mr Graham Gersbach, chairman of the Edenvale DP, said he knew the Edenvale DP had been approached, but was not aware of the details.

Mr Piet Coetzer, the NP Transvaal information officer, said the deal sounded highly unlikely. The NP had won a majority of 5 318 in Modderfontein against the PFP and the Conservative Party so there was no need for it to do deals to keep the DP out.

## ET's bid for Parliament plan criticised (304A)

Unless AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche retracted his decision to stand for Parliament, he would be seen as a person who deliberately set out to break right-wing unity, the former chief secretary of the AWB, Mr W J Olivier, and the former editor of the AWB bulletin, Mr C P Beyers, said yesterday.

In a statement to Sapa, the men said a large group of committed AWB members had found Mr TerreBlanche's decision to stand for Parliament in Rustenburg totally unacceptable.

His move clashed with the ideals of the AWB and his undertaking to the Conservative Party that the AWB would not tread on party political terrain.

The statement said the present national executive of the AWB was concerned with Mr Terre-

Blanche's intentions to stand in Rustenburg, adding that it would cause further discord among AWB members.

"Such conduct is also contrary to Mr TerreBlanche's alleged intentions to preserve right-wing unity."

His participation in party politics would also undoubtedly result in tension between the AWB and the CP, while donations to the AWB would be wasted in a fruitless election campaign.

"Such undertakings will also play into the hands of the leftist enemies of Afrikanerdom who are busy trying to undermine our newly found unity."

"Mr TerreBlanche is entertaining personal ambitions at the cost of the AWB and Afrikaner unity."

# CP chooses candidates for the Cape

star  
20/6/89 By Michael Morris  
Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Twenty-three Conservative Party candidates have been chosen so far to contest Cape seats.

Among the candidates is the Cape chairman of the party, Mr Jan Hoon, who will try to regain Kuruman, won by 352 votes in a tight contest in 1987 by National Party MP Mr Piet Swanepoel.

Candidates chosen so far are Mr Chris Meyer (Algoa); Mr Flip Scheppel (Aliwal); Dr Ronnie van der Merwe (Beaufort West); Mr Koos Visagie (Ceres); Dr Jan Viljoen (Cradock); Mr Hennie Fourie (De Aar); Mr Izak Visser (Gordonia); Mr Roche van Heerden (Graaff-Reinet); Mr Mario van Eeden (Humansdorp); Mr Willie van Zyl (Kimberley North); Mr Danie Theron (Kimberley South); Mr Jan Hoon (Kuruman); Mr Johan Oosthuizen (Mossel Bay); Dr Nic Burnett (Namaqualand); Mr Jurie Schoeman (Oudtshoorn); Mr Christie van Heerden (Port Elizabeth North); Mr Gawie Rust (Prieska); Mr Marius Oosthuisens (Sundays River); Mr Willem Botha (Uitenhage); Mr Jan Rabe (Vasco); Mr Boetie Malan (Vryburg); Mr Daan Mostert (Walvis Bay) and Mrs Renic du Toit (Worcester).

Slaw 20/6/89 (304A)

## Boerestaat Party urges united Right

Political Reporter

The Boerestaat Party will negotiate with the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, with a view to forming a united right-wing front for the September general election, Boerestaat Party leader Mr. Robert van Tonder announced yesterday.

Mr van Tonder said that by slamming the door in the face of HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais and AWB leader Mr. Eugene TerreBlanche, the Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht had caused irreparable damage to the "conservative cause".

### MALAN'S PACT

The Boerestaat Party was therefore reconsidering an earlier decision not to put up candidates for the election.

Mr van Tonder said the CP needed every conservative vote possible on September 6.

He reminded Dr Treurnicht of Dr D F Malan's election pact with Mr Klasie Havenga's Afrikaner Party in 1948.

This, he said, had led to the "consolidation of the right-wing opposition" and a National Party victory at the polls.

## SA accused of backing ZUM

HARARE — South Africa has been accused of supporting and financing Mr Edgar Tekere's opposition party, the Zimbabwe Unity Movement. *Star*  
20/6/89

The allegation was made by a senior Zanu (PF) official, Mr Forbes Magadu, who said the by-election next month would be a test case for the unity accord between Mr Mugabe's Zanu (PF) and Mr Joshua Nkomo's Zapu. *(304A)*

A Zanu (PF) candidate is being opposed by ZUM for the seat formerly held by Senior Minister Maurice Nyagumbo who committed suicide after the Willovale car scandal. — The Star's Africa News Service.

## Broederstroom 3: Evidence in mitigation

# Current situation vital in ANC trial

By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau

The manner in which historians and the South African Government view the current political situation and the African National Congress will form part of the evidence when the Broederstroom Three terrorism trial resumes today.

The Pretoria Regional Court heard last week that political events in South Africa, particularly since 1976, could have led to three white self-confessed ANC members reaching their decision to join the organisation.

The three — Damian de Lange, Iain Robertson

and Susan Donnelly (nee Westcott) — pleaded and were, last week, found guilty on various charges of terrorism. De Lange was also found guilty on two charges of arson.

De Lange and Robertson have both told the court, in papers handed in by their defence attorneys, they are members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the ANC.

Professor Colin Bundy, Professor of History at the University of Cape Town and at the University of the Western Cape, told the court last week when giving evidence in mitigation on behalf the accused, that "the era in which they grew up" needed to be taken into consideration.

He said that during that period the ANC had begun a climb to legitimacy among the people of South Africa while the legitimacy of the Government was dwindling.

Professor Bundy described the era as showing a "distinctive political character", and added that in this time South African society "expressed an interlocking set of acute problems ... and so long-lasting that one could accurately characterise it as ... a multifaceted historical and social crisis".

Professor Bundy, regarded as the top expert on the African National Congress and who has given evidence in other terrorism cases, is to be extensively cross-examined today by Mr Frans Roets, for the State.

Last week, Mr Roets asked for an adjournment in order to prepare his cross-examination.

It is expected that the State will this week also call an expert witness on the ANC.

The trial arises out of a raid made by the police on a remote farmstead in the Broederstroom area, south-west of Pretoria, on May 8 last year. The three accused and a fourth man, Mr Hugh Lugg, were arrested. Mr Lugg has not been seen since the arrests were made.

They were alleged to be members of an ANC "specialised terror unit". De Lange was said by the State to be the unit leader, Robertson the political commissar, and Donnelly the communications officer.

Initially, the three accused were charged not only with terrorism but also with attempted murder and charges relating to explosives, arms and ammunition, and damage to property.

# SA, Canada embroiled in row over diplomats' visas

Star 10/6/89

304A

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau



WASHINGTON — Deteriorating diplomatic relations between South Africa and Canada have resulted in a new skirmish over visas for diplomats.

Normally, diplomats wishing to visit a country are routinely granted visas on receipt of written application.

However, in recent weeks Canada and South Africa have been embroiled in a tit-for-tat exchange which could, in the words of a Canadian official, have the potential to end in a diplomatic war.

The exchange started two weeks ago when Canada refused to grant a visa to an official of the South African Department of Health and Welfare to attend an international conference on Aids in Montreal.

Although about a dozen South African delegates from hospitals and academic institutions were allowed to attend, Ottawa rejected the health department official's application in keeping with its policy of keeping official contacts between the two governments to a minimum.

According to reports in the Canadian media this week, South Africa retaliated a week later by refusing to issue visas to two senior officials from the Canadian International Development Agency. Both have diplomatic status and were on their way to Lesotho.

A few weeks ago an attache from the South African Embassy in Washington, who regularly visits the embassy in Ottawa, was made to undergo an interview and wait for several hours before being granted a visa.

Tracksuited Nat leader won't reveal his 'trumps' for talks in Europe

# Confident F.W.: I'm ready

LONDON. — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk arrived in Britain today confident that he could sell the Nationalist policy to Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher and other European leaders.

Mr de Klerk touched down at London's Heathrow Airport on a scheduled SAA flight just after 8.30am local time to be met by the SA Ambassador, Mr Raae Killen.

He and his small party were driven off to face one of London's worst traffic jams — a result of the general rail and bus strike.

Mr de Klerk, in an interview on the flight, played down speculation that he had a secret plan to disclose to Mrs Thatcher.

"There is no secret about what the National Party has in mind and I will gladly motivate the stand of the NP," he said.

He is to meet Mrs Thatcher on Friday after meeting West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher tomorrow.

## Stated case

Later he meets Portuguese Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti.

There is also a chance of a brief meeting with Swiss Foreign Minister René Felber and he may meet other politicians and businessmen.

"The NP has been stating its case with regard to future developments quite clearly over the past few months," Mr de Klerk said.

"I will elucidate what I have said already."

Mr de Klerk, wearing an SAA tracksuit, conducted the informal interview in the first-class cabin of the SAA Boeing 747-300 "Johannesburg".

Accompanied by his wife Marika and a handful of officials, he seemed relaxed and confident about the tough meetings ahead.

He said he was well-prepared and looking forward to the meetings.

## "Won't blow it"

The leaders, buoyed by the reformist tone of his recent speeches are believed to be anxious to question him on exactly what he has in mind when he becomes President after the September elections.

Asked if he would disclose more detail of his reform plans to Mrs Thatcher and the other European leaders, Mr de Klerk said one had to remember the NP had a federal congress coming up.

"We're not going to blow it in Europe."

However, when asked if he had any "aces" to play when he met Mrs Thatcher, he said: "A good bridge player does not show his trumps. And I'm a good bridge player."

Asked about the impact of his visit, Mr de Klerk said: "I'm not here to make news. I'm here to do a job."

From PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

## Just another passenger . . .

From PETER FABRICIUS  
on SAA 238 to London

PRESIDENT-in-waiting Mr F W de Klerk flew to meet the leaders of Europe as just another passenger en route to London.

It was the ultimate low-profile visit.

Well . . . all right, he was travelling first-class. And perhaps security was tighter than usual.

But the crew was routine and so was the menu. And Mr de Klerk took his place among other first-classers, mingling and chatting.

Chief cabin controller Schalk Geel said: "We were rostered before it was known that Mr de Klerk would be on board. No offence to my crew

. . . we're not the A-team. But we're acting like the A-team."

Mr de Klerk's staff was at pains to stress that he was receiving no special treatment.

Hearing that the Press wanted to know what Mr de Klerk had for dinner, a staff member sent a terse note down to steerage:

"No special menu. No special crew. You must be joking."

Mr de Klerk's party settled for a routine first-class menu, including Fole Gras d'Oie (goose liver), Pous-sin aux Pêches (spring chicken with dried peaches), salad and dessert.

And, to remind him of his roots, Crème Waterblommefie. Or Waterblommefieroomsop.

MS 21/6/89

304A

# AWB says Terre'Blanche is eligible and will stand

ARGUS 21/6/89 (304A)  
The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The controversy over Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche has taken another turn with an AWB announcement that he is eligible to stand for parliament in Rustenburg.

The AWB chief of finance and administration, Mr Thys Smit, said the organisation had obtained legal advice on Mr Terre'Blanche's eligibility.

## SUSPENDED SENTENCE

Although Mr Terre'Blanche was given a suspended sentence in July 1983 for being in the possession of an unlicensed firearm, Mr Smit said the organisation's legal advisers had given the go-ahead to contest the election.

A Department of Home Affairs spokesman said the department would not comment on Mr Terre'Blanche's eligibility at this stage.

Professor Dawid van Wyk of Uni-

sa's Department of Constitutional Law said Section 54 of the Constitution stipulated that a person was not eligible for nomination or election if he had been convicted of any offence for which he received a term of imprisonment of at least 12 months without the option of a fine, unless he had been granted amnesty or been pardoned or unless his period of imprisonment had expired at least five years before his election or nomination.

Although the chief electorate officer, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, would decide on nomination day whether candidates had complied with all the conditions in the Constitution, it was unlikely that he would disqualify candidates because the Department of Home Affairs did not keep records of candidates' criminal records.

It was also unlikely that candidates would be disqualified unless another party brought a court application.

# PW's final break with NP



3044

CMT-TM-15 21/6/89

## SA 'to launch' space rocket

CMT-TM-15 21/6/89

Own Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — South Africa may be close to test-launching a modified Israeli Jericho II rocket designed to place satellites in orbit, United States intelligence officials believe.

The conclusion is said to be based, in part, on the detection of launch preparations at De Hoop.

There is concern, however, that the rocket could also be used as an intermediate range ballistic missile (IRBM) capable of delivering a nuclear warhead 1300km.

Intelligence officials quoted in yesterday's Washington Times said the De Hoop test facility had features identical to the Negev site from which Israel launched its first low-Earth orbit spy satellite last September.

The newspaper quoted officials as saying that South Africa and Israel had

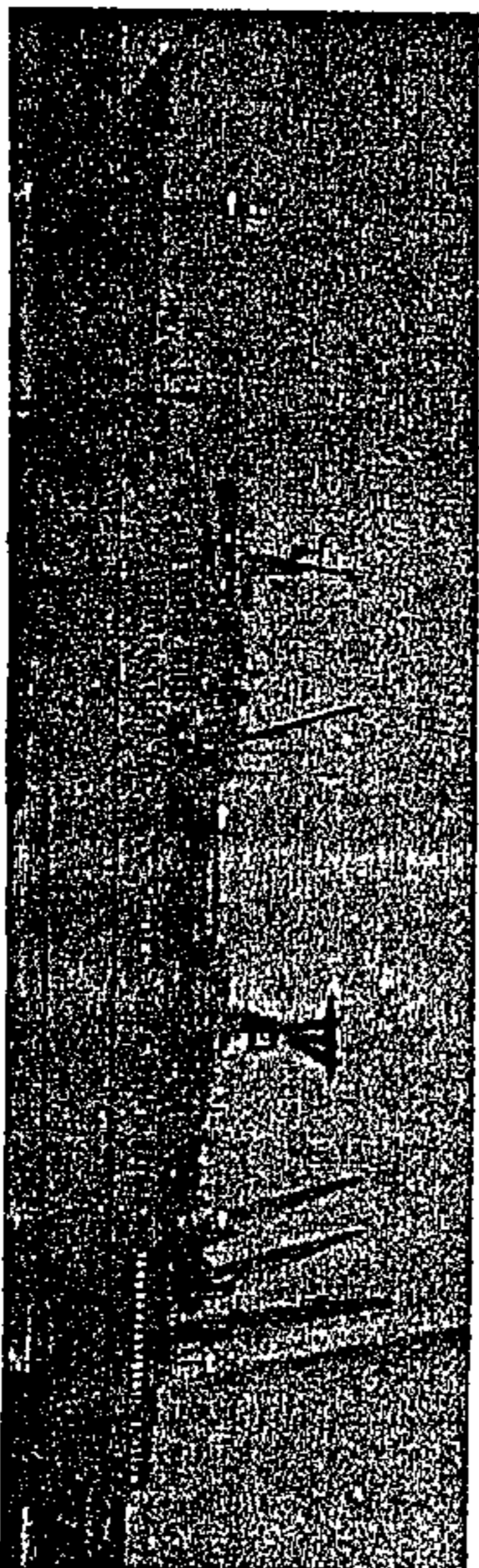
been working jointly on a new rocket since 1982 and were co-developing a photo-reconnaissance satellite which South Africa could use to monitor the Cuban army withdrawal from Angola.

Officials said they could not be certain whether the rocket detected at De Hoop was an IRBM, or designed to carry payloads into space, until after the launch, which could come within weeks.

The Minister of Economics and Technology, Mr Danie Steyn, recently announced that South Africa was interested in producing its own satellites but that development of a launch vehicle was a long way off.

Less than a year ago South Africa was linked to the launch of Israel's first space satellite which aroused speculation that it was the forerunner of a spy probe.

## Rescue on the ice



MAXIM GORKY . . . The Soviet liner photographed at Madeira in 1987

FROM OWN FILE

Pyjamas and fur coats as liner hits iceberg

SPITZBERGEN. — Elderly holiday-makers.

### Political Staff

AFTER months of tension a piqued and disillusioned President P W Botha has made his final break with the National Party by refusing to attend a farewell gala banquet in his honour.

Apparently angry at the party's rejection of him and his plan to separate the presidency from the leadership of the National Party, Mr Botha has dug in his heels — in spite of attempts by confidants to persuade him to change his mind.

The cancellation of the dinner was announced yesterday by Mr F W de Klerk, the man who succeeded him as NP leader and who in all likelihood will also be his successor as State President.

### Sympathy

What has given his refusal special significance is that the banquet date, June 28, the eve of the NP's extraordinary Federal Congress in Pretoria, was arranged in consultation with him.

There has been a large measure of sympathy for Mr Botha in the party since his stroke but his refusal to attend his own farewell is now being

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There has been a large measure of sympathy for Mr Botha in the party since his stroke but his refusal to attend his own farewell is now being interpreted as a pointed snub and an attempt to embarrass Mr De Klerk.

Members of the party have regretted his action which they feel is "unbecoming".

However, it was not entirely unexpected in some quarters.

More than a week ago the party was still hoping to persuade Mr Botha to attend and it is understood that Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, both confidants, spoke to him on Friday.

Mr Botha earlier refused to attend the last NP parliamentary caucus meeting, at which a presentation was to be made to him, because he had "prior commitments".

He was, in fact, presenting medals on that day.

A few days ago senior party members said that if Mr Botha persisted in not wanting to attend the banquet it would have to be dropped. It was suggested, however, that something else might be arranged for after the elections.

But there was no mention of a alternative arrangement in Mr De Klerk's announcement yesterday shortly before he left for Europe.

It is thought that Mr Botha may have taken exception to Mr De Klerk's scheduled visits to Britain, Germany, Italy and Portugal for talks with heads of government, before he is South African head of state.

● R100 000 farewell tea for Elize — Page 3

H  
FIN

BUY ANY  
AT THE  
RETAIL P  
AND GE  
OTHER  
THE SAM  
OR LESS  
ONLY . .

# Miller predicts a tough election

CPT  
Tm  
21/6/87  
304A

Political Correspondent

THE National Party faced its toughest election since coming to power in 1948, the former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Ron Miller, predicted last night.

Launching his campaign for the Gardens constituency, Mr Miller said there was a real possibility of "radical polarisation" of all voters — whites, coloureds and Indians — "to extremist left- and right-wing parties."

Mr Miller, who lost the Durban North seat to Mr Mike Ellis of the PFP in May 1987, will be attempting to unseat the DP's Mr Ken Andrew in the coming election.

Mr Miller, a previous leader of the now-defunct New Republic Party in Natal, was earlier tipped as a possible candidate for Helderberg, where he has family ties, after Mr Chris Heunis announced his retirement.

However, NP sources said he had already accepted the invitation from the NP constituency committee in Gardens when approached by Helder-

berg.

Last night Mr Miller appealed to "all reasonable South Africans" to prevent polarisation at all costs as radicalisation — particularly of white politics — would spell the end of stable government in South Africa.

A vote for the NP was a vote for peace and stability, he said. A mandate from the voters would give the government the green light to reform.

Mr Miller said the NP committed itself to bringing blacks into "a new and meaningful political dispensation", the structure of which would be the product of genuine negotiation with all parties committed to peaceful change.

"Without black participation by means of leaders endorsed by their constituencies there can be no long-term prospects for peace in South Africa," he said.

He also challenged the DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall to name the 40 seats he claimed his party could win in the election.

5/8/89  
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# Blacks, whites set to rule together - HSRC

BLACK and white South Africans seem to be all set for a future multi-racial government based on fairness to all, according to recent survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council.

The chief research specialist of the HSRC, Dr Nic Rhoodie, said black and white respondents in various recent surveys firmly believed in a peaceful negotiated settlement in South Africa.

He said only 14 percent of urban blacks polled saw violence as the only means to achieve equality in South Africa. More than 80 percent were in favour of non-violent means to achieve this. In the case of whites, 23 percent were in favour of a white homeland as against the 72 percent who were looking forward to the dismantling of apartheid structures. — Sapa.

# Law Commission's proposals scrutinised

CAT 1715 21/6/87 305/17

THE South African Law Commission project group, under the guidance of Mr Justice PJJ Olivier, has produced a working paper which, if implemented, would give a welcome boost to protecting human rights in South Africa.

The paper is firmly for protecting individual rights but rejects group rights, while proposing language, religion and culture safeguards.

The proposed bill of rights (which runs to 33 articles) includes almost all the rights routinely included in the "classic liberal" rights charters: rights to life, spiritual and physical integrity, privacy, legal personality, family integrity, free speech, free movement, private property, free association, free assembly, personal freedom and safety and some very detailed provisions relating to the rights of people arrested or detained.

Certain freedoms are also provided for freedom from any discrimination and from slavery or forced labour.

Some of the more controversial proposals, perhaps, are the rights to private property and to disassociate, as also article 30, which allows limitation in the interests of the security of the state, public order etc but subject to the courts. Most laudably, the commission tackles practical implementation of its proposed bill, linking it to the prior repeal of



**CORDER**

**DAVIS**

By **HUGH CORDER** and **DENNIS DAVIS**  
UCT Law Faculty professors

all discriminatory legislation and administration and the negotiation of a new constitution based on universal franchise.

## Economic basis

While acknowledging the generally positive approach of the commission, there are many points of constructive criticism which could be made to strengthen and clarify this approach.

First, the economic basis of the commission's proposals: although the report claims a bill of rights is not the proper place for propagating a particular economic system, it follows the views cited in the report by Gavin Relly that "a bill of rights must include adequate guarantees of the right to acquire, own and dispose of property".

The report suggests "ownership is one of the most basic aspirations of all South Africans" and that "even those who would like to see a redistribution of wealth would also like to have the right to property protection afterwards".

In short, the commission's recommendations

in this regard show a clear commitment to a free enterprise economy which, while doubtless encouraging free marketeers, will run counter to the political programmes of mass democratic movements.

Second, the commission holds that: "It is common cause that the human rights guaranteed in a bill of rights can never apply absolutely and without limitation."

This statement is not without merit. For example, the right to freedom of speech or expression cannot be wide enough to allow citizens to advocate racism. Similarly, the state's duty to ensure a high standard of public health, prevent crime and to administer justice fairly will inevitably lead to a limitation or infringement of certain rights.

## Proposed method

However, our view is that there are certain human rights which can apply absolutely, which should never be limited or infringed. These are at least the following: the right to life, the right to

human dignity and equality before the law, the right not to be held in slavery.

Third, the proposed method of enforcement of a bill of rights in this country must be considered. The Law Commission rejects the idea of a special constitutional court and opts for the proposal that "the Supreme Court should apply the bill of rights and that the normal process of law should apply". In doing so, the commission reveals its confidence in the South African Bench.

We maintain the commission seriously underestimates the crisis of confidence in the judiciary among the population in the context of protecting human rights.

Finally, some attention must be paid to the language or discourse employed by the commission.

## Other groups

When viewed in its entirety, the report appears to present a model of a liberal democratic society as illustrated by the above recommendations. At the same time there are suggestions of another, less liberal, theme running, particularly insofar as its treatment of group rights is concerned.

It notes that everybody should have the right to disassociate from other groups and individuals, it finds that the "protection of minorities in this country is essential since to ignore the rights of minority groups would be to invite endless conflict".

In this context, the report's language could be seen to approximate the discourse of the state in the post-P W Botha era.

In sum, we would propose that, taken at face value, the liberal *bona fides* of the commission be accepted and that all references to group protection in the constitution be scrapped.

# TerreBlanche may be on OB path to extinction

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

The leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, may have started to retrace the steps to political extinction taken by another kragdadige Afrikaner leader.

84 21/1/87  
An admirer of Hitler, Dr Hans van Rensburg, Commandant General of the Ossewabrandwag (OB), strode down the road to political oblivion more than 25 years ago when he challenged the National Party.

Like Mr TerreBlanche, Dr van Rensburg headed a organisation with stormtroopers which despised parliamentary democracy but which, for a time, forged an axis with a parliamentary party.

The OB came to prominence in the wake of the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek in 1938; for a brief period in the early 1940s, it vied with Dr D F Malan's NP for the right to lead Afrikaner nationalists. The OB co-existed in an uneasy alliance with the NP under the Cradock Agreement of 1940 which recognised the NP as the supreme voice of Afrikanerdom on the party political terrain while granting the OB the right to mobilise the *volk* culturally.

## Neo-Nazi New Order

(3044)

The agreement — which Professor Albert Venter of Rand Afrikaans University labels an exercise in sophistry — broke down as the ambitious Van Rensburg moved into the political sphere, supporting zealots of Oswald Pirow's neo-Nazi New Order at a time when Malan was trying to exorcise them.

By October 1942 Malan's NP called on all its members to resign from the OB. Some NP leaders — including Mr J G Strijdom who was later to become Prime Minister — had already led the way by withdrawing from the OB.

Once there was open political conflict between the two organisations, it was no contest: Malan's NP won decisively, marginalising the OB and sending Van Rensburg into the political wilderness. There are obvious parallels between the interact-



Mr Eugene TerreBlanche

ion of the OB and the NP and the relationship today between the AWB and CP.

They are not auspicious for Mr TerreBlanche.

Leaving aside the fascist doctrines espoused by the OB and the AWB, striking parallels include:

- The same specious division of authority; the AWB — like the OB before it — is supposedly confined to the cultural terrain while the CP serves as the political voice of primordial Afrikaner nationalism.
- The same overlapping membership; many members of the AWB serve in the ranks of the CP (including CP MPs), just as OB men were at the same time card-carrying members of the NP.

To extend the analogy: Mr TerreBlanche's decision to stand as an independent candidate in Rustenburg in the election is as overt a declaration of war on the AWB's CP ally as any political speech made by Van Rensburg in an earlier era.

It is pertinent to note that Dr Treurnicht's reaction was to express regret that Mr TerreBlanche had reneged on his "repeated undertakings" to keep the AWB out of the party political arena.

If Dr Treurnicht's reaction sounds muted, it is only

because of his gentlemanly manner. It masks a political will as steely as Dr Malan's when he moved against the OB. The appearance in Rustenburg of "Go Home ET" stickers is but the first blow in the looming *broedertuis*.

Professor Venter draws attention to some differences between Mr TerreBlanche and Van Rensburg and their fascist organisations; they do not augur well for either Mr TerreBlanche or the AWB. Van Rensburg, Professor Venter recalls, was the Administrator of the Free State and, whatever one thinks of his political views, a man of formidable intellect. By contrast, Professor Venter adds, Mr TerreBlanche is less substantial intellectually.

Van Rensburg never had to content with anything like the "Jani Allan" affair, which led to accusations against Mr TerreBlanche of womanising; heavy drinking and administrative sloppiness.

Those allegations were levelled, of course, by disillusioned AWB men. They were particularly damaging for that reason, the more so because they coincided with the resignation of four top men including its deputy leader, Mr Jan Groenewald and its intellectual guru, Professor Alkmaar Swart.

## MPs in AWB

The OB had a membership of about 300 000 at its height. Allowing for population growth that translates proportionally into a membership of at least 600 000 today, Professor Venter reckons. He adds: "I would be surprised if the AWB has 10 000 members."

Most ominously for the AWB, top CP men with dual AWB membership have started to sever ties with Mr TerreBlanche. Only one of the three CP MPs known to have been AWB members — Mr Fanie Van Vuuren, Mr Daan Nolte and Mr Chris de Jager — are still members.

Unless there is an 11th hour compromise, the AWB support base will crumble in the months ahead, predicts Professor Hennie Kotze, of the University of Stellenbosch. But, he adds, it will almost certainly inflict some painful blows on the CP before it is pushed to the sidelines.

# Skirmish over visas 'could end in war'

By David Braun,  
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — Deteriorating diplomatic relations between South Africa and Canada have resulted in a new skirmish over visas for diplomats.

Normally, diplomats wishing to visit a country are routinely granted visas on receipt of written application.

However, in recent weeks Canada and South Africa have been embroiled in a tit-for-tat exchange which could, in the words of a Canadian official, have the potential to end in diplomatic war.

It started two weeks ago when Canada refused to grant a visa to an official of the South African Department of Health and Welfare to attend an international Aids conference in Montreal.

Although about a dozen South African delegates from hospitals and academic institutions were allowed to attend, Ottawa rejected the health department official's application in keeping with its policy of keeping official

contacts between the two governments to a minimum.

According to reports in the Canadian media this week, South Africa retaliated a week later by refusing to issue visas to two senior officials from the Canadian International Development Agency. Both have diplomatic status and were on their way to Lesotho where their agency has programmes.

This decision was apparently made in Pretoria in direct retaliation for the Canadian decision to refuse the health official's visa.

A few weeks ago an attache from the South African Embassy in Washington, who regularly visits the Ottawa embassy, had to undergo an interview and wait for several hours before getting his visa.

Ottawa has apparently given instructions to hand out the same treatment to all South Africans who want to visit Canada.

South Africans wishing to visit Canada must apply for their visas outside of South Africa.

304A

# New US mood favours talks with SA parties

Star 21/6/87

304A

During a recent pep-talk to foreign service professionals at the US State Department, Mr James Baker was asked to identify major policy failures under former President, Mr Ronald Reagan.

Central America and South Africa, he shot back.

The answer baffled those present.

Many considered the US role in sponsoring the Namibia-Angola settlement a clear success.

But the new Secretary of State was adamant: Congress's vote in 1986 to override a presidential veto and approve sanctions against South Africa amounted to bad policy and, like Central America, represented a breakdown between the executive and legislative branch.

Mr Baker's desire for co-operation between the Republican White House and the Democratic Congress is a useful policy pointer now that the Administration is renewing its interest in South Africa.

## Sizing up

President George Bush, expressing an abhorrence of apartheid, has already charmed the combustible Archbishop Desmond Tutu at the White House.

The South African president-elect, Mr F W de Klerk, is due to visit Washington later this year — the first leader of the Pretoria Government to do so in 30 years.

The word is that this is merely a mutual sizing-up session, but some officials believe the trip offers an

BY LIONEL BARBER  
Washington tries to distinguish the good guys from the bad guys in South Africa.



Mr James Baker, now US Secretary of State.

opportunity to renew efforts to open dialogue between South Africa and opposition groups, including the African National Congress.

The questions are whether the Administration, which is preoccupied with East-West relations and the Middle East, shares this sense of urgency, whether it may be willing, as one senior official suggests, to allow Britain, which hosts Mr de Klerk this week, to shoulder a greater diplomatic role, and how it intends to deal with the Democratic majority in Congress which is considering a further, far tougher pack-

age of economic sanctions against South Africa?

To date, the administration's tempo has been more adagio than allegro.

A policy review on southern Africa is not yet complete and Mr Hank Cohen, successor to Dr Chester Crocker, the senior State Department official who mediated the Angola-Namibia accords, has remained deliberately opaque.

Yet the atmosphere of external calm is misleading.

Last April, Mobil, the largest US company still in South Africa, announced it was pulling out.

Mobil, with \$400 million (about R1 740 million) in assets and nearly 3 000 employees there, led the anti-sanctions campaign in the US, its disinvestment strips the movement of its most articulate voice.

Until the Mobil pull-out, US disinvestment was slowing.

Only 28 companies withdrew last year, compared with 52 in 1986 and 56 in 1987, according to the Washington-based Investor Responsibility Research Centre.

One reason was that the biggest companies have already folded their tents, another is that the 136 US businesses which remain believe their presence can be a positive force for political change.

Bishop Tutu's recent mission to Washington was marked by a similar ambivalence toward sanctions.

Some lawmakers appear to be having second thoughts too. In the newly mercantilist mood in Congress, some have noted that Japan replaced the US as South Africa's major trading partner in 1988.

This has not deterred Congressman Ron Dellums, the California Democrat, from pressing his bill for new comprehensive and multilateral sanctions against South Africa.

Mr Dellums, who first introduced sanctions legislation in 1971, has already amassed 135 signatures in the House. But, as he recognises, the key to passage lies in the US Senate.

## Override veto

Mr Dellums met recently with Senator George Mitchell, the new Senate Democratic Majority leader, to discuss the timetable for legislation, and to urge the Senate to take the lead.

Senator Mitchell, who voted for the 1986 sanctions, may move early but he too knows that to win he needs at least 60 votes to head off a certain Republican filibuster led by Senator Jesse Helms, and 66 to override a presidential veto.

The notion of allowing Britain a greater diplomatic role sounds plausible, with one caveat.

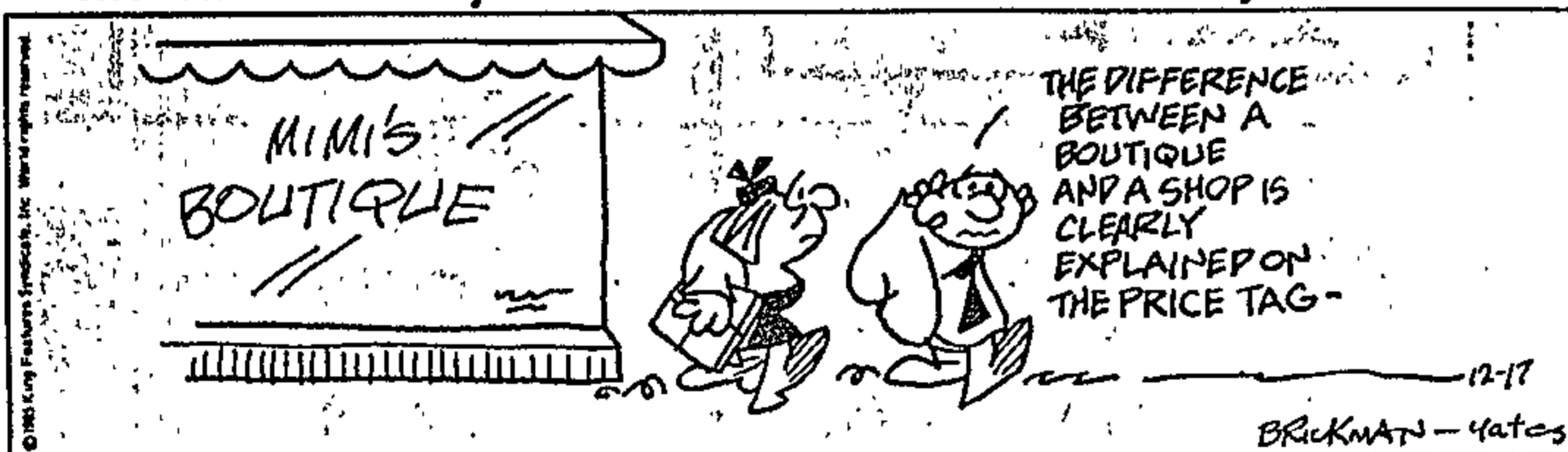
The Soviet Union too has indicated its wishes to play a role in the region. Its contribution towards promoting the Angola-Namibia accords through pressure on Cuba was one important sign.

Mr Baker thinks he has learnt from the foreign policy failures of the Reagan administration.

The test will be whether he can adapt to a new era where a country such as South Africa does not fit easily on the East-West chessboard and where, as one expert in Washington says, it is no longer easy to tell the bad guys from the good guys. — The Financial Times News Service.

## the small society

by Brickman



BRICKMAN - Yates

## Cabinet salaries would be cut CP 'would bring back pass laws'

### Political Reporter

The Conservative Party would reintroduce influx control and cut the salaries of Cabinet Ministers if it won the election on September 6, two CP MPs have said in statements.

Yesterday, the deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said the CP regarded recovery of the economy as an urgent priority.

It would curb State overspending and rectify the National Party's policy of re-distributing income in favour of blacks.

"We have to start from the top. The country's leaders have to set an example. Therefore, we will in the first place decrease the salaries of Cabinet Ministers."

The costly system of Ministerial representatives would immediately be abolished, and the President's Council disbanded.

"The Government's total neglect of the economy can no longer be tolerated."

Dr Hartzenberg said fiscal and monetary discipline would be restored, and corruption and socialist practices stopped.

Clyde Johnson reports that CP MP for Potgietersrus, Mr Schalk Pienaar, told about 250 supporters at an open-air meeting at Nelspruit's amphitheatre on Monday night that influx control would be re-introduced when the party came to power.

"Once we become the government of our

beautiful fatherland, workseekers from outside our borders will be granted permits on our conditions," he told the cheering crowd.

"But let me warn anybody intending coming here as a liability to the State — loafing and doing nothing useful — rather stay at home and do it there."

Replying to critics who said that the whole of South Africa would become a Boksburg under a CP government, Mr Pienaar asked: "Would you rather live in a Boksburg governed by the CP, or stay in Hillbrow under Nationalist rule?"

Despite negative and biased publicity, Boksburg had, he said, passed the test with not a single business having gone bankrupt.

The value of buildings and land had increased, business was back to normal, and it was safe to walk through the town at night.

"Can the same be said about Hillbrow, the showpiece of the National Party?" he asked.

"Once-prosperous businesses have closed, buildings are in a state of neglect, black prostitution is rife, and anybody risking walking through the streets at night takes a big chance," he said.

Mr Pienaar also criticised the Government's economic policy which, he said, had killed off white initiative in order to finance the non-productive black population.

# Prosperity depends on Government

By Mike Siluma  
Labour Reporter

The actions of a National Party government re-elected after the September elections would determine South Africa's prosperity and the continued use of sanctions to fight apartheid, the outgoing president of the Chamber of Mines, Mr Colin Fenton, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

He told the chamber's annual meeting that many of the economic ills holding back South Africa's emergence as a first world nation stemmed from universal rejection of internal government policies.

"The best efforts of commerce and industry can constitute little more than a holding operation until an acceptable political dispensation is achieved," Mr Fenton said.

## OPPORTUNITY

"At this stage there seems little doubt that Mr (F W) de Klerk and his party will be returned to power. How they use the opportunity presented is likely to determine our prosperity and the future of sanctions as an anti-apartheid strategy."

Mr Fenton said it was incongruous that unions such as the National Union of Mineworkers should support sanctions. "Yet the leadership of the NUM goes further. (NUM) wage increase demands, from an industry it tries openly to cripple by sanctions, at a time when the profits of marginal mines are already squeezed by the depressed gold price, are pitched at some 118 percent."

Referring to the declining gold price, he said about half of the chamber's 33 gold mines could be threatened unless the price improved or other factors came into play.

Mr Fenton said all sectors of the mining industry showed a fall in fatality and injury rates last year.

### Dr T regrets TerreBlanche's move

Star 2116187  
The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, has reaffirmed that his party will be contesting Rustenburg despite the attention given to the seat by the AWB leader, Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Addressing a political meeting at Alberton last night, Dr Treurnicht said it was the democratic right of Mr TerreBlanche to stand in Rustenburg.

However, he found it unfortunate that the AWB had gone back on its assurances that it would not become involved in party politics. (3049)

Dr Treurnicht said he had already told Mr TerreBlanche that the CP was not prepared to ask any of its candidates to stand down for anyone else. — Sapa.

WORLD



NATIONAL

The Argus, Wednes-

# Anger over R100 000 tea party for Elize Botha

## Political Staff

THE Defence Force received a full broadside today for holding a R100 000 farewell tea party for Mrs Elize Botha, the President's wife.

And Nationalist MPs have expressed regret about what they described as "Mr P W Botha's stubbornness" in turning down an invitation to a banquet where the National Party was going to take leave of him as State President.

Reacting to the expensive tea party, Democratic Party defence spokesman, Mr Dave Dalling MP, accused the Defence Force of being totally insensitive to the position of all South Africans who were struggling to make ends meet.

In a statement today the Defence Force confirmed the chartering of a Boeing 707 had been "authorised" for the Defence Force Lady's Association to fly 300 members from around the country to a farewell party for Mrs Botha at the Simon's Town naval base on June 14.

## Regretted

Mr Dalling said to "squander money like this when all South Africans are becoming poorer is to show insensitivity."

"To spend over R100 000 to transport wives of public servants to have a tea party with Mrs Botha is to be irresponsible with the taxpayer's hard-earned money."

Mr L Coetzer, personal secretary to Mrs Botha, said today Mrs Botha had no comment to make on reports about the tea party.

Nationalist MPs said they regretted Mr P W Botha's stubbornness in turning down an invitation to a banquet where the National Party was going to take leave of him as State President.

The banquet, which was to have been held in Pretoria on

the eve of the party's federal congress on June 29, has now been cancelled.

Announcing this the party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said the step had been taken after discussions with Mr Botha. Mr de Klerk first announced plans for the banquet in parliament on May 12.

There has been a stony silence on the matter from Tuynhuys. A spokesman for Mr Botha's office said it was a party political matter on which the office could not comment.

## "Bruised"

Nationalist politicians said that while it had been hoped that the formula which had been found to allow Mr Botha to remain in office after the September 6 general election would sooth his bruised feelings after his confrontations with the party leadership earlier this year, this had apparently not worked.

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# NP solidarity as FW departs for Europe

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The leader of the National Party and possible future State President, Mr F W de Klerk, left South Africa last night for important meetings in Europe.

The purpose is to shape their future relations with South Africa.

He will first meet British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

Almost the entire Cabinet was at Jan Smuts Airport to see him off on a week-long whistle-stop tour of Britain, West Germany, Italy and Portugal.

The show of solidarity from the Cabinet was considered especially significant after President Botha yesterday snubbed the National Party by refusing to accept an invitation for a planned banquet to bid him farewell.

But the support from his colleagues on his departure was matched by strong protests against his visit from anti-apartheid groups.

In London, UDF patron Mrs Albertina Sisulu addressed a crowd of 600 campaigners protesting against Mr de Klerk's visit. A forest of banners proclaiming "Send De Klerk Home" faced Mrs Sisulu as she took the microphone and silently raised a fist.

## INSENSITIVITY

In Johannesburg, Sapa reports that the Congress of South African Trade Unions attacked Mrs Thatcher's invitation to Mr de Klerk as one more "brazen act of collaboration between the British government and the white minority regime". It said the invitation took first prize for its insensitivity to the "feelings of our people".

Mr de Klerk was accompanied by a small party of officials from his office and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

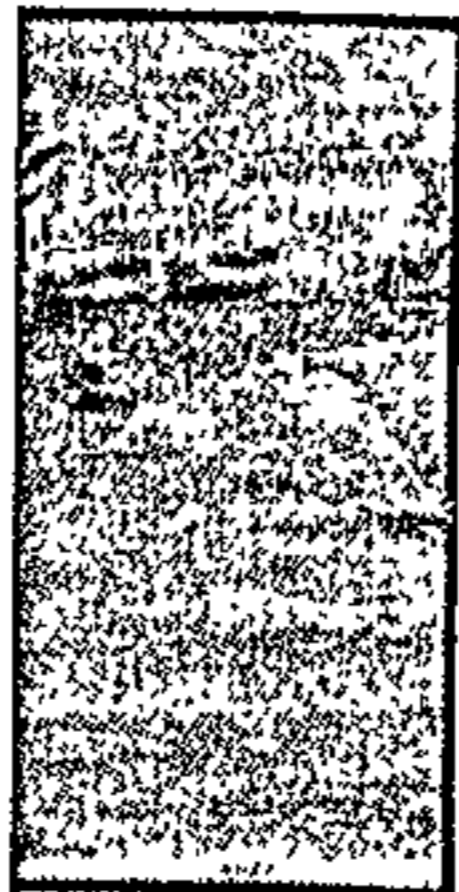
No facilities were laid on for the press, though a handful of journalists are following him.

Though the NP leader is travelling officially as Minister of National Education, it is clear to all that unofficially he will be meeting heads of Europe as the likely future State President.

That is why he has been invited. The leaders have taken note of the reformist sounds he has been making and are keen to hear what he has to say.



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# FW shuttle

From PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

BONN. — Mr F W de Klerk was expected to face tough questioning when he met West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl here today for the first of his talks with European leaders.

The main topics of discussion with Mr Kohl and his less-sympathetic Foreign Minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, were expected to be a date for the release of Nelson Mandela, an explanation why the emergency was renewed when South Africa had given assurances that stability was returning, and assurance of moves towards a negotiated settlement.

Mr Kohl is expected to draw Mr de Klerk's attention to the apparent shift in the ANC attitude to negotiations.

Mr Govan Mbeki, ANC leader released from life imprisonment in 1987, was here two weeks ago, saying the ANC wanted a political and not a military resolution of the conflict.



Klerk runs the gauntlet of London.

**DEMO:** Under the watchful eye of British police, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk runs the gauntlet of anti-apartheid demonstrators outside the South African embassy in London.

## Conditions

He told the German government that the ANC placed only three conditions for negotiations: the release of political prisoners, unbanning political movements and an end to the emergency.

Dr Rudolf Gruber, Bonn director of the South Africa Foundation, believes Mr de Klerk will not get away with vague generalities if he wants to impress Mr Kohl.

"Mr Kohl will indicate that Germany does not want sanctions but that South Africa must help him to avoid them," Dr Gruber said.

There was no chance of the present government imposing tighter sanctions or other punitive measures "unless South Africa shoots itself in both feet".

But Dr Gruber said the coalition government would not last for ever and was likely to be replaced by a Socialist/Green coalition in December 1990.

## 18 months

"That means South Africa has 18 months to get its act together."

Under a United Europe in 1992 economic measures would be decided on by the community as a whole.

This would put Germany under enormous pressure to introduce stronger sanctions.

Mr de Klerk flies back to Britain today for talks with Mrs Thatcher.

● From Washington The Argus Foreign Service reports that members of Congress are trying to persuade President Bush to ask the Security Council to impose worldwide mandatory sanctions against South Africa for 12 months.

A resolution to this effect has just been introduced in the US Senate.

By imposing sanctions a year at a time, the sponsors of the resolution hope to get around the hesitancy of those who are reluctant to take such a step for fear that the Soviet Union might veto future pro-

(Turn to page 3, col 8)

## F W's shuttle

(Cont from page 1)

posals to lift sanctions.

The resolution in the Senate also urges the Bush administration to take immediate steps to secure consensus among South Africa's major Western trading partners on effective economic, political and diplomatic measures to end apartheid.

Greatly encouraged by official US statistics which showed the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) had reduced exports by R1 167-million annually, the sponsors of the resolution are hoping to close Western ranks.

The resolution, which has been referred to the Senate's committee on finance, was jointly drawn up by senators Paul Simon, Rudy Boschwitz, David Boren and Christopher Dodd.

The resolution calls for active steps to bring about concerted pressure by Japan, Canada, the European Community and other US allies on South Africa to dismantle apartheid through negotiation with legitimate representation freely chosen by all citizens.

304A

# ANGER OVER PARTY

## Farewell for Botha's wife cost R100 000

A FAREWELL tea party for the President's wife, Mrs Elize Botha, costing taxpayers more than R100 000, has come under fire.

Opposition politicians yesterday decried what they described as "lavish" expenditure, including the charter of a Boeing 707 to fly members of the South African Defence Force Ladies' Association to Cape Town for the June 14 function.

The jaunt was roundly condemned today by spokesman on defence for the Conservative Party and Democratic Party.

"This is an outrageous waste of taxpayers' money," said Mr Koos van der Merwe of the CP. "It is a monumental waste of money," agreed Mr David Dalling of the DP. "If the Defence Force does not know the difference between wise

expenditure and wastage, then President Botha himself should step in and call a halt to this squandering of the country's money."

The office of the Defence Minister Magnus Malan offered no response yesterday, leaving Defence Force headquarters to confirm that an aircraft of Safair was authorised to transport senior members of the ladies' association to Cape Town for the occasion.

"This flight was correctly authorised in terms of existing regulations," the spokesman said.

Asked why a Safair flight was chartered, the spokesman said it was standard procedure to charter aircraft when an air force one was not available. Three hundred guests

reportedly attended the farewell at the Simonstown naval base. Senior ladies' association members were flown from centres throughout the country.

The party treat was apparently the crew of the submarine Maria van Riebeeck, which Mrs Botha has named in the early 1970s, sailing into the bay to salute her. — *Sowetan Correspondent*



MRS ELIZE BOTHA

# WHITES TO MEET ANC

3048

LUSAKA — A large delegation of white South Africans will hold talks with the African National Congress in Lusaka from June 29 to July 2.

They will discuss "the role of whites in a changing society," a statement from the Five Freedom's Forum said yesterday.

"The delegation of whites is unique in that not only does it include a large number of influential individuals,

## Largest group to visit Lusaka

but that most delegates will be representing specific organisations or constituencies," the statement said.

This is also the largest delegation of white people to meet with the ANC.

Members of the Democratic Party, city councilors, business

Another key aim will be to gain direct knowledge of the ANC and its policies.

"A curtain of State propaganda has provided a distorted picture of the organisation. We see the need to gain first-hand knowledge of the ANC," the statement said.

The issues of sanctions, violence, the South African economy, constitution and negotiation will also be discussed.

Main funders of the conference are the Swiss, Canadian, Dutch, Danish and US governments.

"Delegates have been invited on the basis of their significance within their constituencies and will be able to share their experience with many others on their return," the statement said.

The statement said the participants would have a chance to place the concerns of white South Africans before the ANC. The participation of whites in a changing society as well as in a "post-apartheid South Africa" would be discussed.

**Political Staff**

**DR ESTHER LATEGAN** last night convincingly won the Democratic Party's nomination contest for Maitland — and immediately warned that sitting MP Mr Kent Durr had "better watch out".

Dr Lategan, who in 1987 slashed the National Party majority in Stellenbosch, said that what happened two years ago was the first sign of the tide changing against the NP.

"What for Stellenbosch was a trickle has become a broad current in Maitland. Ordinary people are rethinking their choices."

She won the DP nomination last night after some of the leading candidates, including Groote Schuur MP Mr Jan van Gend, the National Youth chairman Ms Michelle Guttler and Mrs Margaret Fourie, stepped down and threw their support behind her.

But the party has again delayed a choice in the key Stellenbosch seat.

A decision in Stellenbosch is not likely for at least another week.

The chairman of the selection committee, Dr John Sonnenberg, said last night: "We are looking at a number of interesting candidates."

He said that because Stellenbosch had become such a high profile constituency the DP was determined to secure a "top contender" for the seat.

# Dr Lategan <sup>30/6/89</sup> <sup>Carl Tink 22/6/89</sup> wins DP vote for Maitland



**CANDIDATES . . .** MP for Gardens Mr Ken Andrew gives Dr Lategan a hug after she won the DP nomination contest in Maitland last night.

Maitland is a safe NP seat where Mr Durr, the Minister of Budget and Works in the House of Assembly, won the seat by more than 4 000 votes in 1987.

Dr Lategan, who studied social work at Stellenbosch University, did much of her practical work in Yesterplaat, which falls into the constituency.

"I would not like to be in Mr Durr's boots selling NP policies and being responsible, as the former deputy minister of finance, for the dire economic situation which is causing much suffering in this constituency," she said.

# Heathrow demos ambush FW

From IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — A small group of anti-apartheid protesters ambushed president-designate Mr F W de Klerk's car as he drove out of London's Heathrow Airport yesterday.

But his arrival on a week-long European tour that could be critical to South Africa's future and herald undertakings of dramatic reform, otherwise went almost unnoticed.

The placard-waving demonstrators caught the NP leader by surprise as he was driven out of the airport security area through a side gate.

The demonstrators, unseen by journalists who had been decoyed to a VIP area, shouted insults and hit the car with their placards but the incident was over in seconds as the car sped away, protected by a police escort.

And when rumours spread that he would attend the hit play "Phantom of the Opera" the cast insisted that the management would first have to announce to the audience that he represented the apartheid government and they resented his presence in the theatre.

He told journalists: "I look forward to meeting Mrs Thatcher very much. We will, I hope, have an open discussion."

But Mr De Klerk and his wife, Marike, had to scurry past jeering demonstrators when they left a reception in their honour at the South African Embassy last night.

The embassy had been ringed by steel barricades and was guarded by dozens of policemen with two bus loads of officers held in reserve.

# FW ARRIVES IN LONDON

3049  
Somerset  
22/6/89

LONDON — South African National Party leader Mr F W De Klerk arrived here yesterday at the start of a European tour which will include talks with the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

De Klerk, in line to become South Africa's State President after the September general election, told reporters at Heathrow Airport that

he was looking forward "very much" to meeting Thatcher and hoped to have "an open discussion" with her.

"I didn't come with any definite preconceived ideas in any sense of the word," he said.

"I've prepared myself well. It is good to be in England. I've had the opportunity to be here on

quite a number of occasions before and I really look forward to my stay here."

Asked if he expected Thatcher to press him for changes in South Africa, De Klerk said: "We will have an open discussion and I will put, obviously, South Africa's case.

"I don't think it would be the right thing to now pre-empt the discussion." — Sapa.

# R100 000 tea party puts Elize in hot water

Cape Times 22/6/88 306A

Staff Reporter

THE Defence Force had been extravagant and insensitive in holding a R100 000 farewell tea party for Mrs Elize Botha, critics said yesterday.

Democratic and Conservative politicians, a retired navy commodore, the Housewives' League and members of the public condemned the party, held at Simon's Town naval base last week.

About 300 members of the Defence Force Ladies' Association were flown from around the country to attend the event on June 14.

The Chief of the SADF, General Jannie Geldenhuys, said yesterday it would be "a pity if this well-intentioned gesture becomes the subject of controversy".

The Ladies' Association and Mrs Botha had done an enormous amount for the morale of all members of the SADF, General Geldenhuys said. He

had therefore, "in terms of existing regulations", authorised the event.

But Mr Dave Dalling, DP's spokesman on defence, said Mr P W Botha "should see to it that sycophantic government departments do not waste funds on glorifying the exit of people from public life".

Dr Andries Treurnicht, the CP leader, called the function "extravagant, overdone and entirely inappropriate".

To the national president of the Housewives' League, Mrs Lyn Morris, the farewell had entailed "a great deal of money when everyone could have said goodbye to Mrs Botha in a much simpler manner".

Retired Commodore Vic Holderness, a DP campaigner, believed such an expense could not be justified.

The Cape Times also received a flood of calls from readers angered by the cost of the farewell and its timing. (See Teleletters on Page 7).

# ... but here's why Democrats don't agree that CP will take over

Cape Times 22/6/87 304A

By Dr DENIS WORRALL  
Co-leader of the Democratic Party

IN HIS book *Prime Minister*, Bernard Donoughue, writes of "the slow but irresistible tide of public opinion". He tells how he drew Mr James Callaghan's attention to improvements in the opinion polls in 1979, remarking that, with a little luck, Labour might squeak through the coming election.

Donoughue says Callaghan said quietly: "I should not be too sure. You know there are times, perhaps every 30 years, when there is a sea-change in politics. It then does not matter what you say or what you do. There is a shift in what the public wants and what it approves of. I suspect there is now such a sea-change — and it is for Mrs Thatcher."

If this is what Herman Giliomee is referring to, then I believe this is correct. My fellow Democrats and I who have been travelling around the country can confirm this. The tide has turned against the National Party. Economics is the main reason but another, as Pik Botha seemed to insinuate after the Linden result, is the Government's lack of credibility on constitutional reform.

Mr De Klerk may talk about new constitutions but nobody is taking him seriously. They have heard it all before. This attitude is very evident in DP house meetings of Afrikaners. On the one hand there is no serious interest in what the NP has to offer; on the other there is a feeling it has run out of idealism.

By contrast, DP meetings both in the cities and on the platteland have been extremely well attended. We are drawing a very high calibre of candidate for nomination and, as the DP triumph in Linden, the DP can draw its share of Afrikaans-speaking voters.

Recent polls show the DP

has grown very encouragingly. At the time of the dissolution of the three parties and the launch of the DP, we had 21% of the electorate. In early June, only six weeks after the launch of the party and before the Linden by-election, the figure was 26%.

The coming general election could be a watershed and for this reason the DP has decided to put up candidates on as wide a basis as our resources will allow. We regard ourselves as the party of the future. We should be building an infrastructure now.

It is important that people be given the chance to vote their convictions to show black fellow South Africans just how many whites share their commitment to a non-racial future. It is also important that international bankers and investors see the potential for change in South Africa.

The election, as far as the DP is concerned, could have three outcomes. It could be the majority party (unlikely); it could emerge as the official Opposition; we could have a hung Assembly. Of the three a hung Assembly is becoming increasingly likely. While this analysis coincides up to this point with Giliomee's, here we diverge.

The likelihood of the CP actually gaining majority party status (in other words getting the magic 84 seats) is virtually a mathematical and political impossibility. But almost as improbable is the possibility, in the eventuality of a hung Assembly, of the National Party splitting and a sufficient number of the NP caucus joining the CP and giving it the necessary majority to govern.

The reason why this is extremely unlikely is the paradox that, with a hung parliament, the right wing of the NP will be massacred. While

some verligte members of the NP may lose their seats, the real losers to the CP will be on the platteland and will include the more verkrampte elements of the NP.

The fallacy in Giliomee's scenario is that he is assuming that the NP caucus will be the same in a hung parliament as it is with its present 123 members. This is a fallacy because, in a hung parliament, the NP right wing will have been massacred.

The NP caucus in a hung Assembly would therefore be a more flexible caucus, more amenable to opening up to the DP. Certainly the CP will not be interested in any kind of compromise with what is left of the NP. Dr Treurnicht spurned the last offer of co-operation from Mr P W Botha and that will consistently be their attitude.

Giliomee's scenario is mistaken and his advice to the DP to exercise humility and adopt a cautious approach is psychologically unfortunate. The one glimmer of hope of breaking the log-jam of white politics lies in a hung Assembly. If the NP comes back with 90 seats, De Klerk will be terrified to act because of pressure from his caucus.

With a hung Assembly (in other words the NP having fewer than 83 seats) the NP would have to sit down and talk to the DP on a day-to-day basis.

Our attitude is clear. The DP is going for power on September 6. We have a simple message. The NP was an effective party of the First Era of our politics — an era in which white interests predominated. We are into a new era — an era in which the interests of all South Africans must be taken into account. And the NP is part of the problem.

entated study programme. Such a plan will fail if the syllabus contains areas of little interest to the pupil.

challenges of the day. The September 6 elections offers one such challenge."

### FROM PAGE ONE

aims is to serve as a bridge between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groupings.

One view expressed is that whites should not vote since participation in the present parliamentary system is ultimately irrelevant and plays into the hands of the state.

A counter view is that it is possible to make a strategic intervention by

supporting certain candidates sympathetic to the MDM and that support for the DP will assist in cracking the Nationalist monolith.

A case in point is that of the present MP for Claremont, Jan Van Eck, who is the DP candidate for the seat.

Van Eck has a history of working closely with democratic organisations and is a member of the Cape Democrats, a UDF

affiliate.

Many other DP members also belong to organisations which are part of the democratic movement

In addition to non-participation and strategic voting, a third option being debated is for organisations to avoid assuming an official position and leave the decision whether or not to vote up to the individual.

This is considered to be an unsatisfactory option.

22-28/6/89

## Thumbs down to election

NO PARTICIPATION in the September elections.

This is the clear message emerging from the democratic movement after intensive national discussions in recent weeks.

Community organisations are now preparing anti-election strategies as political parties in the tricameral Parliament swing into action to woo voters for the September 6 poll.

Some of the strategies are expected to be a boycott of the elections and a campaign to advance the demands and ideals of the mass democratic movement (MDM).

This would entail popularising the call for a nonracial, democratic and unitary South Africa.

The election campaign is likely to be coupled to other campaigns such as the living wage campaign, the opposition to the Labour Relations Amendment Act and the shortage of housing.

Locally, organisations are meeting to discuss issues specific to regions.

Included on this agenda is whether whites who belong to democratic organisations should vote.

The formation of the Democratic Party has complicated the scenario.

The DP, which hopes to win at least 40 seats, has said one of its

TO PAGE TWO

**FROM PAGE ONE**

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hust 22-28/6/89.

Star 22/6/89 (304A)

## Fierce fight expected in Boksburg election

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Boksburg National Party MP Mr Sakkie Blanche will face a severe onslaught from parties to the left and right in the forthcoming general election, with three opposition parties determined to put up solid performances in the constituency which has captured nationwide attention since the CP took local government control in October last year.

While the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party have already announced their parliamentary candidates, the Democratic Party yesterday confirmed that it too would contest the East Rand seat on September 6.

Locked in the four-way battle will be Mr Blanche, the CP's Dr Sias Nothnagel, the HNP's Mr Attie Treurnicht — brother of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht — and a DP candidate probably to be announced later this week.

### CLINCH SEAT

Mr Blanche obtained a comfortable 2 790-vote majority in a 66 percent poll in the 1987 general election, in which the former Progressive Federal Party, the CP and HNP also participated.

A senior CP source in Boksburg recently predicted that the DP could clinch the seat, saying support in the constituency was fairly equally balanced between the three main white political parties.

While NP sources are confident that Boksburg would remain Nationalist territory, the CP is determined to prove voters' support for its re-introduction of municipal apartheid.

On the other hand, the DP wants to "bring a positive message to the voters of Boksburg who have become the political polecat of the nation due to NP/CP actions", according to Mr Mike Willemse of the DP's Eastern Transvaal executive.

Said Mr Willemse: "Boksburg reflects the nationwide interest in the continuing political saga involving the NP/CP alliance. The DP is the only vehicle through which normality can be returned to Boksburg."

304A

# Tambo spells out his conditions for talks

By Sue Leeman,  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo has reiterated the ANC's "bottom line" of steps Pretoria must take before the ANC will consider negotiating.

He did so in a keynote speech as Nationalist leader Mr F W de Klerk flew to Europe for his visit to political leaders.

In the speech, Mr Tambo dealt with questions such as ANC conditions for negotiating with the South African Government and its attitude to sanctions against South Africa. He

also attacked policy statements made by the Government.

Details of what Mr Tambo said may not be published in South Africa because he is banned in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The address, to the Socialist International congress in Stockholm on Tuesday, has increased pressure on Mr de Klerk, who will see Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany today and Mrs Thatcher tomorrow.

The British and West German leaders will be expecting a concrete reform agenda.

## Kerkbode backs '2nd anthem'

304A

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Support for the use of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika as a national anthem alongside Die Stem was voiced in the latest edition of Die Kerkbode, the official organ of the N G Church. Star 22/6/87

In a lead article, South Africa was described as a country with a population of different cultures, languages and preferences, where place should be made for more than one of many things.

"Will the acknowledgement of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika as a second anthem (without the political hubbub about it, it is a moving prayer to God) not be a symbolic gesture of reconciliation?"

8/25/89 (304A)

## Yugoslavia 'considering SA links'

The Star's Africa News Service

Yugoslavia may be seeking to establish informal contact with South Africa, according to the first South African journalist to visit that country in 24 years.

Last year, journalists from Yugoslavia visited South Africa.

Mr Jurie van der Walt, of the African News Organisation (ANO), writing from Belgrade, quotes a research fellow at the Yugoslav Institute for International and Development Studies, Dr Mario Nobile, as saying that while interest in such contacts was still at an early stage, if they were carried through they would represent a major policy change by Belgrade.

However, he ruled out the establishment of formal diplomatic ties between the two countries in the near future.

Dr Nobile credited the Russian experiments with glasnost and perestroika, which he said has dramatically changed relations between East and West, for allowing the tentative Yugoslavian interest in South Africa.

Star 22/6/89

304A

## Wynand Malan challenges De Klerk

# Vague promises are not enough

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan last night challenged National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk to spell out clearly his vision for the future, saying people were becoming increasingly impatient with his vague promises of reform.

He warned Mr de Klerk, in Europe for top-level talks with government heads, that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher would not "let him get

away with vague generalities" such as he had uttered since his election as NP leader.

Speaking at a DP fundraising banquet in Roodepoort, organised by the party's Helderkruid and Florida constituencies, Mr Malan said the NP was incapable of using favourable opportunities which existed at present.

"A window of opportunity exists now.

"A clear move towards a non-racial future needs to be taken

now. An opportunity exists which needs to be taken, but the NP cannot do it because it has no policy to do so.

"It is filled with uncertainty. It is a party which does not know where to go except that it cannot stay where it is."

If the NP did not make a "vital movement" now, South Africa might soon face an even more hostile world which would have dire consequences for the already faltering economy and stability.

Although European countries were more reasonable than most others, isolationist policies towards South Africa would emanate from Europe and not America, he warned.

While realism was growing among political groups, the DP had been leading the way in preparing people for a process of negotiation.

"The DP is not sitting on the sidelines to let the NP lead the country to ruin. It is doing now what the NP ought to be doing — talking to all relevant political actors in South Africa."

## Worrall welcomes Natal peace talks

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party was willing to play a role in the peace talks between warring factions in Natal and would "do everything possible" to back the peace process, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said in Durban last night.

He warned that the "iron fist" promised by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, could be "totally counter-productive" unless the police

were seen to be impartial and criminals were charged in court.

It was in the interests of all Natalians that the violence was brought to an end. The talks between Inkatha, the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions were welcomed.

Dr Worrall said many hurdles needed to be crossed because "there is no quick-fix solution to the violence".

June 22 1989

## CP is 'responsible for Boksburg mini-boom'

Star 22/6/89

The deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, last night held up Boksburg as a successful example of his party's policy.

Citing what he described as a mini-boom in business, 135 businesses seeking licences there, a drop in crime since the CP had taken over the council, and a brisk housing demand, he said his party accepted full responsibility for events there.

Dr Hartzenberg was addressing about 300 people at the Hoërskool H F Verwoerd in Innesdal, Pretoria.

"Do you want Pretoria to look like Boksburg or Hillbrow?" he asked, detailing racial integration and what he saw as sagging standards in Hillbrow.

"You must ask yourself if you want the whole of South Africa to look like Boksburg or Hillbrow," he said.

In Hillbrow, property prices had plummeted, 200 businesses had closed, people were scared to go out, drugs were traded, and people were living 12 to a flat.

Dr Hartzenberg said:

- September 6 was the most important election ever because, if the NP were in power after that, white votes would be worth as much as they were in Zimbabwe and in Namibia;
- The NP and South Africa



Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg ...

Boksburg — drop in crime."

304A  
were crumbling — an unprecedented wave of corruption had hit the Government, with six major commissions probing irregularities and 15 internal commissions of investigation in the Department of Education and Training alone;

- The Government had ruined people financially.

Homeowners were paying 50 percent a month more on their bonds now than they did 15 months ago.

South Africans were the highest taxed people in the world.

## 'Simple' to solve crisis of violence

304A  
82-22669

Political Staff

It would be "relatively simple" to solve South Africa's crisis of violence by seeking political, rather than military, solutions through negotiation, Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck told a Boksburg house meeting last night.

"To refuse to negotiate would ... obviously lead to an escalation of the violence," he said.

He said that although the Democratic Party cannot start the process of negotiation as an opposition party, it — and the thousands of whites who are voting for it — can play a crucial role in pushing the Government, whether it wants to or not, into these negotiations.

● Mr van Eck has welcomed last night's apology from the SABC and the retraction of remarks by interviewer Johan Pretorius during a TV interview with Dr Zach de Beer.

Dr de Beer was asked if he could be sure Mr van Eck would not resign from the DP after the election, as he had resigned from the PFP in August 1987.

Mr van Eck had taken "strong exception" to the implication he was "deceitful and lacking in principle". He said he was very pleased with the apology.

## Three-way fights for E Transvaal

Political Reporter

The Democratic Party has announced its first Eastern Transvaal candidates for the September general election, setting the scene for three-way contests in Witbank and Nelspruit.

Businessman Mr Koos Venter (42) will be the DP's candidate in the marginal CP seat of Witbank. The NP's candidate is Mr P Broodryk, chairman of the Highveld RSC, while CP MP Mr Wynand van Wyk will try to retain his seat on September 6.

Attorney Mr Stephan Grove (39) will contest Nelspruit for the DP against the CP's Mr Christo Smith and sitting NP MP Mr P Mare.

Also announced was the DP candidate for Albertyn, Dr Etienne le Roux (41), a local surgeon and a member of the DP's national council.

He will contest the seat against the National Party's Dr Dries Oosthuizen and the Conservative Party's Dr Servaas Latsky.

## 'Pressure on FW will speed change'

22/6/89  
By Michael Morris 304A

CAPE TOWN — South Africa had already entered a phase of negotiations, and the movement towards a single nation state in the crucial 1990s — probably a multiparty democracy — was inevitable, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of Idasa (Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa), predicted.

Addressing the Southern Sun breakfast club yesterday he said:

"I do not think it will take that long. I suspect the pressures on F W de Klerk will speed up the process."

Unlike in Namibia and Zimbabwe, South Africa had already entered a "mode of negotiation" on several fronts — including education, local government and the economy — "so that when we reach the constitutional question, that will be a culmination of many negotiations".

NP did write to

## DP over Delmas

Star 22/6/89

The former Minister of Transport, Mr Hendrik Schoeman, has admitted writing to the Democratic Party asking it not to contest Delmas. (304A)

This is the latest development in the row on reported election deals offered to the DP by National Party officials in constituencies such as Delmas, Modderfontein and Sandton.

Mr Schoeman said he just wanted the NP to win back Delmas, lost to the CP by 275 votes in the 1987 election. — Political Reporter.



Protected by Bobbies . . . NP leader Mr F W de Klerk runs the gauntlet of demonstrators outside a side entrance to the South African embassy in London yesterday.

By Peter Fabricius  
and Sue Leoman

BONN — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk was due to meet West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl in Bonn today — temporarily leaving platoons of screeching, shouting demonstrators behind him following his arrival in Britain yesterday morning.

He will return to London later today. Mr de Klerk and his wife ran the gauntlet of chanting pickets as they left the South African Embassy in London on their way to a theatre engagement last night.

The embassy was under siege for much of yesterday as anti-apartheid demonstrators gave full vent to their anger at the presence of Mr de Klerk in Britain.

As Mr de Klerk arrived, British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and her Australian counterpart Mr Bob Hawke clashed head-on over the South African issue.

Mrs Thatcher felt the new leadership in South Africa should be given a chance. Mr Hawke observed dourly that a few practical demonstrations of the will to reform would not come amiss.

The two leaders also had different stances on sanctions. Mrs Thatcher has made her position clear, while Mr Hawke's Labour government has already imposed a number of measures.

In South Africa, the Conservative Party is seeking assurances from State

## Chanting pickets

mob FW

Star 22/6/89

President Mr P W Botha that he would not allow Mr de Klerk to give any fresh undertakings to European leaders on South Africa's constitutional future, or on the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela.

While in Bonn today, Mr de Klerk will also meet Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher and MPs.

Yesterday, after resting from the scheduled flight from Johannesburg, he slipped through a side entrance into South Africa House on Trafalgar Square yesterday afternoon to avoid demonstrators.

The South African President-designate spent a large part of the afternoon and early evening at the embassy, where he was briefed by ambassador Mr Rae Killen.

He was also guest of honour at a reception for sympathetic Conservative MPs and "friendly" journalists.

Two busloads of police took it in turns to patrol the perimeter of the

block where the imposing Herbert Baker building stands. Special security barriers kept the crowd at a distance.

By late afternoon the number of chanting protesters had grown to around 500.

The crowd was swelled further by groups of curious tourists, most of whom had come to see Lord Nelson on his column but stayed to hear about another, more topical Nelson.

At some point a story began doing the rounds that the De Klerks had plans to finish off the evening by seeing the smash hit "Phantom of the Opera" at Her Majesty's Theatre nearby.

A smaller group of protesters picketed the theatre for about an hour before rejoining the main protest.

It is understood that a number of stagehands had refused to work if Mr de Klerk was in the audience. Theatre employees and police declined to confirm that Mr de Klerk was watching the Andrew Lloyd Webber musical.

Newspapers here have so far paid little attention to his arrival although this will certainly step up when he meets Mrs Thatcher.

The Financial Times reports that Mr de Klerk said he was looking forward to open discussions with Mrs Thatcher.

"I don't want to comment on her specific role. She has always taken a principled stand from her point of view, and we don't want to misuse her in any sense of the word whatsoever," he said.

Each City  
a Master



is not going to be defeated." Mr Savimbi  
remain the head of his party. stepping aside.

## Worrall slates TV silence on poll deals

By Esmaré van der Merwe  
Political Reporter

A new row has erupted between the State-controlled SABC-TV and the Democratic Party on coverage of political events, with DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall challenging the corporation to state its reasons for not broadcasting DP revelations of election deals offered to it by the National Party.

While the Sunday Star's recent revelations of such deals were reflected by the local news agency Sapa, Dr Worrall said further details revealed by DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan had been released by Sapa too — "the SABC thus would have had it".

However, the SABC denied receiving any statements from the DP on the matter.

The SABC has declined to comment fully on pertinent questions by The Star on its coverage of opposition politics; its handling of General Magnus Malan's denial of an election deal offered by his Modderfontein constituency without reporting on the DP's revelations of such a deal; and details of its intended coverage in the run-up to the general election on September 6.

In a brief reply to The Star's questions, the SABC said: "We received a statement on the matter from General Malan, MP for Modderfontein. We have, however, not received a statement from the DP on the matter."

The other questions were not answered.

# FW meets Thatcher today

CRS 7/14/89  
23/6/89

3044



LONDON. — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, buoyant after holding "very constructive" talks with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl yesterday, goes into arguably the most important meeting of his European tour when he sees Mrs Margaret Thatcher today.

Mrs Thatcher has shown increasing interest in aiding peace moves in Southern Africa and an internal settlement in the Republic itself.

British newspapers have reported that Whitehall has been pressing

South Africa for a deal under which ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela could be released to pave the way for black-white constitutional negotiations.

Mrs Thatcher is widely regarded as the Western leader with the most influence over Pretoria because of her refusal to join an international sanctions campaign against the Republic.

British political commentators believe Mrs Thatcher is keen to demonstrate that she has leverage with Pretoria, particularly with a Commonwealth Conference looming up later this year.

She has already expressed hope

that Mr De Klerk and his "new generation" Afrikaner colleagues will speed up the reform process in the Republic.

Mr De Klerk told reporters in Bonn yesterday that fundamental reforms were needed for a peaceful solution to his country's problems.

Speaking after his hour-long meeting with Mr Kohl, the NP leader said his party was now committed to giving blacks and other non-white groups a share in South Africa's political life.

"I believe renewal and fundamental changes are necessary in South Africa for a peaceful solution," he said.

"We realise time is of the essence and we will be working very hard at

putting every ounce of energy we have into making it work." But Mr De Klerk said there could be no domination of one group by another.

The NP leader said the chancellor was clearly well-informed about South Africa and appreciated the country's exceptional problems.

Mr Kohl had not attempted to put pressure on South Africa or make any demands, he said.

A West German spokesman said Mr Kohl underlined to Mr De Klerk the need for the total abolition of apartheid and dialogue with all relevant opposition groups. — Sapa-Reuter



# Elize steers clear of politics at R100 000 tea

Staff Reporter

MRS Elize Botha made a 45-minute speech about her husband, her children and her memories at the Defence Force wives' tea party in her honour last week.

But while she steered well clear of politics, the same could not be said about Mrs Magnus Malan, who also spoke on the occasion, according to one of the women invited to the affair.

The party, held in what used to be Rhodesia-by-the-Sea at the Simon's Town naval base, has aroused widespread public indignation because of the estimated R100 000 cost in flying wives to the Cape by charter aircraft from all over the country.

The Cape Times' informant, who would be embarrassed by publication of her name, said Mrs Botha arrived about 10.30am, 30 minutes after the

other 300 guests were asked to be present.

"She did not mingle with us, so we had no opportunity of speaking to her," said the guest.

"Her speech was entirely apolitical, and she said nothing about her husband's resignation, though at the end she did bid her own farewell. But Mrs Magnus Malan went on about how we had won the war in Namibia and that our hands were firmly on the tiller. Mrs Jannie Geldenhuys (wife of General Geldenhuys) also spoke."

Cadets handed round the food, the Cape Corps sang, the Anchor Players (the Simon's Town dramatic society) put on skits and the women's army training college in George staged volkspele.

The tea party was still going strong at 12.45pm when this particular guest left.

Cap 71475  
23/4/89  
304A

# Judges to meet ANC

CHT Ticks 23/6/89

3047

**By MALCOLM FRIED**  
**SOUTH AFRICAN Appeal and Supreme Court judges, legal academics and lawyers are set to meet ANC members during a secret conference in Britain, starting today.**

The South Africans will be the most high-powered local legal personalities to have contact with the ANC.

Confirmed as participants are Mr Justice A J Milne and Mr Justice J W Smalberger of the Appeal Court, Mr Justice J J Fagan of the Cape and Mr Justice J M Didcott of Natal, Professor Den-

nis Davis and Professor Hugh Corder of UCT, Professor Laurie Ackermann of Stellenbosch, Professor John Dugard of Wits and Mr Arthur Chaskalson, SC.

Sources said yesterday that several other lawyers from around the country were also part of the South African delegation.

Those named had all left for overseas by early yesterday and most are not expected to return for at least a week.

The conference, organised by world-renowned legal theorist and Oxford University don Professor Ronald Dworkin, is due to last from today until Sunday.

Invitations to the event, to be held at a venue in Oxfordshire, were confidential and the ar-

rangements kept strictly secret. Officially, it was planned as an international jurists' seminar. However, it has been reliably learnt that ANC members will also be present.

Relatives of several local participants said the meeting had been long in the planning and meticulously organised.

"Obviously, the judges particularly did not want anyone knowing in advance what was coming," said one source.

All the South Africans are regarded as political liberals.

Mr Justice Didcott has made a series of pronouncements and judgments which, a range of lawyers believe, have made him

To page 2

30 4A

23/6/89

Cape Times, Friday

## Taxpayer shouldn't pay for FW's trip, say DP

**THE Democratic Party says it would be inappropriate for taxpayers to foot the bill for Mr F W de Klerk's European trip, which appeared primarily geared to boosting his chances in the presidential stakes.**

**DP MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe, said in a statement yesterday that it "would seem that the major purpose of Mr De Klerk's trip has to do with his candidacy for the State Presidency.**

**"As yet, Mr De Klerk does not hold a constitutional position which reflects his position of the leadership of the majority party; it would seem, therefore, that the funding should not be borne by the taxpayer."**

**While the fact that Mr De Klerk was undertaking the trip is commendable, it is important to know whether taxpayers' money is involved.**

# I am standing, ET insists

PRETORIA. — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr. Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday scotched speculation that he may withdraw as a candidate in Rustenburg in the general election.

"I am standing — with the support of six town councillors." The right-wing in Rustenburg has been torn apart with the expulsion from the CP yesterday of five town councillors, including the mayor and deputy mayor.

# Judges to meet

## ANC

CHT Times 23/6/89

304A

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From page 1

Judges

highly unpopular with the government.

Professor Ackermann, a former Supreme Court judge, resigned from the bench to take up a chair in human-rights law at the University of Stellenbosch.

Professor Davis, Professor Corder and Professor Dugard are also all active in human rights.

This latest meeting is the third in a series of encounters this month alone between the ANC and South Africans.

The first took place at the beginning of June in Lusaka when a large number of representatives from organisations — including Cosatu and the UDF — met the entire ANC national executive.

The second meeting, also in Lusaka, was between members of the United Democratic Universities' Staff Association — representing 18 of the 20 South African campuses — and members of the ANC executive.

And, next week, a fourth meeting is due to take place when the biggest single group of white South Africans fly to Lusaka for a series of talks. Topics will range from educational matters, local government and forthcoming events in South Africa.

The ANC is not directly connected with organising the Oxfordshire conference.



## Forum releases delegates' names

# 'Influential' persons will talk with ANC

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The largest group of white South Africans yet to meet the African National Congress will attend a conference in Zambia later this month to discuss with the banned organisation the role of whites in a changing society.

The Five Freedoms Forum, which organised the conference, has released the names of some of the 120 South African delegates who will meet 40 ANC representatives in Lusaka from June 29 to July 2.

Prominent educationists are among the delegates, including University of the Witwatersrand deputy vice-chancellor Professor Mervyn Shear; University of

Cape Town deputy vice-chancellor Professor Dave Woods; Sacred Heart College principal Mr Neil McGurk; educationist Dr Franz Auerbach and Dr Robin Lee of the Wits Centre for Policy Studies.

Others attending the conference, sponsored by the governments of the United States, Sweden, Canada, the Netherlands and Denmark, include East London mayor Mr Donald Card, former Black Sash president Mrs Joyce Harris and *Southern African Report* editor Mr Raymond Louw.

### Different

The Five Freedoms Forum said that the delegates represented parties which worked in the white community.

The conference would be very different to previous meetings with the ANC, the Forum said.

"Not only does it include a large number of influential individuals, but most delegates will be representing specific organisations or constituencies."

# Expelled CP six to back

## AWB leader

Star 23/6/89  
By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

Six Rustenburg town councillors who were expelled from the Conservative Party on Wednesday would support the candidature of AWB leader Mr Eugène TerreBlanche for the September general election, management committee chairman Mr Willie van Zyl said yesterday.

But they will not control the council under the official AWB banner.

The six, expelled for not toeing the CP policy line, planned to form a Conservative Ratepayers' Association which would have a majority in the 11-man council, Mr van Zyl added.

The CP lost municipal control this week with the summary expulsion of five councillors: the mayor, Mr Charel Pretorius, deputy mayor Mr Dries Botha, deputy management committee chairman Mr Ben Marais, management committee member Mr Hennie Joubert and councillor Mr Koos Joubert.

Mr van Zyl was expelled from the CP in November last year.

The Rustenburg council now consists of three National Party members, two CP representatives and six "independents".

A council meeting is to take place on Tuesday at which the six will announce their plans.

Details about the political manoeuvres of the two remaining CP councillors, Mr Ryk van Jaarsveld and Mr Johan Vosloo, could be revealed then.

## Malan says meeting did take place <sup>304A</sup>

*Stm 22/6/89*  
The Minister of Defence, Gen Magnus Malan, confirmed yesterday that the chairman of his divisional council, Mr Ben Smith, had met Mr Brian Goodall, the DP candidate in Edenvale, and Mr Dave Dalling, the MP for Sandton.

However, no request had been made to the DP not to field a candidate in Modderfontein, and no agreement had been reached with the DP, Gen Malan said in a statement in Pretoria.

He said the DP's allegations concerning requests purported to have been made to them by Mr Smith had been the "disinformation" Mr Smith had referred to previously.

Gen Malan also challenged the Democratic Party to field a candidate against him in Modderfontein.

He issued this challenge "to remove all doubts over the so-called secret agreement" with the DP.

Gen Malan said: "Reports coming from the DP camp" had been reaching Mr Smith for some time before he contacted Messrs Dalling and Goodall, in reaction to a message. — Sapa.

## US message on path to SA solution

# It's time for talks on 'no loser' basis

By Norman Chandler,  
Pretoria Bureau

The United States is determined to be a catalyst in the process of negotiation for finding solutions in South Africa, the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Herman Cohen, said yesterday.

The British and West German governments, as well as the Portuguese, were involved, and all wanted to "see a light at the end of the tunnel".

Mr Cohen told journalists and prominent South Africans, in a televised press conference in

which he was in Washington and his audience in Pretoria, Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban, that negotiation on the country's future was vital.

Whites and blacks had an equal role to play — "there is a necessity to change and to really bargain on the basis of no losers in the negotiation process", he said.

The United States, Mr Cohen said, was encouraging South Africa not to put any conditions on the release of Nelson Mandela — "we are encouraging his release as we want dialogue by

South Africa with all black leaders".

"We want to be more active in promoting such dialogue. We want to be the catalyst with the British and the Germans."

Mr Cohen, who said he was visiting southern Africa next month, said the Americans were not only talking to the South African Government but also to the ANC.

"We are hoping for new thinking on the part of the black leadership. Negotiation between the two parties must not be seen as a zero-sum game ... we must have a solution.

"We are going to challenge both sides and ask them: 'Are you ready?' (to talk).

"I have heard some people in the United States say the ANC is not ready. That will be most unfortunate for them."

He also said that the ANC admitted they were not the only leaders — others included the United Democratic Front, church groups and Inkatha.

### Reciprocity essential

Mr Cohen said that there had to be negotiations in an atmosphere of reciprocity — such as the lifting of the state of emergency by the Government and the ending of violence by the ANC.

There would have to be "talks about talks" to set the parameters.

He indicated that the atmosphere for improvement in South Africa's international standing had increased greatly.

"Things are coming together very nicely. South African expertise is needed, and we are pleased about the Highlands water project in Lesotho, the soda ash project in Botswana, and the transportation developments in which South Africa is involved in Mozambique."

Mr Cohen warned South Africa not to regard an involvement with the Soviet Union as a panacea for the country's ills.

Americans were not concerned about South Africa's contacts with the Russians "because when it comes to the future of South Africa, there is only one place where capital involvement could come from, and that's the West".

Mr Cohen said the United States intended establishing an embassy in independent Namibia and would provide aid.

She's 23/6/89.



304A



Mixed-race Hillbrow swim shows blacks can use council pools -- DP

# Arrests after A WB protest

By Kaizer Nyatumba

A group of A WB supporters, some claiming to be NP members, who tried to stop blacks entering the Hillbrow Indoor Swimming Pool to join some Democratic Party councillors in a swim to "test the water", were arrested and later released yesterday.

The group, waving A WB flags and chanting, blocked the entrance and refused to let blacks in. They handed out pamphlets depicting blacks as "negative" and "sub-human," and whites as "positive, human, creators".

Police physically removed them and put them in two vans.

Witwatersrand police media liaison officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe, said five A WB members, aged between 19 and 65, were released "on their own responsibility". The case had been referred to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand.

After the altercation, about 50 people, including members of the DP, the Black Sash, the Five Freedoms Forum and the public, some of them black, swam in the pool.

One of the protesters, Mr G Pitout, secretary of Johannesburg NP councillor Mrs Desiree Simpson, said they were there to make sure blacks did not swim in the pool.

## Protest

"I am here to protest as a Hillbrow resident," Mr Pitout told the press. "The DP are not considering the white voters of Hillbrow. They are agitating the people by swimming here."

Some members of the group identified themselves as National Party supporters in the Hillbrow area who were angry with the Government for not being consulted about Hillbrow's future.

DP councillor for Orange Grove, Mr Clive Gilbert, was involved in a heated argument with the A WB protesters before their arrest.

The swim was meant to demonstrate that the council had never taken any resolution or motion, or passed any by-law, prohibiting blacks from using municipal swimming pools, said Mr Tony Leon, leader of the DP in the council.

He commended the police for taking the protesters away.

Mr Gilbert told The Star he did not believe the protesters were Hillbrow residents.

● An Indian man, who identified himself as Haroun, had members of the press and fellow swimmers worried when he appeared to be drowning. Press photographer Mr Allen van der Linde and a lifesaver jumped into the water to carry him to the pool's shallow end.



Leader of the Democratic Party in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, surrounded by supporters of the multiracial swim at the Hillbrow swimming pool. ● Picture by John Hogg.



Impala Lodge residents Mr Paul Tihapi (left) and Mr Sydney Mafoko discuss inner-city life with educationist Dr Andries Lategan.  
● Picture by Sean Woods.

## 50 whites try life with 'illegals'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

About 50 whites, including three Democratic Party city councillors and representatives of prominent anti-apartheid organisations, rolled out their sleeping bags on Hillbrow flat floors last night to experience the living conditions of "illegal" black residents of Johannesburg's inner-city area.

Organised by the anti-eviction organisation, Actstop, and the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF),

the "Inner-city Encounter" started last night with a press conference at the Central Methodist Church.

Hosts and guests were introduced to one another, after which participants in the anti-apartheid campaign left for the dwellings which will be home until tomorrow.

Among white residents who gave up their comforts for two days were three DP councillors — Mr Tony Leon, Mr Cliff Garrun and Mrs Rae Graham — educationists, office-bearers from the FFF, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa (Idasa) and the Urban Foundation, church leaders and a large contingent of journalists.

Explaining the aims of "this journey to enlightenment", Actstop publicity secretary Mr Cas Coovadia said the encounter symbolised anti-apartheid groups' commitment to reconciliation between all South Africans.

He told the white participants: "You will see the poor conditions and exploitation.

"You will miss the recreation facilities you may be used to in your parts of Johannesburg."

"We are sure your hearts will go out to the child who cannot be taught in the inner-city.

"We will share with you the grief when a sick child cannot be treated at the nearest hospital."

The publicity secretary of the Five Freedoms Forum, Ms Gael Neke, said that the campaign for the desegregation of Johannesburg aimed to draw attention to the conditions under which approximately 60 000 black residents lived.

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# FW disappoints Bonn (304A)

By Peter Fabricius,  
 Political Correspondent

LONDON — National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk meets British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher in London today after yesterday leaving the West German government "fairly impressed" with him as a man — but not with what he had to say.

There are dwindling expectations that anything definite will materialise from today's talks.

Diplomatic sources in Bonn said after Mr de Klerk's meetings yesterday with West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "It was a mere expression of the same old thinking, which he sells in a more conciliatory and professional way than President Botha did."

"There was no concrete indication of any intention to release Nelson Mandela or lift the state of emergency."

Today's meeting is the main purpose of Mr de Klerk's four-nation visit and there has been wide-ranging speculation that he and Mrs Thatcher might discuss a London-brokered settlement initiative for South Africa.

Although that cannot be ruled out, it seems highly unlikely. Mr de Klerk has insisted he has no "hidden agenda" and British government sources have warned that the talks should be seen as no more than an exchange of views.

Although West German sources claimed Mr de Klerk had said nothing new in his talks with Mr Kohl and Mr Genscher, they pointed out that West Germany was not part of the diplo-

macy — which they believe is mainly between Britain and the United States — over South Africa.

As evidence that some movement is taking place, they point to recent signs that the African National Congress might be prepared to scale down its conditions for negotiation.

However it seems unlikely that Mr de Klerk is in any sort of position to venture into such dangerous waters now.

His meeting with the German leaders made it clear he is tailoring this visit to the electorate.

He was clearly upset by criticism from Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht that he had come to Europe to negotiate the country's future and release Mandela, which Mr de Klerk dismissed as "highly irresponsible petty politicking".

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# Tears run down the Crocodile's cheeks

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Sley  
23/6/89.

There are tears on the Great Crocodile's cheeks and anger in his heart as he sits out his remaining days as State President of South Africa.

Mr Botha's obdurate refusal to attend a starry National Party farewell banquet in his honour at the Holiday Inn in Pretoria next Wednesday will long be remembered in and outside the party he served devotedly for 52 years.

Official or charitable explanations aside, the reason for his snub is clear: He could not stomach the idea of basking at a gala occasion in the stifling adoration of former colleagues and underlings he feels betrayed him, deserted him.

Mr Botha is deeply wounded, Nationalist sources say, bitter at his abandonment from the day he announced as he recuperated from a stroke that he would resign party leadership as of February 2.

While Nationalist circles are still alive with speculation and intrigue as to whether any of the NP parliamentarians were slipped early warning of the bombshell, the wisdom persists that it was a surprise to all that dramatic morning in the Caucus.

## He gave no visible nod

The ailing president told them in a letter to choose their own leader. Most Nationalist MPs believe he favoured Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, but he did not seem to give him the nod in any visible way.

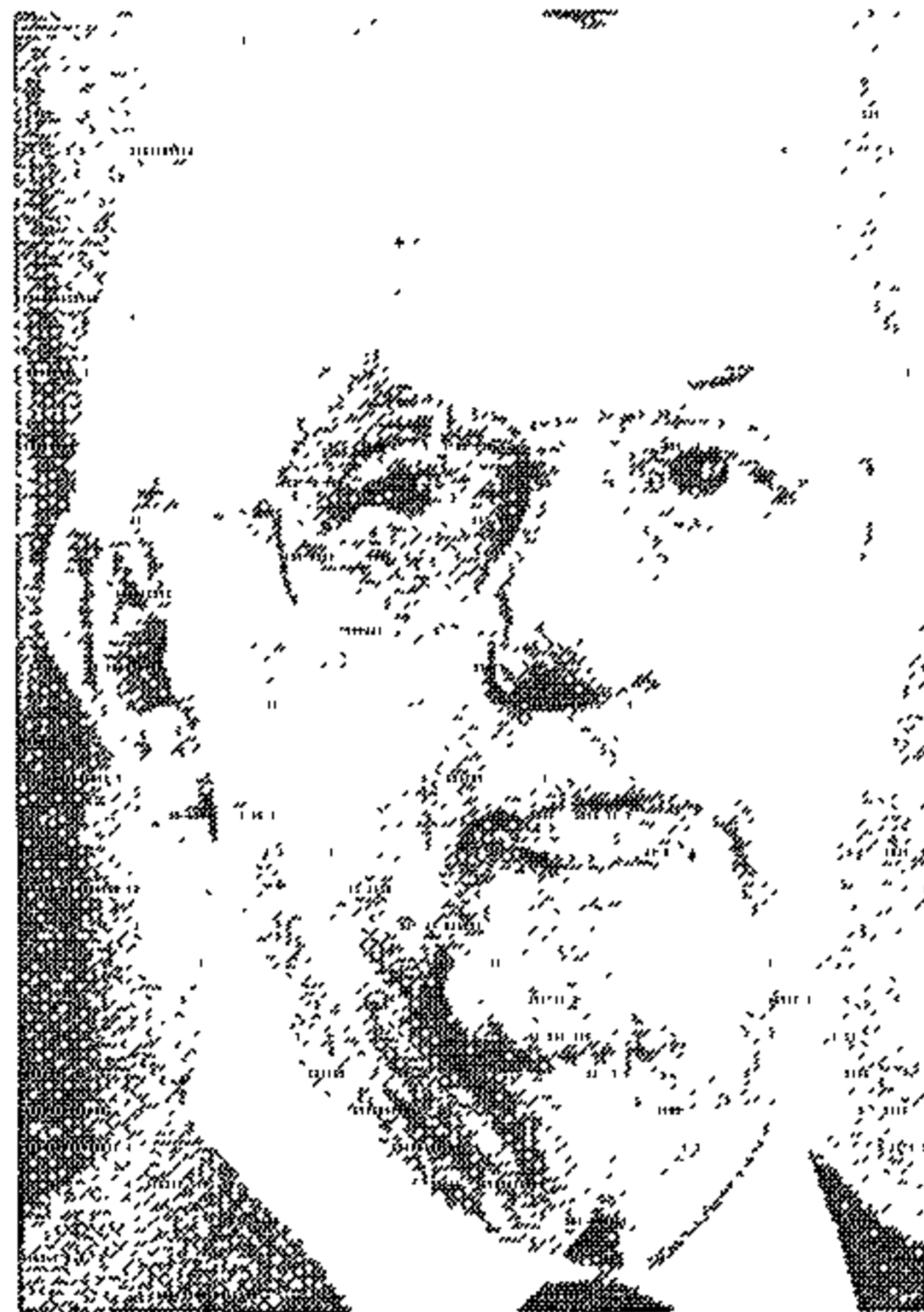
Mr du Plessis' slow start in the Caucus voting seems to bear that out, even though he finished only eight votes short of the winner as the rounds of polling progressed.

They chose the NP's Transvaal leader, Mr F W de Klerk, whose supporters immediately started a determined drive to seat their man at Tuynhuys. While they were scheming and lobbying, Mr Botha was telling the nation on television there would be no election this year, and he did not rule out the possibility of another term in office.

The broadcast was carefully designed to show the electorate what a "remarkable" recovery Mr Botha had made, more importantly that he was in command of his faculties and as sharp as ever.

There was a discernible hesitance in the Caucus to axe him, a yearning among several including Mr de Klerk to do the right thing by Mr Botha. But their desire for him to move on was stronger. MPs spurned his determination to stay and his proposal that the offices of NP leader and president be

Well is he, or isn't he, sulking? Political Correspondent **ALAN DUNN** examines why Mr P W Botha won't go to his own party's banquet in his honour.



President Botha ... many feel he is reducing his stature by snubbing his party.

split — in practice, that he retain the reins as South Africa's chief executive, and Mr de Klerk be the policymaker depending on Mr Botha's muscle to implement the policies.

This was untenable to most of the Caucus, "an NP leader with no arms", and they turned on Mr Botha. An intensely proud man, a Caucus autocrat whose leadership was steely and often politically bloody, was forced to back down in Parliament on April 6.

Mr Botha had made a fatal misjudgment and had, like many who had mistakenly crossed him in his very tough ways, to pay the price.

Word among Nationalists is that there has subsequently been very little communication between the incoming and outgoing presidents. Mr Botha has further been incensed by the access Mr de Klerk will be having in the next five days to European leaders and, possibly the US President next

month. This was access he did not have when his hands froze in recent years on the controls of reform and he imposed a lasting state of emergency.

Mr Botha's disappointment shone through his absence from Parliament on the final day of the session, and his refusal of a Caucus invitation to address MPs in a swansong shortly before the recess.

This week's rejection of the ritzy farewell dinner, on the eve of NP's federal congress, sealed that impression.

While the protocol of the arrangement seemed cock-eyed — NP organisers should have had Mr Botha's response before they sent out 370 or more gilt-lettered invitations — he was an adamant no-show.

On Friday a delegation of Cabinet members visited him at his holiday home in the Wilderness, a house where he has this year spent many isolated, bewildered, furious days as the fickleness of politics festered in him.

Kind Nationalists say they are not convinced Mr Botha is bitter and sulking. They offer the rickety theory that a banquet would be too much for the ageing president, that he fears emotion would overcome him as he finally divorces himself from the hurly-burly of politics.

## Taking leave of SADF

Officially, Caucus members say they are being told that Mr Botha considers it inappropriate that his farewell, as a "non-partisan" president, be linked so closely to the NP's fighting congress. Nationalist sources view this one as flimsy too.

Another excuse doing the rounds is that he believes it too early to say goodbye.

Farewells should more fittingly only come in the final hours of his 11-year reign. This seems contradicted, however, by his agreement to take leave of the SA Defence Force as Commander-in-Chief at a parade in Cape Town on July 1.

There is little division, however, on the fact that Mr Botha probably diminished his stature by rebuffing the banquet gesture. He runs the danger that his resentment at the leadership swirl, and refusal to sup with the people he once led, may be better remembered by history than the political reform he started for South Africa.

Like Hertzog, Malan and Vorster, Mr Botha may be headed for the lonely, dejected twilight years of retirement to which Afrikaner leaders seem prone.

# Don't queue-jump, FW

**Before De Klerk can get close to Bush, he'll have to let UDF leaders see the President**

If President-elect FW de Klerk wants to meet US President George Bush, he will probably have to give United Democratic Front leaders permission to do so first.

Three UDF leaders are waiting for the government to give them passports. Curnick Ndlovu, Tinas Mofolo and Azhar Cachalia are due to leave on Monday in order to see Bush at the end of next week.

They are part of a delegation led by UDF President Albertina Sisulu and Federation of Transvaal Women President Sister Bernard Ngcube, who have been granted passports and are already in Europe.

If the three do not get passports, it

BY ANTON HAEGER

is certain to prejudice De Klerk's chances of being granted the same level of visit as the UDF. De Klerk is due to meet US Secretary of State James Baker soon, but has not yet secured a meeting with the president.

This means De Klerk may be obliged to allow the UDF leaders to see Bush first, making the president-elect third in line behind the UDF and the opposition church leaders who saw Bush last month.

UDF sources say the organisation has not yet decided what it will do if the three do not get passports. The US government is understood to be

putting pressure on Pretoria to allow the resistance leaders to travel.

De Klerk is due for talks with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher this morning in a meeting that could be important to his campaign for the September election and the long-term prospects of negotiations in this country.

It is expected that Thatcher will be tough with him. Sources in Pretoria indicate that she is not impressed with his reformist rhetoric so far and wants real signs of a movement towards negotiations.

Thatcher was tough with the two other South African ministers she has seen in recent weeks, Pik Botha and

Barend du Plessis.

According to these sources, Thatcher will concentrate on putting across to the South African leader the degree of economic problems his country faces and its vulnerability to pressure on this level.

Though she will not threaten further sanctions, she will point to the country's debt situation.

She is expected to warn him off any involvement in "dirty tricks" in neighbouring states.

On the positive side, she is expected to push hard for the release of Nelson Mandela soon after the September elections and will suggest that

● TO PAGE 2

# FW abroad

●From PAGE 1

his colleague Walter Sisulu be released even before then.

She will indicate that the release of political prisoners would make a major difference to her attitude to De Klerk's government.

De Klerk is expected to spell out to Thatcher what he intends to do after the September election.

He appears to have done this yesterday when he met for an hour with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. He said afterwards that he had taken the opportunity to convey to Kohl his government's vision of the future of South Africa.

He had told the West German that this vision was based on building trust and consensus with a view to reform and a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

Their talks took place "in a positive and constructive spirit", he said.

During De Klerk's visit, German anti-apartheid groups held a special meeting to highlight allegations of illegal arms deals between the West Germans and South Africa in 1984/5.

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement meanwhile claims that De Klerk's visit has aroused widespread anger and protest.

At one rally earlier this week, Albertina Sisulu said De Klerk was "going about trying to convince the international world that he is the new hope for South Africa."

"Yet at home, he does nothing that tells the people of South Africa of his grand plans. We know him as an apartheid man who is committed to separate development."

She called on the British to "send De Klerk home" to abolish the Emergency, unban organisations and individuals, release political prisoners, let exiles return and suspend the "undemocratic" elections.

"Send De Klerk home to do all this, and after-



A placard to greet FW in Bonn Picture: REUTERS

wards talk to him," she said. In the meanwhile, she called on them to increase pressure

The "mass democratic movement" in South Africa is known to be concerned about Thatcher's role in getting negotiations started in South Africa. It is believed that at a recent consultation in Lusaka, involving leaders of the MDM, Cosatu and the ANC, the fear was raised that Thatcher would accept a political settlement in South Africa that excluded groups such as the ANC.

304A

## Suzman and top DP members join party to ANC

Weekly Mail Reporter

HELEN Suzman and several other prominent Democratic Party members are among the 115 white South Africans leaving next Thursday for a three-day conference with the African National Congress.

The delegation, co-ordinated by the Five Freedoms Forum, is the largest-ever to meet the banned movement.

FFF chairperson Mike Olivier confirmed yesterday that about 15 DP members would be attending.

"They will be there in their personal capacities and will not be representing the DP in any way," he said.

About 40 ANC members are expected to attend the conference, which is on the theme "Whites in a changing South Africa".

The event is being funded by the American, Swiss, Canadian, Danish and Dutch governments. Many of the delegates were paying for themselves, Olivier said.

Delegates include 20 leading business people, 23 academics from nine universities, 10 city councillors, five newspaper editors and about 40 professionals.

"The purpose of the conference is to find out first hand what the ANC believes on a number of contentious issues, and to give them a sense of the fears and aspirations of an important cross-section of the white community.

"Delegates will get the chance to put before the ANC the concerns of the white community, and their hopes for the future," he said.

He said the delegation differed from previous groups visiting the ANC in that most of those making the trip were active members of organisations working in the white community.

Over 30 organisations are represented, including the Five Freedoms Forum, Black Sash, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Natal Indaba, Women for Peace, Nusas, white UDF affiliates, Jews for Social Justice and a variety of other human rights and single issue groups.

Olivier said he would not be releasing names of all delegates because he feared that they would be harassed.

Those who confirmed they were attending include Helen Suzman, Peter Mansfield of the Natal Indaba, Dr Robin Lee of the Wits Business School's Centre for Policy Studies, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Professor Woods, Wits deputy vice-chancellor Professor Mervyn Shear, former archbishop of Cape Town Philip Kessel, Peter Brown, Dr Franz Auerbach, Joyce Harris, Raymond Louw, Brother Neil McGurk and East London mayor Donald Card.

Olivier said that unlike previous meetings with the ANC, most of the conference would be taken up with committee sessions on issues of concern to both delegations.

Some of the sessions would deal with issues of debate, including sanctions, violence, negotiations, nationalisation and models for the country's constitutional future.

Another series focuses on strategic questions, such as the role of parliament and of extra-parliamentary groups, the position of women in South Africa's future and the role of business in the process of change.

Commenting that the government might be tempted to exploit the visit in its election propaganda, Olivier said: "I hope they don't go overboard ... because they're going to need to be talking to the ANC themselves soon. In fact such contacts have already been made over the past two years, and there'll be more in future."

304A wmail 23-29/6/89.

# THE GATVOL FACTOR

AN embattled National Party meets in Pretoria next week to unfold its tactics for the September 6 election.

And all the predictions are that there will not be much substance in the election manifesto that emerges from the NP federal congress.

Caught, like the United Party of old, between the demands of its left and right wings, the party is like to fall back on a trust-the-guys-you-know-and-give-FW-de-Klerk-a-chance message.

It will also be full of how bad are the "rightwing radicals" (the Conservative Party) and the "leftwing radicals" (the Democratic Party, if you can believe it).

With great enthusiasm, Nationalist leaders will argue that the rightwing will polarise South Africa, provoke black reaction, drive out foreign capital and plunge the country into new levels of poverty.

With equal enthusiasm, they will try to put the DP into the same camp as the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front and the "revolutionary forces" who want to make South Africa ungovernable.

It won't have much bearing on reality, but it was a strategy that worked in the May 1987 white election — and it was a strategy that worked for some time with the UP, prolonging its survival.

For all the public relations wrapping that De Klerk and his advisers will give to this somewhat empty package — and his trip this week to Europe will be milked dry to boost the image of the NP and its leadership — the NP faces a real problem among the voters: if it lurches right to stem the Conservative tide, it will pay a price in the areas where the DP is active; if it lurches the other way to stem the moderate tide, it will pay a price in the areas where the CP could make gains.

The answer, therefore, is a fuzzy message, marketed heavily with catch phrases, coupled with a drive to demonstrate that the security of the country, and the white in particular, should remain as it is.

The confusion over policy within the NP was underlined this week in Sea Point by the local DP MP, Colin Eglin.

Eglin asked why De Klerk had waited for 41 years if the NP wanted "a totally new South Africa".

He went on: "Beyond the rhetoric, what does he mean? What will his totally new South Africa look like?"

"Will there be a Group Areas Act?"

"Will he scrap the Population Registration Act?"

"Will government schools still be segregated when parents ask for them to be

**The most curious thing about the NP's election plan is that none seems to exist. Which could prove to be a problem, because the DP leaders are banking on a 'gatvol' factor among voters**

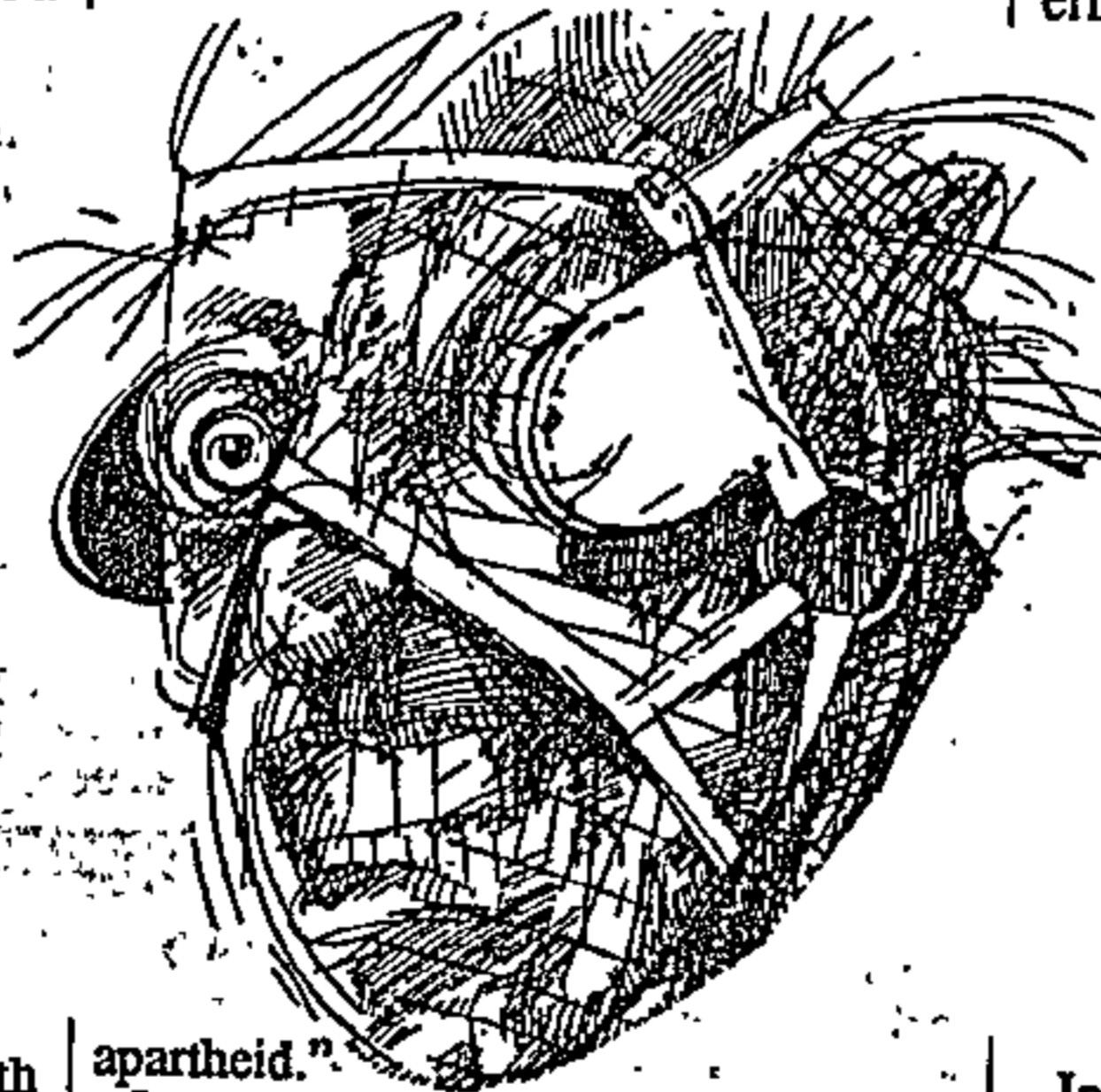
open?

"Will our people be divided into local governments on the basis of apartheid?"

"Will there be real negotiations with the real leaders of all of our people?"

"Will there be a possibility of having a black State President?"

Eglin offered his own conclusion: "In spite of Mr De Klerk's fancy footwork and reassuring style, precious little will be done to change the fundamentals of



apartheid."

In other words, Eglin is arguing that in spite of all the public commitment to negotiation, the NP is essentially concerned about the maintenance of white minority control, even though its leadership knows that the nature of this control has to change and CP-style white rule is not possible.

So, the NP election manifesto will stress the government's commitment to "own affairs" and it will defend racially segregated suburbs, schools and amenities, although there will be lots of talk about "free settlement areas" in the more moderate constituencies.

Other NP problems won't be discussed much in the open in Pretoria.

In the first place, the now thinly disguised conflict between President PW

Botha and the rest of the party — which came to a head with the cancellation of the special banquet to honour Botha at the federal congress — has damaged the NP and promises to continue doing so during the election campaign.

De Klerk will not be able to act as the head of government during the election, and this in previous elections has been a plus factor for the NP.

Then, it is clear the state of economy and declining white living standards has provoked a response among voters.

The continuing stories and rumours of corruption, mismanagement and currency smuggling have also damaged the government's image as the protector of white interests.

In DP circles, people are talking about the "gatvol factor". The voters have had enough, they argue.

It is difficult to quantify this in terms of votes delivered on September 6, but it is clear that economic issues are going to play a role in the election — and that the NP will suffer as a result.

However, unlike the old UP, the NP does the advantages of being in control of state resources.

This will enable it to exploit the government-owned television monopoly as it did so successfully in the 1981 and 1987 elections. As September 6 approaches, the interviews with opposition leaders like Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Andries Treurnicht will almost certainly decline and the ministers' parade will intensify.

The control of government also gives the NP the power to drop election "lollies". If the past is anything to go by, state pensions and civil servant salaries will go up and there may be other election sweeteners for consumers.

These may help, but the opposition parties have grabbed the early initiative. There are signs that NP circles are already worried about this.

In an editorial yesterday under the headline "Get moving", the NP-supporting *Citizen* newspaper said "there has not been the clarity on policy that the (National) Party needs to have, nor has there been the necessary cohesion that has marked the party's election efforts in the past ...

"The NP cannot sit on its hands at this point ... the CP and DP are on the move and the NP has hardly begun.

"After the federal congress next week, the NP will have no excuse for continuing its low-key, almost lackadaisical approach," the *Citizen* said.

So, what seems the most likely outcome of the next week's meeting of the NP federal congress will be the emergence of the "nuwe Sappe", a UP-type NP.

THE DE KLERK SAFARI

# Words are running out

F W de Klerk's safari to Britain and Europe this week centres on probably the most testing series of meetings he has ever faced. Perceptions of his performance may mean the difference between SA's increased isolation, and a "second chance" to prove government can turn its words into deeds and work towards a broadly acceptable, non-racial political and economic future.

The European leaders he meets will want more than the fine-sounding but vague ambiguities about reform that have so far marked his cautious march to Tuynhuys. They will want details of how he plans to deal with key issues — Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, negotiations with the ANC, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, the extension of rights to all South Africans, the lifting of the State of Emergency and regional stability.

Unless he can convince them that he is genuinely committed to resolving these issues, his tenure as State President from September may usher in even harsher international action — this time spearheaded by Britain's Margaret Thatcher.

De Klerk stands on the banks of his own Rubicon, just as P W Botha did in August 1985 at the NP's federal congress in Durban. Botha, through his arrogance and inability to understand the extent of international feeling against Nat policies, blew his chance and plunged the country into economic crisis. De Klerk is unlikely to make the same crude mistake — but he will also be judged by what he does *not* say.

His meeting with Thatcher is the most important one. Officials involved in the preparations say she's in a fighting mood. Her party lost considerable ground in the European parliament elections, and is trailing the Labour Party in opinion polls. The last thing she needs is to continue championing a cause as unpopular as SA — unless she can be guaranteed quick and profitable results, to bolster her position at home and improve her international stature. In effect, she will demand repayment with interest for her staunch anti-sanctions stance and sympathetic support for government's reform efforts so far.

Thatcher will want to know exactly what De Klerk means by a statement (made in an interview earlier this month with the *Financial Times*), that his goal is "a totally new SA free of oppression and domination." The meeting will be followed by lunch with Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe, at which further de-

tails of government's reform plans are expected to be discussed.

This Friday afternoon he will address what his staff term an "open" press conference at the SA embassy. It will not be restricted to invited journalists and, as such, is likely to bring De Klerk face to face with the most hostile media people he has ever encountered. Once again, the perception of his performance at the conference will be an important yardstick with which the world's media will measure the SA president-to-be.

De Klerk's relatively sheltered political career might count against him during the tour. Compared to some of his Cabinet colleagues, he is inexperienced in dealing with either world leaders or the media. On the positive side, he has sufficient political nous to know what is at stake and, unlike P W Botha, can keep his cool in a difficult situation. He will have to depend heavily on both attributes this week.

De Klerk's safari was set to begin when he left SA on Tuesday night. In London on Wednesday, meetings with embassy staff and dinner with the ambassador (Rae Killen) were planned. On Thursday he was due in Bonn for talks with Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher, before returning to London on an afternoon flight.

On Saturday he travels to Lisbon for a meeting with Portuguese PM Anibal Cavaco Silva. Regional issues, including an end to the civil wars in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, and in-

creased regional economic co-operation, are understood to be high on the agenda.

On Sunday De Klerk will be in Rome for talks with Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti, and on Monday he will fly to Zurich from where he will leave for home. He is expected at Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday morning.

On Wednesday in Pretoria he will brief the NP's special federal congress on the outcome of his mission. His speech is expected to set the tone for the NP's election campaign, and may give important indications of how far and how fast reform under De Klerk will progress.

The Cape Nat mouthpiece, *Die Burger*, described the tour this week as De Klerk's baptism of fire, during which he will be exposed to "general unfriendly world opinion." The newspaper's veteran political correspondent, Alf Ries, wrote: "Even for an experienced and skilled politician like Mr De Klerk, it will be no easy task."

DET INQUIRY

## Gerit feels the chill

Gerrit Viljoen, the minister responsible for the Department of Education & Training (DET), could be fighting for his political life.

At the end of last week, Viljoen summoned a former acting director general (DG) of the department to explain his (Viljoen's) involvement in a departmental investigation.

The surprise appearance of former acting DG Dirk Meiring before the Van den Heever commission came after deputy DG Jaap Strydom said that Viljoen had appointed chief director Philip Engelbrecht to head an internal investigation team. Engelbrecht, however, was at that stage already implicated in an agenda which had been prepared for a meeting with Viljoen.

Meiring told the commission that the decision to appoint Engelbrecht as the convener of the internal investigation was made because the irregularities (unauthorised purchases for printed matter from Jaap Strydom's son, Pretoria publisher Thinus Strydom) happened in the sections for which Engelbrecht is responsible. Viljoen gave his blessing to Engelbrecht's appointment, said Meiring.

Engelbrecht's appointment was queried by Judge Van den Heever, who remarked that he had chosen only to investigate purchases in the 1987-1988 bookyear — in which the regulations had apparently been followed. Between 1986 and 1988, the DET had conducted deals up to R2.5m — most of them



FACING THATCHER

# Winning ways on offer?

304A  
Email  
23/6/89

There is no need to shed tears over the scolding our future president, Nat Party leader F W de Klerk, is due to get from British Premier Margaret Thatcher. He has been well schooled. Having faced for so long P W Botha in parliament, he must have learned to roll with some tough punches.

Nor should we take too seriously the worry of yuppie Nats — that the conservatives among them will interpret any subsequent reforms as De Klerk's acting under the duress of the British. The only two real statesmen this country has produced — Louis Botha and Jan Smuts — both had to face similar criticism. They were able to overcome it through force of personality and the ability to lead.

Since De Klerk has been shot into prominence and all but usurped the presidency from the ailing incumbent, he has shown himself capable of restraint, with an ability to listen and willingness to learn. Those are qualities which should stand him in good stead in Whitehall.

The surprise card is whether he has something convincing to say to the increasingly sceptical British on what he means by far-reaching reform. We earnestly hope that he has. But hints from Foreign Affairs are that he will come nowhere near narrowing the gap between what the British want

(modest though it be) and what practical politics are here.

For its part, the British Embassy has been making no secret that Thatcher will want Mandela released, group areas abolished and negotiation with black leaders who have clout.

Those are the conditions also for the removal of US trade sanctions. To reasonable men abroad, they will appear to be little and pragmatic enough.

For those who do understand the fragility of the reform process here, if Thatcher insists, it could be rather like turning on Eurydice on her way back from the underworld.

So perhaps the best that we can hope for from this visit is that De Klerk is able to use his personality and pragmatism to reduce Thatcher's indignation and prolong her opposition to sanctions. And that Thatcher, for her part, will stop at impressing on our future president that her ability to hold the sanctions wolves at bay cannot be infinite. In short, to buy time and restore the remnants of credibility.

Perhaps it is a pity that De Klerk's visit to Britain is being extended to other countries and is, therefore, in danger of becoming a noisy media event. For that will trivialise and distort expectations from a very important meeting. ■

# FW meets Thatcher, MPs split over visit

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

LONDON. — Mr F.W. de Klerk and Mrs Margaret Thatcher meet at 10 Downing Street today amid dwindling expectations that anything definite will materialise from their talks.

This meeting is the main purpose of Mr De Klerk's four-nation visit and there has been wide-ranging speculation that the two leaders might discuss a London-brokered settlement initiative for South Africa.

Although that cannot be ruled out, it seems highly unlikely. Mr De Klerk has insisted that he has no "hidden agenda" and British Government sources have also warned that the talks should be seen as no more than an exchange of views.

## WELCOME/UNWELCOME

The Argus Foreign Service reports that 16 right-wing Tory MPs, including Mr John Carlisle, have placed a motion on the Commons Order Paper welcoming Mr F.W. de Klerk to Britain.

Meanwhile, 43 Labour MPs have put down a motion saying the South-African visit is "unwelcome, untimely and damaging to the prospects of dismantling apartheid in South Africa".

The Labourites, led by Anti-Apartheid Movement chairman Bob Hughes, said they "deplore the Prime Minister's invitation to Mr de Klerk, which can only send the wrong signals to both black and white in South Africa and encourage Pretoria to persist in its current policies".

Mrs Thatcher, they said, must cancel her meeting with Mr de Klerk.

The Tory group said they supported Mr de Klerk's "stated intention of a policy of power sharing among all the peoples of South Africa".

- FW in Germany — page 4.
- Thatcher against the rest — page 15.

23/6/89

## DP high, CP low

DP co-leader Denis Worrall took the unusual step this week of estimating the number of seats the party will win in September's general election. He tells the *FM* that 38-40 seats is a "realistic" assessment of the DP's chances, based on public reaction to the party since its formation and the Linden municipal by-election result.

The DP currently has 19 elected representatives in the Assembly. If it can hold the seats it has and win back those the PFP lost in 1987, as well as all the former NRP seats won by the NP that year, the DP will have 35 MPs. Worrall's prediction means he is confident that the DP will take between three and five "new" seats at least from the NP — which many analysts believe is the real test facing the new party.

The DP appears to be recovering from the image-battering it suffered in the weeks following its formation. Reaction to co-leader Zach de Beer's performance during an SABC TV interview on Sunday was mixed, but the consensus seems to be that he emerged, at worst, relatively unscathed and, at best, like a conquering hero. (The interview appeared to be a concerted effort by interviewer Johan Pretorius to smear the party rather than discuss its policies.)

With most DP nomination contests now over, the party boasts by far the most impressive line-up of big-name candidates including former senior military officers, former Nats, a prominent journalist and a TV personality.

The party's image has been further boosted by reports of Nat offers of "deals" to ensure that the DP does not split the vote in some marginal Nat seats and so allow in the CP. Although the Nats have denied the reports, particularly one concerning Defence Minister Magnus Malan's Modderfontein constituency, DP sources say the offers were definitely made, but rejected.

The DP plans to field candidates wherever it has the organisational base and finances to do so. Whether such a move splits the vote and allows the CP in will not be the crucial factor, according to party sources. Critics of this strategy seem to be ignoring the possibility that the DP could itself benefit in certain constituencies from a split vote — even in such a "safe" Nat seat as Waterkloof.

In contrast to the DP's apparent buoyancy, the NP's main rival, the CP, remains locked in a strength-sapping struggle with the AWB over the perennial issue of rightwing unity. AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche's decision to stand for election in Rustenburg (a seat the CP seemed set to gain from the NP) has raised the prospect of split rightwing votes in constituencies across the country which will benefit the NP as in 1987. The HNP may also be a spoiling factor in one or two seats.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht seems determined not to bow to Terre'Blanche's de-

mands that both he and HNP leader Jaap Marais be given safe seats, in return for a unity pact.

□ A constitutional expert, Marinus Wiechers, has in the meantime argued that Terre'Blanche is not eligible for election, having been sentenced in 1983 to 18 months in prison, suspended for five years, on an arms offence.

**I**t was going to be one of the most glittering events of the decade... a sumptuous though somewhat nostalgic affair.

The National Party's planned farewell banquet for President P W Botha was to be a feast that could warm the hearts of kings and presidents.

Only the best was to be provided: a dream menu to include the finest of South African traditional foods, choice wines from the Cape, mouth-watering desserts, all the extras for an evening of delight; delicious cheeses, fruits, liqueurs, cognacs, chocolates, cigars, you name it.

All in a setting to be remembered — fresh flowers on colourful tables, glittering decorations, flags, pictures, the National Party's kruthoring symbol, the party colours.

A memorable occasion. In virtually every respect it was to be like a State banquet, with all its dignity and splendour.

**P**RESIDENT Botha was to be seated at the main table. Next to him NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, and with them Mrs Elize Botha and Mrs Marike de Klerk. The entire Cabinet was to be there, and also old political colleagues and stalwarts of the party. Senior MPs, top civil servants and other dignitaries were to be among the 400 or more guests.

The banquet, first announced by Mr de Klerk in Parliament on May 12, was to have been held in the banquet hall of a five-star hotel in Pretoria next Wednesday night, on the eve of the NP's federal congress.

Invitations had been sent out weeks ago for the historic occasion.

There were to be ringing speeches of praise of the *groot krokodil*. There would have been musings about old times (perhaps about how the United Party was smashed at the polls, how meetings were broken up in the old days when politics was tough). And there would have been a feast of touching anecdotes from 50 years of P W Botha's political campaigning. There would have been laughter and some back slapping about the good times and the bad times, but mostly the good times.

A sure topic of amiable chatter among the wives: the political storm around Mrs Elize Botha's recent R100 000 tea party for members of the Defence Force Ladies' Association. "Why the fuss? Indeed a storm in a teacup," would have been the kind of comment from the wives of the party faithful.

**T**HE politicians, in moments of more serious conversation, would have discussed the election campaign, the NP's prospects against the onslaught from the right and the left; perhaps a few stern words of advice from FW's own treasure-chest of experience.

It would have been a fitting occasion for healing the breach between Mr Botha and the party after the leadership crisis earlier this year, for soothing hurt feelings and removing misunderstandings.

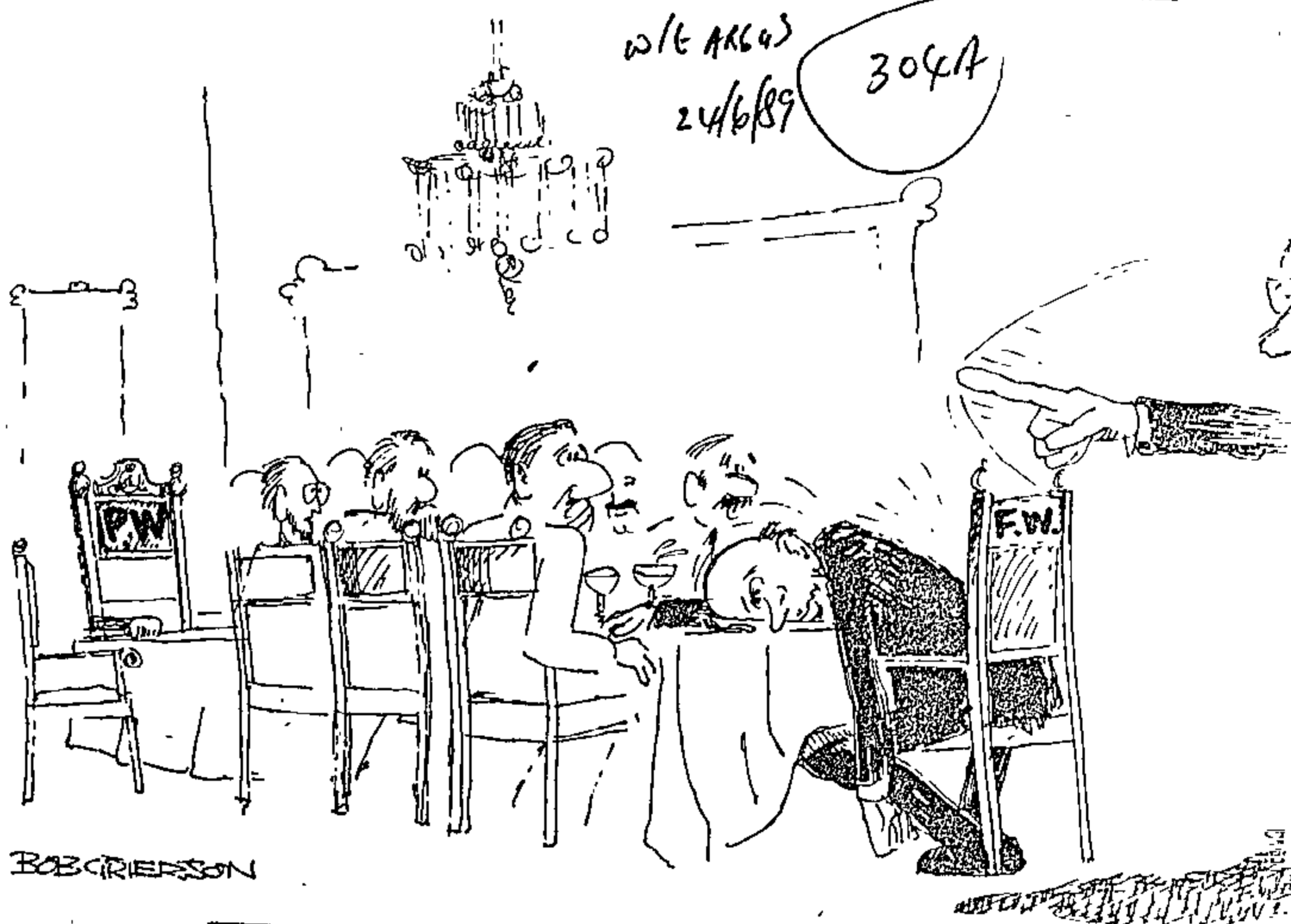
But it was not to be... the banquet that would probably have cost the National Party anything from a conservative R50 000 to more than R100 000 — these are banquet managers' estimates — to say farewell to one of its great sons and leader of the past decade had to be called off this week because the guest of honour refused to come.

After weeks of uncertainty in the party and after top-level attempts to persuade Mr Botha to attend the event of the decade to honour him, the shock news came in a brief statement from Mr de Klerk before his departure for Europe — the banquet had been cancelled.

No reasons were given by either Mr de Klerk or President Botha's office. Mr Botha has so far maintained a stony silence on his decision.

Mr de Klerk's statement merely said that after discussion with the President it had been decided to abandon the idea of a farewell for Mr Botha on the occasion of the NP's federal congress next week. The congress would now focus fully on the party-political battle in the coming election and on the NP's plan of action for the future.

# BUNGLED BANQUET



By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

**A** SPOKESMAN in President Botha's Tuynhuys office told Weekend Argus there was no comment from Mr Botha. The spokesman could give no indication whether or not Mr Botha would explain his decision.

NP sources said preparations had already been set in motion and invitations went out weeks ago. As a result of the sudden cancellation, all those invited now had to be informed individually that the banquet was no longer on.

The cancellation of the banquet has come as a shock and a disappointment to Nationalist MPs and party officials. Many interpreted it as the President's deliberate snub to the NP.

In political circles a perception is now widely held that Mr Botha has turned his back on the NP and remains embittered and resentful about Mr de Klerk's leadership as well as events during the leadership crisis precipitated by Mr Botha's decision to step down as NP leader while holding on to power as President.

It was Mr Botha's second snub to the NP in recent weeks; the first being his failure to attend the NP's last pre-election caucus meeting in May, even though the reason given then was his involvement in official activities on that day.

When Mr de Klerk told Parliament about the federal congress, he said it would have a dual purpose: firstly, a farewell by the party for the President, and, secondly, to begin the NP's election campaign.

**I**N NP circles there is serious concern about the damaging effect Mr Botha's attitude could have on the NP's election campaign.

Had the banquet gone ahead, the party's campaign could have been launched on a high note. It would have been seen publicly to have Mr Botha's blessing and encouragement; remaining divisive tensions from the leadership crisis could have been removed.

Now the party faces the unhappy prospect of having Mr Botha as a silent, brooding figure in the background.

Nationalists are asking what political and moral support, if any, the party can expect from Mr Botha for its campaign under such circumstances. They recall his leading role in the 1987 election campaign and his regular appeals to voters in lengthy newspaper advertisements.

Will his voice be heard at all this time? Or will his sullen silence continue to cast a shadow

PW: that

over the leadership

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Whatever the differences between Mr Botha and the NP, the stage seems set for a scene of unprecedented political tragi-comedy

24/6/89  
Cape Times, Saturday

# General takes blame for Elize's R100 000 party



Mrs Botha

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE chief of the Defence Force, General Janne Geldenhuys, yesterday moved to shield the presidential couple from the storm of criticism that has erupted around the R100 000 tea party thrown for Mrs Elize Botha in Simon's Town last week.

General Geldenhuys said that Mr and Mrs Botha played "no role whatsoever" in organising the event, adding that he could not exclude himself from any "blame" in the matter.

General Geldenhuys said in a statement: "I am solely accountable for state expenditure that may have been incurred in this regard."

"I cannot at this stage exclude myself from any blame in one form or another."

He said he was "gathering the facts" and would take such steps "as deemed appropriate to remedy any irregularities that might have occurred."

General Geldenhuys said he would make a further public statement in due course but noted that "I will abide by any ruling that may

result from this matter."

In his statement the Defence Force chief was at pains to emphasise that neither Mr Botha or his wife had anything to do with initiating the expensive tea party.

"They did not ask for it nor even hint in that direction. Mrs Botha merely responded to an invitation."

The Democratic Party's election candidate for Simon's Town, Mr Janne Mombert, said yesterday that he did not intend becoming involved in the controversy around whether a farewell function should have been given to Mrs Botha or the

appropriateness of the cost of the event.

However, he said that the SADF could have given "a much more meaningful and lasting farewell" to Mrs Botha had it used the R100 000 to make life "a bit easier" for the squatters in Noordhoek.

"These people are going through bad times and such a gesture to salute a fine lady would have caused no bad feelings."

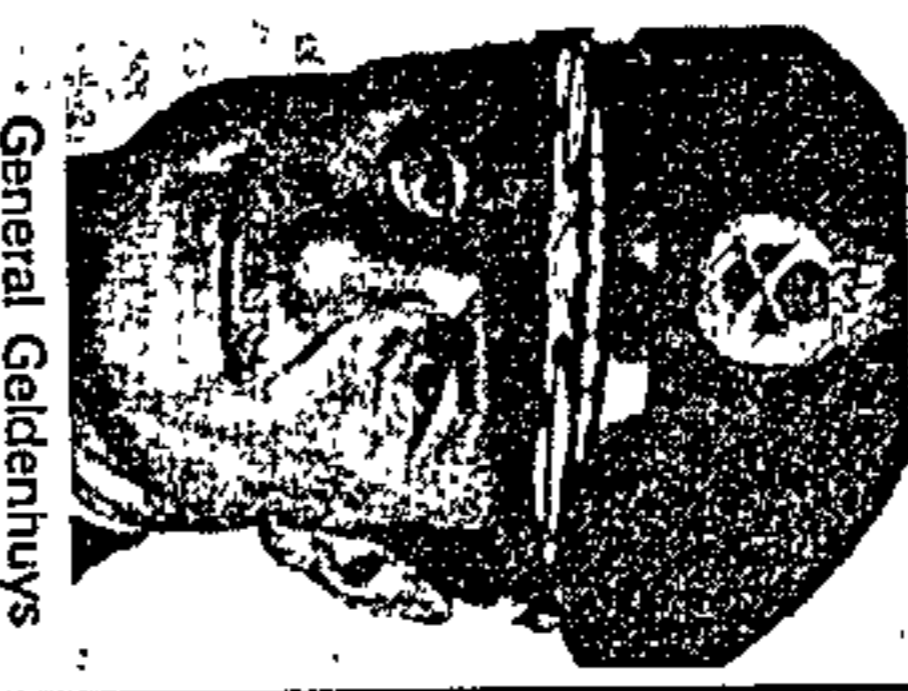
DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said that at a time of growing impoverishment among South Africans the "extravagant" tea party re-

presented "the high point of symptomatic arrogance of the Government."

"It would appear that we have a case of not just economic decline but also moral decline."

General Magnus Malan, as the responsible minister, owed voters an explanation of why it was necessary to spend more than R100 000 on a tea party.

If General Malan believed that the expenditure was justified, how could he in future be believed when he presented his budget to Parliament? Mr Malan asked.



General Geldenhuys

24/8/85  
Jaap backs  
poll pact<sup>304A</sup>  
with AWB

PRETORIA. — The leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais, said yesterday he was in favour of a broad election front with the AWB, pending talks he would be having next week with Mr Terre Blanche.

Mr Marais said he would propose that the HNP not put up a candidate in the Rustenburg constituency in the September 6 election, pending a broad agreement between the leaderships next week.

Mr Terre Blanche on Thursday reaffirmed his resolve to stand in Rustenburg — with the support of six town councillors expelled from the Conservative Party, including the mayor and deputy mayor. — Sapa

# Slabbert rapos the DP

BY BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

IF the Democratic Party did not get its extra-parliamentary politics in order, it could find that the leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, talked to the ANC before it did, Idasa's policy director, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said yesterday.

Dr Slabbert said in an interview published in yesterday's issue of Vrye Weekblad that the September 6 election was the last of its sort and the next step was not a verligte opposition, but a new type of politics — negotiation politics.

This could occur quickly and it was no longer about white politics and Parliament.

"Therefore it is essential for the DP to get its extra-parliamentary politics in order.

"The DP must watch out, because it could find itself in a situation where F W goes to talk to the ANC before it does."

Mr De Klerk was instinctively a conservative person but "he is rational and mercifully more intelli-

CM-7/11/87 24/6/87 304A  
FW 'may beat them to talks with the ANC'

gent than his predecessor. He can therefore read the signs well," Dr Slabbert said.

Pressure, particularly economic pressure, would push Mr De Klerk and if he moved in the direction of negotiation politics, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and others would be freed and they could begin talking and negotiating.

Dr Slabbert said he accepted the stand of the ANC in 1987 when it said it would abandon violence if it was unbanned and the government's negotiation formula was improved.

He also accepted the ANC's constitutional proposals as a basis for negotiation although he was critical about certain aspects, such as its economic policies.

"If we want negotiation politics, I do not see how we can do it without the ANC.

"The ANC can play a very constructive role in negotiation politics.

"Indeed, in a situation of free association and unbanning, we are going to find out how moderate it is."

The National Party had become "a bunch of lapel-grabbers. They grab you by the lapel and ask: what did the boys say, will they negotiate?"

"But then they get up on a platform and speak against the ANC.

"The ANC now has 40 foreign missions. This is when I feel sorry for F W in the outside world.

"Those people are a hundred times better informed about the situation in South Africa than he is. This is where the governments makes a mistake. It continues trying to create the impression that the ANC is a small terrorist organisation," Dr Slabbert said.

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Dr Denis Worrall, co-leader of the Democratic Party and DP candidate for Durban's Berea in the September elections, has reacted angrily to allegations that his political integrity could be questioned.

Mr David Graaff, National Party MP for Wynberg, said in East London on Wednesday that Dr Worrall had tried to secure a cabinet post and a safe NP seat on his return from London in 1987.

Mr Graaff said it was only after Dr Worrall had "been weighed and found wanting" that the "scales fell from his eyes", and he decided to oppose Mr Chris

# Worrall hits back at Graaff

Heunis. He criticised Dr Worrall for not wanting anything to do with the PFP when he was leader of the Independent Party, and asked what had changed.

Dr Worrall said that to challenge his political integrity by saying he resigned the London

Embassy out of pique at not being offered a safe seat in the Cabinet, was "simply untrue".

"The London posting was a marvellous job which I enjoyed.

"I resigned to challenge Mr Heunis in what was regarded as a safe NP seat because the NP lacked vision, a sense of direction, and the political will to bring about the changes South Africa needs."

"Mr Graaff's preoccupation with the PFP is silly. The DP is a new party with a personality different from the IP, NDM and PFP.

"It is a party which is growing fast and I think it is this that is worrying Mr Graaff."



PARTY LEADER ...  
Zach de Beer



FORMER LEADER ...  
Van Zyl Slabbert

## DP people Slabbert would never vote for

Political Staff

THERE were some people in the Democratic Party who belonged to the right wing of the National Party and he would never vote for them, Idasa's policy director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

However, there were also "without doubt many able people in the DP" who could be supported and who would play an important role, he said in an interview published in yesterday's issue of Vrye Weekblad.

Last night, one of the DP's co-leaders, Dr Zach de Beer, said if anyone in the party supported any part of the NP it would be on the basis of deliberate deceit.

But he would not ask that the matter be taken any further because there

was no evidence that Dr Slabbert's serious charge was warranted.

Dr Slabbert said that it would depend on the candidate whether he would vote for the DP in the September election.

"There are people in the DP who I would not support under any circumstances. I will not give names now but they know who they are."

"They actually should be at home on the right wing of the National Party."

Dr De Beer reacted by saying: "I certainly do not know to whom Dr Slabbert is referring."

"The principles and policies of the DP are perfectly clear and I have every reason to believe that Dr Slabbert himself supports them, as I do."

● Slabbert raps the DP — Page 5

h... ..

# Coup for FW

From MIKE ROBERTSON  
and IAN HOBBS

LONDON. — Mr F W de Klerk yesterday pulled off a major coup by persuading Mrs Margaret Thatcher that his leadership created new opportunities for ending violence in South Africa.

The leader of the National Party reportedly impressed on the British Prime Minister a determination to solve the country's problems through negotiation.

A Downing Street spokesman said Mrs Thatcher felt "encouraged" after hearing of Mr De Klerk's vision for a new South Africa.

The spokesman said the two leaders had struck up a "good relationship" and that it was evident there was a new mood in South Africa and a determination to resolve the great issues of the day through negotiation.

Mr De Klerk's meeting with Mrs Thatcher was scheduled to last an hour, but went on for an extra 45 minutes.

Mrs Thatcher described the talks as "thorough, friendly and constructive".

## Progress on Namibia

Political commentators in London believe she is keen to secure some public evidence of Mr De Klerk's commitment to major reform before the Commonwealth conference in Kuala Lumpur in October.

When Mrs Thatcher met Australian Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke earlier this week, she reportedly argued that Mr De Klerk and his "new generation" Afrikaner colleagues should be given a chance to show their sincerity for reform.

But Mr Hawke is said to have differed with her over sanctions aimed to have said that he did not believe Mr De Klerk would herald a new era in South Africa.

The Downing Street spokesman said Mrs Thatcher welcomed progress made on Namibian independence and said South Africa had honoured its part of the agreement.

Mr De Klerk described the talks as

## Taxpayers to foot the bill for FW tour

Political Correspondent

THE South African taxpayer will pick up the tab for Mr F W de Klerk's week-long European tour, the government said yesterday.

This follows charges by the Democratic Party that it would be inappropriate for taxpayers to foot the bill as the tour appeared primarily geared towards boosting Mr De Klerk's chances in the presidential stakes.

DP spokesman Mr Tiaan van der Merwe has asked if the taxpayer would also be called upon to finance overseas trips for other possible presidential candidates.

A spokesman for the State President's office said yesterday: "Mr De Klerk is on his visit abroad as the Minister of National Education, and every department has provision for this sort of expenditure."

A spokesman at Mr De Klerk's Pretoria office said questions regarding expenses for the trip would have to wait until the minister's return.

Mr De Klerk is being accompanied by his wife and members of his staff.

"positive and constructive", and said he had been "ritually received".

He said he had delivered a message from President P W Botha, but did not reveal its contents.

Later he lunched with the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, and Sir Geoffrey's deputy, Mrs Lynne Chalker.

Speaking to South African journalists after the lunch, Mr De Klerk was loathe to categorise the talks as a success, but was obviously pleased with the outcome.

He would give no details on the subject of negotiations, saying it was not his style to negotiate through the



GETTING TO KNOW YOU... British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher chats to National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and his wife Marika at 10 Downing Street after their talks yesterday. Picture: REUTER

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From page 1

press. There has been speculation that Britain will play an intermediary role.

Mr De Klerk said he had used the opportunity of meeting the West's senior leader to state his government's views on future constitutional developments.

They had "talked quite a bit about the need for consultation and broadening consensus", Mr De Klerk said, adding: "I did not let out any secrets which I am not sharing with the public of South Africa."

However, what Mr De Klerk said behind closed doors at 10 Downing Street on the subject of negotiations was evidently sufficient to enlist a positive response from Mrs Thatcher.

She said: "It was evident that there is a new mood in South Africa and a determination to resolve the great issues of the day through negotiation. It is for the people of South Africa themselves — all of them — to decide on the way ahead."

"Our hope is that these new opportunities will be grasped and there will be an end to violence."

A statement issued by Downing Street said Mrs Thatcher had emphasised the importance Britain attached to the early release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr De Klerk said he had responded to her call for Mr Mandela's release by outlining the government's position as stated by President P W Botha in his budget speech.

#### FW 'heartened'

Despite earlier reports that Mrs Thatcher would demand guarantees that the South African government would live up to expectations for rapid reform, Mr De Klerk said the British Prime Minister had not attempted to prescribe any solutions to South Africa's problems.

"I was heartened by Prime Minister Thatcher's grasp of the complexities of South Africa," he said.

In a pointer to further meetings of this nature, Mrs Thatcher expressed her desire to maintain regular contact with ministers and representatives of all groups in South Africa, as long as they did not pursue their goals through violence.

The two leaders said they had agreed "to stay in touch".

Before the meeting, indications from Downing Street were that Mrs Thatcher was finding it increasingly difficult to resist European Community demands for sanctions.

However, Mr De Klerk said afterwards that he had gained the impression that her opposition to sanctions was a principled one. Both she and West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl felt strongly that the people worst affected by sanctions were those who could least afford it.

Mr De Klerk said he was particularly impressed that Mrs Thatcher had said it was for the people of South Africa to take advantage of new opportunities to end violence.

This underlined the fact that she was not being prescriptive about the ways to bring about change in South Africa. Mr Kohl had also not sought to prescribe to him.

#### Lisbon visit

Talks at the lunch with Sir Geoffrey and Mrs Chalker had covered a wide range of topics. Mr De Klerk said he had used the opportunity to build up understanding for South Africa's problems.

Mr De Klerk flies to Lisbon today for talks with the Portuguese Prime Minister, Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva.

Later in the day he will fly to Rome where a meeting has been scheduled with the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr Giulio Andreotti.

● Demonstrators hurled a tin of white paint at Mr De Klerk's car when he arrived at No 10 Downing Street yesterday.

Police arrested three demonstrators, one of them a woman, who broke through their lines and hurled the tin of paint.

A small group of demonstrators picketed the South African Embassy, using loud-speakers to chant slogans such as "white trash out" and "racist, go home".

Last night it was announced that under pressure from anti-apartheid protesters, the management at Her Majesty's Theatre where "Phantom of the Opera" is showing had refused to grant any VIP facilities to Mr De Klerk and his wife Marike.

# FW gives Press 'frank and futile' brush off

SUE LEEMAN and PETER FABRICIUS

LONDON The world's media gathered to hear him speak, but Mr F W de Klerk decided to be coy. More than 60 journalists grouped at South Africa House yesterday morning to hear Mr de Klerk's account of his meeting with Mrs Thatcher at Downing Street.

They came prepared for a full-scale question-and-answer session — but had to make do with a terse statement of the "free, frank and fruitful talks" variety which had been hurriedly thrashed out by the Minister and his aides.

Mr de Klerk declined to take any questions, saying this would make him late for his lunch date at noon with Sir Geoffrey Howe.

Journalists had already been antagonised by his late arrival, although this was not entirely his own fault, his meeting with Mrs Thatcher having run overtime.

The press conference was set for 11.15 am, but by 11.40 am he was still busy with his statement, leaving Michael de Morgan, the embassy man responsible for communicating with the electronic media, to deal with an increasingly disgruntled Press corps.

● TO PAGE 2.

# FW gives Press the cold shoulder

● FROM PAGE 1.

Mr de Klerk spent nearly two hours inside No 10 with Mrs Thatcher after arriving promptly at 9.30 am.

As he left, the British Premier stood with him in the doorway, shaking his hand and chatting. At first she appeared hesitant to join him outside on the pavement, peering around the doorpost at waiting journalists.

But then she stepped out to shake his hand again. He stepped into his car with a grin and a "no comment" — and was waved away by a smiling Mrs Thatcher.

Mr de Klerk ran the usual gamut of anti-apartheid protesters yesterday.

As his car arrived at Downing Street, a protester broke through the police cordon and lobbed a can of white paint at the Minister's car. It missed, but splattered the vehicle with small drops of white paint as it hit the ground.

The man was led away, protesting, by police. At least two others were arrested with him on public order charges.

President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, and AAM Chairman Bob Hughes, delivered a letter to Downing Street while Mr de Klerk was inside. The letter condemned the meeting and called on Mrs Thatcher to impose sanctions.

## Leaders 'got on well'

Demonstrators also picketed Sir Geoffrey's residence, Carlton House and South Africa House.

Mr de Klerk said he was "heartened by Mrs Thatcher's grasp of the complexities of South Africa".

The two leaders got on well, according to sources close to Mr de Klerk.

Mr de Klerk said at a press conference afterwards that he and Mrs Thatcher had agreed on the need for "continued discussion and interaction between the two governments".

"In addition, I used the opportunity to state the South African Government's views on future constitutional development, the negotiation process in South Africa, important aspects concerning our economy as well as the southern African situation and the constructive role South Africa is playing and will continue to play in the region."

Mr de Klerk was presented as the Minister of National Education and Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly, the title under which he is conducting his four-nation visit.

Everyone knows, however, that he is in effect being received as the man most likely to succeed Mr P W Botha as State President.

Mr de Klerk's whirlwind European tour continues today when he leaves for meetings with the Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva and Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti.

DP calls for sacking of flag-waving council

employee

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# AWB swim demo

PAT DEVEREAUX

## fuifore

THE MAN who hoisted the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging flag outside the Hillbrow Indoor Swimming Pool while taking part in an A.W.B. protest against a multiracial swim organised this week by the Democratic Party, is a Johannesburg leader of the right-wing organisation — and the superintendent of the swimming pool.

The A.W.B.'s Pretoria office confirmed yesterday that Johannesburg A.W.B. section leader Mr Leonard Veenendal was a municipal employee at the Hillbrow pool.

"If he is a council employee, he abused his position. Municipal employees should not allow their political views to interfere with their duties," said the DP councillor for Berea, Mr Lester Fuchs.

"It's against council policy for any employee of the council to use his position to further the aims of any political party," he added.

On Thursday, Mr Veenendal played a key role in organising about 20 A.W.B. demonstrators to block the entrance to the swimming pool and prevent DP members and black men and children from swimming there.

Asked to comment on the swim yesterday, Mr Veenendal refused to disclose his name and said: "No council employee is allowed to make a statement."

However, at Thursday's protest, he told reporters he did not want to be named for fear of repercussions, as he depended on the job at the swimming pool for his livelihood and had a housing subsidy.

He said that no blacks had been admitted to the pool since he had been superintendent there.

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O.

# Vandals break in, deface NP office

**JANET HEARD**

THE National Party office in Heidelberg was broken into and defaced by right-wing supporters this week, shortly after an AWB meeting was held in the town hall.

NP candidate for the Nigel constituency, Mr Craig Williamson, who is also a member of the Presidents Council, said vandals broke down the door and placed AWB stickers on the windows and over the NP sign.

A picture of a gorilla and a black person was stuck on the window, which read: "What is the difference?" The answer under the gorilla read: "This one is better-looking and does not have Aids."

The vandals left a leaflet which attacked the NP and the DP.

## Unification

The leaflet, in English, said the AWB was committed to the unification of the Afrikaner under one right-wing party and, until that unity was achieved, the AWB would contest seats in the coming elections.

The Heidelberg-Nigel area, a CP stronghold, has had various reports of right-wing attacks in the run-up to the September general elections.

"There is strong support for the AWB in Heidelberg, where the organisation was founded," Mr Williamson said.

He said other NP office-bearers had recently received death threats, and a house in Sharon Park was burnt down by vandals who claimed to be members of the AWB. The house was occupied by blacks during renovations.

Police are investigating the attack on the NP office.



**THREATENED:** Mr Craig Williamson with one of the AWB stickers. He said he and other NP office-bearers received death threats.

● Photograph:

# De Klerk at crossroads

## Vital bid to sell Nat blueprint to West

PATRICK LAURENCE

NATIONAL Party leader Mr FW de Klerk's meeting with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday marked the mid-point in what may be two of the most crucial weeks — if not the most crucial — in his career.

His political future turns in large measure on his hopes of selling a new concept — "concurrent majorities" — to impatient Western leaders and to the listless party faithful at home. Both are thirsting for a new initiative.

Yesterday marked a critical point in the vital first two-week-long "hard sell" drive by Mr de Klerk.

At its core the notion of "concurrent majorities" gives the main "races" — including blacks — a say in central government while reserving an absolute veto for whites.

The countdown for Mr de Klerk and the NP started last Friday as top NP officials worked feverishly on the NP election manifesto, due to be released at the NP's special federal congress in Pretoria next week.

The manifesto is pertinent to Mr de Klerk's current tour of Britain and Western Europe. He is too experienced a politician to punt one line to Western leaders abroad and another to voters at home.

Hence the election manifesto serves, as it were, as the selling brochure for the concurrent majority concept at home and abroad.

Implementation of the concept will require the creation of a "general assembly" in which whites, coloureds, Indians and blacks will be represented.

Representatives will be chosen by racially segregated chambers with responsibility for "own affairs".

Whites, coloureds and Indians already have their own chambers in the present tri-racial Parliament. Thus a black chamber will have to be created.

Saturday Star understands, however, that the proposal is not to add a fourth chamber to the present Parliament, but rather to create a physically and politically separate entity.

Saturday Star learns further that, ideally, Mr de Klerk would like to separate the white, coloured and Indian chambers physically and notionally. That would give them same status as the envisaged black chamber.

He may have to abandon that hope, however. Resistance from the coloured and Indian chambers to separation from the central Parliament may be too fierce.

The idea of a general assembly for representatives of all races is not entirely new.

The outgoing Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Mr Chris Heunis, alluded to it when he spoke of the possible creation of a single legislature. He made the mistake of saying: "Call it a Parliament if you wish" — thus evoking the image of a single Parliament.

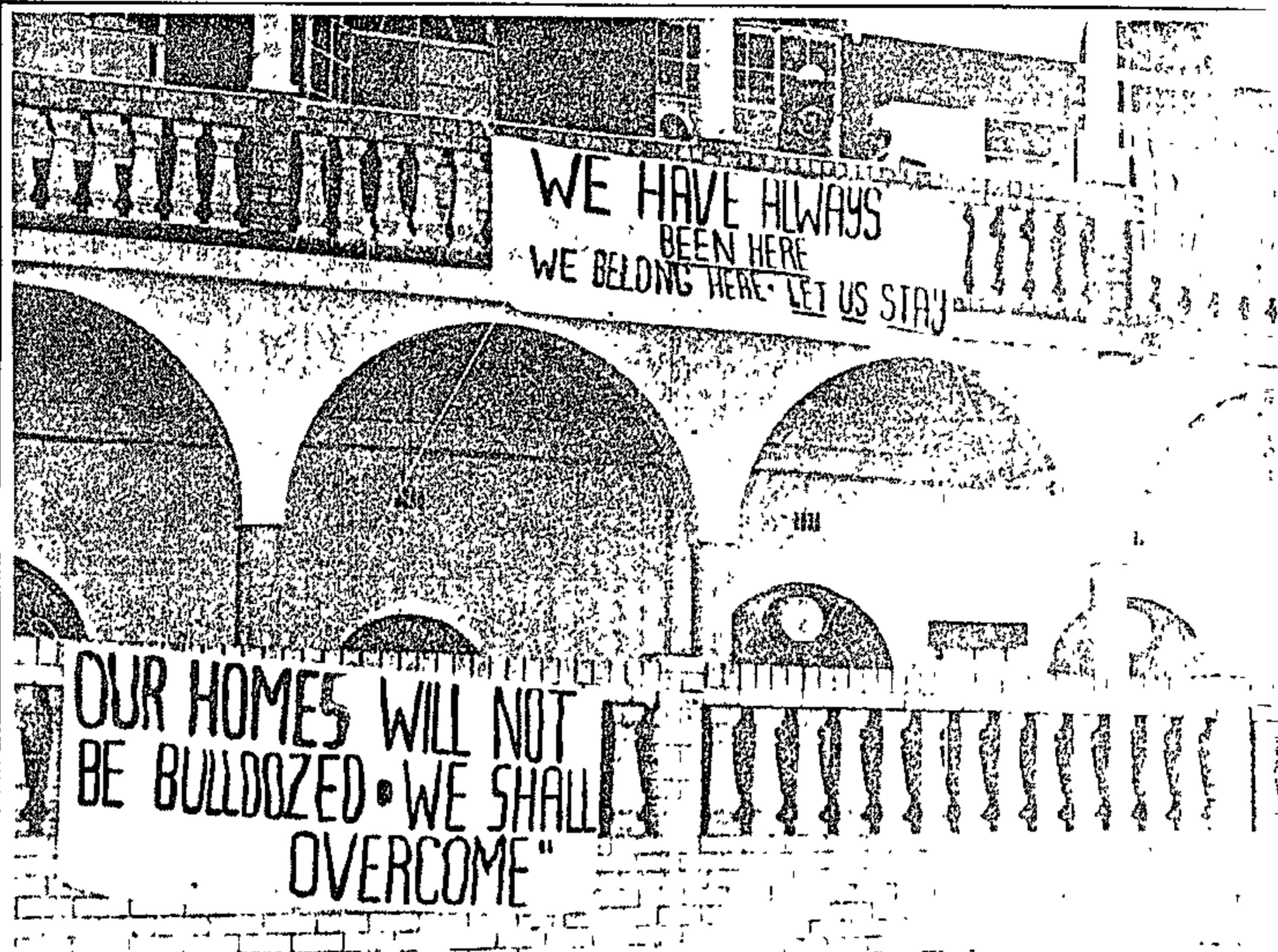
With the Conservative Party smelling blood and licking its lips, Mr de Klerk hastily described Mr Heunis's speech as "exploratory". He was careful, however, not to cut the ground from under his feet. He noted judiciously that Mr Heunis's speech was within the broad parameters of NP policy.

Mr de Klerk seems determined to use the general assembly concept as the basis for a "solution" to South Africa's problems, by wedding it to the notion of concurrent majorities.

Stripped to essentials, that means the general assembly will only be able to take decisions on "general affairs" — "own affairs" will be reserved for the racially separate houses — if representatives of the constituent "races" agree.

Decisions will thus have to be taken on a consensual basis — meaning, in effect, that whites will have the power of veto.

So, too, of course, will the blacks, coloureds and Indians. But when the general assembly comes into existence, the status quo — which benefits whites most — will be frozen.



LAST-DITCH STAND: More than 1 000 people held a vigil at the 14th Street, Pageview, mosque yesterday, in their last hope in their 21-year-old fight against forced removal under the Group Areas Act.

## Indians pray for a miracle to stop eviction

WHILE leader of the National Party, Mr FW de Klerk, was yesterday trying to convince British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher of his good intentions, more than 1 000 people attended a vigil in Pageview, Johannesburg, in the hope of stopping their eviction.

The vigil was to pray for a miracle, which Indian residents see as the last hope in their 21-year fight against their forced removal under the Group Areas Act.

Among those who attended were sympathisers from all over the city and Democratic

SHIRLEY WOODGATE  
Municipal Reporter

Party city councillors who have thrown their weight behind the Indians' last-ditch attempt to remain in the area.

Instructed to abandon their homes in 1968 when the Government declared the suburb "white", most of the 7 000 Indians resettled, mainly in Lenasia, 35 km from the city centre.

But as "urban renewal" saw white "economic" homes going up in Pageview, 67 Indian families dug their heels in.

Their numbers have dwindled

to 300, but over two decades they have waged a peaceful protest against their eviction, through the courts, appeals to politicians and in the media.

The Islam Bank has even offered to fund the reconstruction of the now dilapidated homes which flank 14th Street, once the "Petticoat Lane" patronised by NP supporters who showed off the quaint shops to overseas visitors.

Eventually, with a decisive Supreme Court case hanging over their heads since 1982, the Save Pageview Association (SPA) grasped at the one last

straw offered by the Clement Act.

They applied to the President to be considered. He requested Mr R. D. M. Minister of Development and turned them down.

The SPA then Johannesburg which also turned them down.

Now they are to the end of the line.

At midday families bowed their heads in prayer for a miracle that may yet be the last forced eviction.

## Geldenhuys: I was solely accountable

NEITHER the State President, Mr P W Botha, nor his wife, Elize, played any role in organising a farewell tea party in Cape Town last week hosted by the SA Defence Force Ladies Association, Defence Force chief Jannie Geldenhuys said yesterday evening.

He said in a statement that editorial comment in the daily press had attacked the State President and Mrs Botha concerning the party in Cape Town on June 14 hosted by the SADF Ladies Association.

General Geldenhuys said: "I wish to state clearly that the presidential couple had nothing to do with the prior arrangements for the function. Neither did Mr Botha nor Mrs Botha initiate the event. They did not ask for it nor even hint in that direction. Mrs Botha merely responded to an invitation."

General Geldenhuys added: "I am solely accountable for State expenditure that may have been incurred in this regard. I cannot at this stage exclude myself from any blame in one form or another."

"I am gathering the facts and will take such steps as deemed appropriate to remedy any irregularities."

## Callers vote tea party Mrs Botha was a waste

Most of the 31 callers to **Speak Out!** felt the farewell tea-party held for Mrs Eliza Botha by the Defence Force Ladies' Association was a waste of taxpayers' money better donated to charity. Some felt the R100 000 was a well-deserved tribute.

Mr F G Kay, Roodepoort: I think it is a scandalous waste of taxpayer's money to give a party for the exclusive enjoyment of a few privileged people.

Mr Louis Adelson, Durban: It's a well-

Speak  
Out!  
ON  
SATURDAY



Tsakane: Through the sweat of my brow, eat your bread

Mr John Malambo, Rockville: She doesn't deserve it.

Mrs Gladys Aykroyd, Boskruijn: For the wife of the retiring State President to accept this party shows a complete lack of caring.

Mr A Sibdo, Benoni: The matter is not only scandalous it stinks

Naledi: I have been charity operative

Mr R. D. M. Minister of Development and turned them down.

The SPA then Johannesburg which also turned them down.

Now they are to the end of the line.

At midday families bowed their heads in prayer for a miracle that may yet be the last forced eviction.

She didn't party, it

Whatever think she nearly for

**I**T was going to be one of the most glittering events of the decade... a sumptuous though somewhat nostalgic affair.

The National Party's planned farewell banquet for President P W Botha was to be a feast that could warm the hearts of kings and presidents.

Only the best was to be provided: a dream menu to include the finest of South African traditional foods, choice wines from the Cape, mouth-watering desserts, all the extras for an evening of delight; delicious cheeses, fruits, liqueurs, cognacs, chocolates, cigars, you name it.

All in a setting to be remembered — fresh flowers on colourful tables, glittering decorations, flags, pictures, the National Party's *kruithoring* symbol, the party colours.

A memorable occasion. In virtually every respect it was to be like a State banquet, with all its dignity and splendour.

**P**RESIDENT Botha was to be seated at the main table. Next to him NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, and with them Mrs Elize Botha and Mrs Marike de Klerk. The entire Cabinet was to be there, and also old political colleagues and stalwarts of the party. Senior MPs, top civil servants and other dignitaries were to be among the 400 or more guests.

The banquet, first announced by Mr de Klerk in Parliament on May 12, was to have been held in the banqueting hall of a five-star hotel in Pretoria next Wednesday night, on the eve of the NP's federal congress.

Invitations had been sent out weeks ago for the historic occasion.

There were to be ringing speeches of praise of the *groot krokodil*. There would have been musings about old times (perhaps about how the United Party was smashed at the polls, how meetings were broken up in the old days when politics was tough). And there would have been a feast of touching anecdotes from 50 years of P W Botha's political campaigning. There would have been laughter and some back slapping about the good times and the bad times, but mostly the good times.

A sure topic of amiable chatter among the wives: the political storm around Mrs Elize Botha's recent R100 000 tea party for members of the Defence Force Ladies' Association. "Why the fuss? Indeed a storm in a teacup," would have been the kind of comment from the wives of the party faithful.

**T**HE politicians, in moments of more serious conversation, would have discussed the election campaign, the NP's prospects against the onslaught from the right and the left; perhaps a few stern words of advice from PW's own treasure-chest of experience.

It would have been a fitting occasion for healing the breach between Mr Botha and the party after the leadership crisis earlier this year, for soothing hurt feelings and removing misunderstandings.

But it was not to be... the banquet that would probably have cost the National Party anything from a conservative R50 000 to more than R100 000 — these are banquet managers' estimates — to say farewell to one of its great sons and leader of the past decade had to be called off this week because the guest of honour refused to come.

After weeks of uncertainty in the party and after top-level attempts to persuade Mr Botha to attend the event of the decade to honour him, the shock news came in a brief statement from Mr de Klerk before his departure for Europe — the banquet had been cancelled.

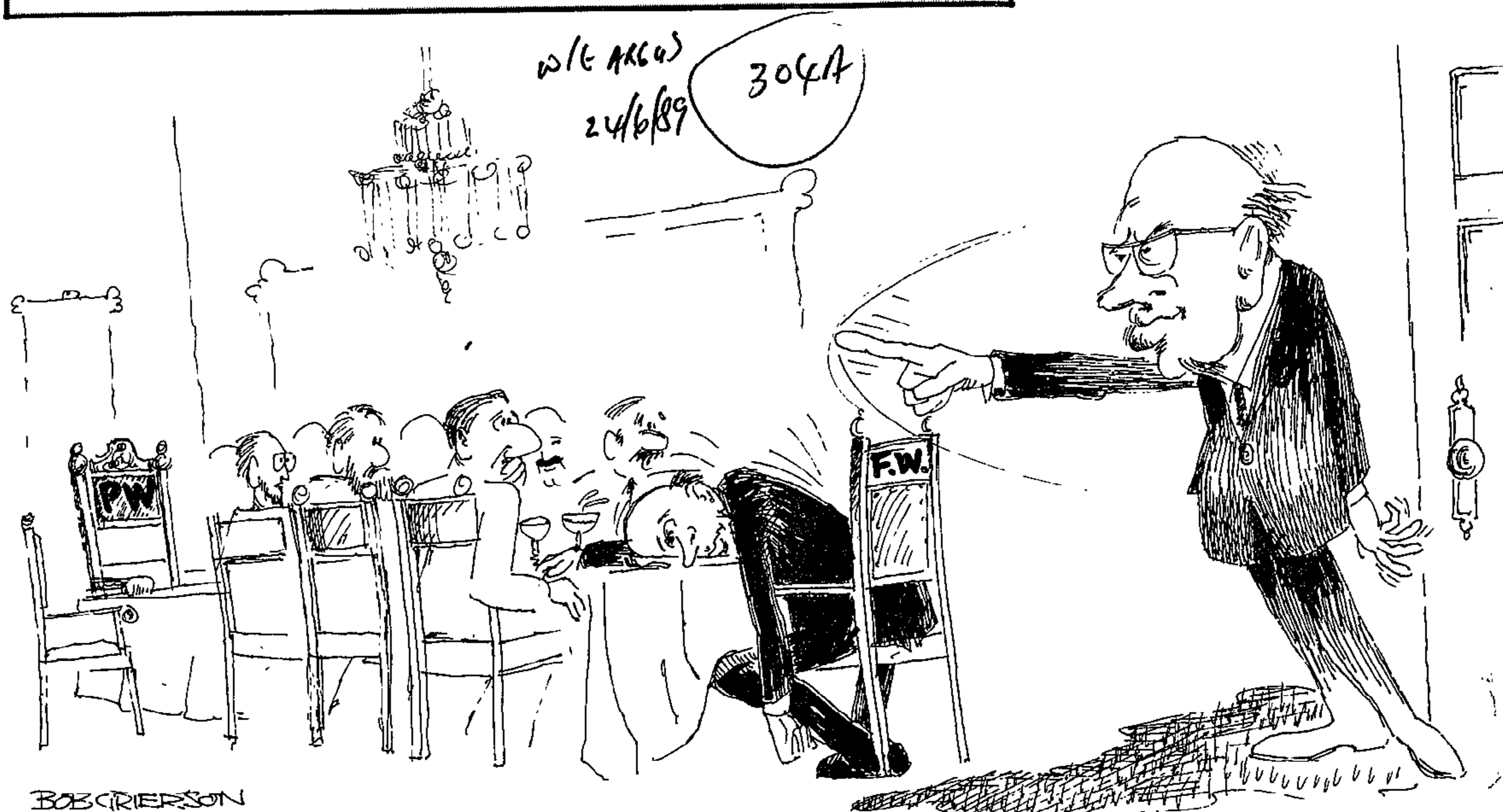
No reasons were given by either Mr de Klerk or President Botha's office. Mr Botha has so far maintained a stony silence on his decision.

Mr de Klerk's statement merely said that after discussion with the President it had been decided to abandon the idea of a farewell for Mr Botha on the occasion of the NP's federal congress next week. The congress would now focus fully on the party-political battle in the coming election, and on the NP's plan of action for the future.

# BUNGLED BANQUET

Weekend  
**FOCUS**  
**2**

**What  
sulking  
P W  
missed**



By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

**A** SPOKESMAN in President Botha's Tuynhuys office told Weekend Argus there was no comment from Mr Botha. The spokesman could give no indication whether or not Mr Botha would explain his decision.

NP sources said preparations had already been set in motion and invitations went out weeks ago. As a result of the sudden cancellation, all those invited now had to be informed individually that the banquet was no longer on.

The cancellation of the banquet has come as a shock and a disappointment to Nationalist MPs and party officials. Many interpreted it as the President's deliberate snub to the NP.

In political circles a perception is now widely held that Mr Botha has turned his back on the NP and remains embittered and resentful about Mr de Klerk's leadership as well as events during the leadership crisis precipitated by Mr Botha's decision to step down as NP leader while holding on to power as President.

It was Mr Botha's second snub to the NP in recent weeks; the first being his failure to attend the NP's last pre-election caucus meeting in May, even though the reason given then was his involvement in official activities on that day.

When Mr de Klerk told Parliament about the federal congress, he said it would have a dual purpose: firstly, a farewell by the party for the President, and, secondly, to begin the NP's election campaign.

**I**N NP circles there is serious concern about the damaging effect Mr Botha's attitude could have on the NP's election campaign.

Had the banquet gone ahead, the party's campaign could have been launched on a high note. It would have been seen publicly to have Mr Botha's blessing and encouragement; remaining divisive tensions from the leadership crisis could have been removed.

Now the party faces the unhappy prospect of having Mr Botha as a silent, brooding figure in the background.

Nationalists are asking what political and moral support, if any, the party can expect from Mr Botha for its campaign under such circumstances. They recall his leading role in the 1987 election campaign and his regular appeals to voters in lengthy newspaper advertisements.

Will his voice be heard at all this time? Or will his sullen silence continue to cast a shadow

**PW: "I have just come to tell you that I'm staying on as leader."**

over the party and over Mr de Klerk's leadership?

**I**T is also being asked just why Mr Botha is so angry that he can turn his back on the party he served for more than 50 years.

One suggestion is that he may be unhappy about Mr de Klerk's performance as NP leader and potential successor.

Botha showed signs of disapproval earlier this year when he pooh-poohed Mr de Klerk's initiative in pushing ahead with the "big indaba" idea. Mr Botha was quick to point out it was not a new idea as he had already called for an indaba.

There were other incidents that could have irked him — notably the enthusiastic response by Nationalist politicians and press commentators to Mr de Klerk's relaxed style of leadership, and his much-publicised trip to Europe this week for talks with Western leaders.

The ease with which Mr de Klerk is making headway — in sharp contrast to his own cumbersome efforts in recent years — may just be the kind of thing he resents.

Whatever the differences between Mr Botha and the NP, the stage seems set for a scene of unprecedented political tragi-comedy.

# Where does F W go from here?

W/L ARGUS 24/6/89  
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By JOHN MACLENNAN  
Political Staff

LONDON. — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk has managed to buy time until after the election by convincing leaders of South Africa's most important European trading partners that he is serious about his pledge to push ahead fast with real reform.

He has also achieved a personal breakthrough by establishing better relations with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the most consistent and important anti-sanctioneer.

He has secured admissions, specifically from Bonn, that his government has not received proper recognition for changes which have already occurred, as well as undertakings that future reform progress will be recognised.

He returns with the promise of future contact if he can deliver the reform goods.

## Salesmanship

These are the most important results for Mr de Klerk of a successful exercise in style and salesmanship during which he conferred this week with leaders or senior ministers of the United Kingdom, West Germany, Italy and Portugal.

Mr de Klerk has been given his chance, a honeymoon from criticism.



**British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and NP leader Mr F W de Klerk meet at 10 Downing Street in London.**

This may all collapse when he attempts to match up his ideas of real change with those of Mrs Thatcher and other Eu-

ropean leaders.

It also remains to be seen whether Mr de Klerk will blink in the harsh reality of politics

when he takes the podium at the NP federal congress in Pretoria this week to launch the party's election campaign.

It has been made clear, especially by Mrs Thatcher, that he will have no international credibility and the country will be increasingly isolated unless he can quickly give effect to his reform vision.

## Nelson Mandela

Mr de Klerk will also have to report that both Mrs Thatcher and Chancellor Helmut Kohl are adamant that African National Congress figurehead Nelson Mandela must be freed.

According to senior Bundestag sources who met Mr de Klerk he said Mr Mandela's release did not pose a "problem". He saw it as an issue which the government would address after the election.

It is clear the NP leader made good personal impact and that his resolve to move towards a new and fair deal was a welcome change for the European four from past experiences with some members of the party's old guard.

They agreed with his sentiments, but not necessarily with his group based solutions. Mrs Thatcher, for one, abhors apartheid and opposes sanctions only because they hurt those they are supposed to benefit.

## NEWS

# Nats losing out on every front

By BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

THE government is in serious trouble with the electorate, and the National Party knows it.

Senior NP members were privately saying yesterday the party was losing support in droves to the Democratic Party, which has been drawing large crowds to meetings around the country.

The general feeling was that the Conservative Party had peaked and could even lose ground because of the current feuding in right-wing ranks over personalities, as well as key policy issues, such as a white homeland.

The Democratic Party, meanwhile, has been astounded by the response it is receiving from voters around the country and deep into the platteland.

The number of seats the DP intends contesting is climbing almost daily, and could reach about 120 by the end of the July.

## "Fed up"

NP sources are saying they are finding voters are fed up with the state of the economy, government arrogance, perceptions of the government wasting taxpayers' money, not controlling inflation, and not being able to negotiate a peaceful future.

But they say the swing, which at this stage is seen as major, is not so much in favour of the DP but an anti-government reaction.

In an interview, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said the

## DP astounded by big swing

DP was making amazing inroads into what were considered traditional National Party areas, and even into Conservative Party hunting grounds.

The DP was receiving calls from people in NP-held seats demanding the party put up candidates.

Moreover, not only were people of high calibre prepared to stand for election, but the money to fight the seats was immediately forthcoming from the constituency.

Next week, for example, Dr Worrall and Mr Peter Soal, MP (Johannesburg North) are being flown to Klerksdorp by DP supporters to address a public meeting and to discuss contesting the seat.

Today Dr Worrall has been invited to the centre-of-right dispute — Boksburg — to a fund-raising lunch and a black tie dinner in the evening, taking in Springs for tea.

Dr Worrall said the old tricks of discrediting the opposition to the left of the NP were no longer working.

The Linden ward by-election in Johannesburg had proved that the NP's main weapon — accusing the DP of being soft on security — had backfired.

Not only was the tactic not working on voters, but the NP was in a fix because the international community now ex-

pected the government to negotiate with the ANC as one of the parties.

"Our impression is the public now understands our inclusive approach, that we have to negotiate with all groups, including the ANC, the UDF and Inkatha."

Dr Worrall said the NP argument of the bogey of a CP government was still affecting English-speaking voters, but it was being dismissed by Afrikaans-speaking voters.

Dr Worrall did not think the DP was in danger of peaking too soon with its countrywide series of meetings.

The DP's election campaign would start only in the third week of July, when the party would start dealing with specific issues.

# Magnus claim over poll pact disputed

W/R  
AK6W  
24/4/89

By ALAN DUNN 30/4  
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — A Democratic Party MP at the centre of a row with the National Party over a secret election trade-off, Mr David Dalling of Sandton, today disputed an NP denial that the Democrats were asked to stay out of Modderfontein.

The denial came from General Magnus Malan, Minister of Defence and MP for Modderfontein. He said no request had been made to the DP not to field a candidate in his constituency.

General Malan issued a statement yesterday challenging the DP to do so in the light of Democratic claims of secret approaches from the NP.

Mr Dalling said today that he had received a telephone call "out of the blue" about two weeks ago from Mr Ben Smith, the NP chairman in Modderfontein. He had known Mr Smith for 20 years, and was not entirely surprised to hear from him.

"He asked me to call at his home to see him on a confiden-

tial matter. I agreed to do this and went to his home in Edenvale on June 14.

"Only Mr Smith and I were at the meeting. He told me he didn't want to fight the election against both the Conservatives and the Democrats. He didn't think the Democrats were very strong in Modderfontein and he hoped the Democratic candidate could be withdrawn.

## Secret talks

"He told me that if I could arrange for the Democratic candidate for Modderfontein to be withdrawn, he could guarantee no NP candidate would be put up in Sandton and the portion of the Modderfontein National Party budget allocated to an advertising campaign in the Edenvale newspaper, directed against the DP, would be withdrawn.

He said this would be of considerable significance to Mr Brian Goodall (DP), who is fighting a tight seat next to Modderfontein."

Mr Dalling supported a statement by Mr Smith that

General Malan was unaware of the secret talks, saying Mr Smith had told him this during their conversation.

But Mr Dalling said that if Mr Smith was "reacting to a message" in contacting him, it definitely did not come from him.

Mr Dalling rejected General Malan's statement that Mr Smith had established from his conversation that there were numerous problems in the DP camp.

He also rejected General Malan's assertion that he had "shown extreme sensitivity" at the possibility of an NP campaign on security. "We never discussed the implications of the propaganda," Mr Dalling said.

# Win some, Lose some!

(304A)

S/Times 25/6/89

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

THE election campaign hotted up yesterday with two key political figures swapping parties in a marginal constituency.

Randburg NP councillor Piet Pieters crossed the floor to join the DP, saying he had a problem with the NP's inability to find direction "as a result of its limiting framework of racial ideas".

## Support

And, in a surprise move, Mr Gert van der Linde — he was chairman of DP joint leader Wynand Malan's 1987 election campaign — quit the DP to rejoin the NP.

He gave his reasons for leaving: "Wynand Malan gave me his word in 1987 that he firmly undertook not to associate with PRP politics. Now he is one of their leaders and commander of the DP's

## SURPRISE AS TOP

## OFFICIALS SWOP

## PARTIES IN DICEY

## RANDBURG SEAT

socialist, radical leftwing."

Mr Van der Linde has thrown his support behind NP candidate for Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb.

Yesterday, Tony Leon was nominated as DP candidate in veteran Helen Suzman's Houghton. Mr Leon, leader of the DP in the Johannesburg City Council, "walked" the nomination contest.

Mrs Irene Menell, tipped initially as Mrs Suzman's favoured successor, was the loser. She said: "Of course, I'm sorry. But I will continue to work where I am needed in

the DP. We're a new party and need to use all our resources well."

A delighted Mr Leon said: "It's a great honour to be standing in Helen Suzman's old seat."

In Port Elizabeth, the DP announced that former chief of the South African Air Force, General Bob Rogers, would be its candidate for the NP-held seat of Walmer.

It's likely that the candidature of General Rogers, a Korean War hero, will defuse accusations that the DP is soft on security issues.

The NP won Walmer in 1987, but the sitting MP, Professor Ernst Schoeman,

former rector at Port Elizabeth university, has retired. General Rogers said yesterday that he had noticed a "strong surge" in support for the DP in Krugersdorp, where he lives and serves on the town council.

"A lot of people have come forward and said: 'Thank God, I can vote again,'" he said.

With just over two months to the general election, campaigning will now begin in earnest.

The DP announced its nominated candidates yesterday.

● **HILLBROW:** Johannesburg city councillor Lester Fuchs. A 32-year-old attorney, he lives in Hillbrow.

● **FLORIDA:** Management consultant Norman McFarlane, 33. He and his wife, Elsiebeth, and two daughters live in Florida.

● **NORTH RAND:** Louis de Waal, 37. The executive director of a car rental company, Mr De Waal, his wife Irene and two sons live in Bryanston.

● **BEZUIDENHOUT:** Geoff Engel, 33, executive director of Gallo Africa.

● **HELDERBERG:** Dr Theunis de Bruijn, 34-year-old practising GP in the Florida area. He, his wife and two daughters live in Florida Hills.

## Times newsmen gets top award

Sunday Times Reporter

BRIAN POTTINGER, 36, an assistant editor of the Sunday Times, has been awarded a Nieman Fellowship, one of the most coveted prizes in journalism.

In September he will join 12 American journalists and five from other countries for a full academic year of study at Harvard University in the United States.

Mr Pottinger becomes the 31st South African to hold one of the prestigious fellowships, founded 50 years ago through a bequest by Mrs Agnes Wahl Nieman in honour of her husband, Lucius.

Mr Pottinger, a graduate



BRIAN POTTINGER

ten three books — the latest being *The Imperial Presidency*, a study of President Botha's first decade in power.

At Harvard, Mr Pottinger

## DP faces threat of defection by three Indian MPs

THE Democratic Party's justice spokesman, Mr Pat Poovalingam, yesterday threatened to quit the party along with two Indian colleagues if the DP refused to field more Indian and coloured candidates.

Mr Poovalingam, who is also the DP candidate for Reservoir Hills in the House of Delegates, said the DP was due to make a decision on the matter early next month.

The question of fielding more coloured candidates has been put on the backburner — apparently so as not to jeopardise the cordial relations between the DP and the Labour Party.

## Respect

Although Labour supports the principles of the DP, it has indicated it would fight any DP attempt to oppose it in the September 6 elections.

More importantly, the DP and its leadership would enjoy qualified respect among the country's mass democratic movements.

This relationship would be threatened if the DP became more involved in coloured and Indian tricornal and "system" politics.

This Catch-22 predicament has put the DP in a quandary. Mr Poovalingam named the other Indian MPs who would resign in protest along with him as Mr Mamoud Rajah, MP for Springfield, and Mr John Lyman, MP for Camperdown.

He said the DP talked of contesting 120 seats in the white House of Assembly, but

BY NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

only three out of a combined 120 seats in the other two houses.

"The wish of the community is for a truly nonracial party," he said. "If the DP board takes the wrong decision and its hierarchy goes against the wishes of the people, then the DP would have demonstrated it is not a true nonracial, democratic party."

Commenting yesterday on Mr Poovalingam's threat, joint DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said any decision to resign from the party would be a personal one.

"I am aware that if the board were to take that decision it would make the position of Mr Poovalingam, Mr Rajah and Mr Lyman a bit difficult."

"But the decision has, in fact, not yet been taken," he said.

## WEATHER

TRANVAAL: Partly cloudy and cold but warm over the Lowveld and northern Transvaal. Thunderstorms are expected except over the northern and north-eastern parts but it will clear over south-western Transvaal today.

FREE STATE: Partly cloudy and cold with thunderstorms over the eastern and north-eastern parts, but only over the extreme north-eastern parts.

NATAL: Partly cloudy and warm but mild over the interior. Thunderstorms are expected except over the southern parts.

portability  
ext memory (3,734 characters)  
built-in Spell Check Function  
30 000-word dictionary with  
30-word user dictionary)  
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utomatic Underline, Centering and  
larkin Flush functions

By JEREMY BROOKS  
London

BOERE glasnost, in the guise of F W de Klerk, arrived in London this week to be given a cautious welcome as Europe watched and waited for South Africa's next move.

At 10 Downing Street there was none of the back-slap, plugging or hand and cheek kissing usually associated with visits by state leaders.

But then SA's "president-designate" spent nearly twice as long as planned with Margaret Thatcher. And the beaming Prime Minister personally escorted him to his car — spattered with white paint by protesters — before he sped off to a four-minute Press conference and then to a lunch with foreign minister Sir Geoffrey Howe.

## SUCCESS

"Will be an Afrikaner Gorbachev?" asked one newspaper yesterday.

The Daily Telegraph sounded a warning note: "Mr De Klerk has raised expectations by his promise of liberation. If he fails to fulfil them, he should not be surprised if the West turns its back on him."

The tour is continuing beneath a larger backdrop of southern African development. Imminent cessation in Angola, negotiations between Pretoria and Renamo in Mozambique, and the Namibian settlement.

# Maggie warms to FW's 'boere glasnost' after long meeting at No 10

All of this added to the upbeat and unusually cheery tone of 10 Downing Street's statement which spoke of a "new mood" and opportunities to be grasped.

Mr De Klerk's stay in London was marked by a combination of car-and-mouse with protesters as each side tried to gauge the other's next move.

About 500 demonstrators showed up in force outside the embassy in Trafalgar Square on Wednesday to keep up a solid chant of "Stop your murders, stop your lies". Officials could be seen peering from behind the window panes — one waved a bottle of wine from behind the glass — before the National Party leader and

his wife scuttled across the pavement and into their car. Two coachloads of London hobblers had converged across the road to form three cordons between the diplomatic Jaguar and the demonstration.

The embassy could claim victory that evening as Anti-Apartheid Movement members set off on a well-groomed chase to picket the hit musical, Phantom of the Opera. Some had even bought the black market on the strength of rumours that Mr De Klerk and his wife Marlene were due to attend. But he

failed to oblige. On Friday night the rumours resurfaced and a crowd of about 100 again descended on Her Majesty's

Theatre, jingling freedom songs and waving their banners. But the De Klerks failed to arrive and the crowd dispersed after a request broadcast by the management over the public address system.

A demo leader announced to the crowd that Mr De Klerk and his wife had been due to attend but cancelled their tickets at 4pm because of pressure on the theatre. Thirty minutes after the show started a senior diplomat and his son slipped into the theatre and moved into two empty seats.

The groups of demonstrators, after their biggest show on Wednesday, declined in site and by Friday, when Mr De Klerk took his leave of ambassador Rae Killean, there was a new mood in South

Africa and a determination to resolve the great issues of the day through negotiation. It is for the people of South Africa themselves — all of them — to decide on the way ahead.

"Our hope — which the Prime Minister expressed — is that these new opportunities will be grasped and there will be an end to violence."

"The Prime Minister welcomed progress over Namibia and the fact that South Africa was adhering strictly to the agreements, and stressed the importance of bringing the Namibia agreement to a successful conclusion. This would have a very positive effect on the future prospects for South Africa as a whole."

"As in the past, the Prime Minister raised the great importance we attach to the early release of Mr Mandela."

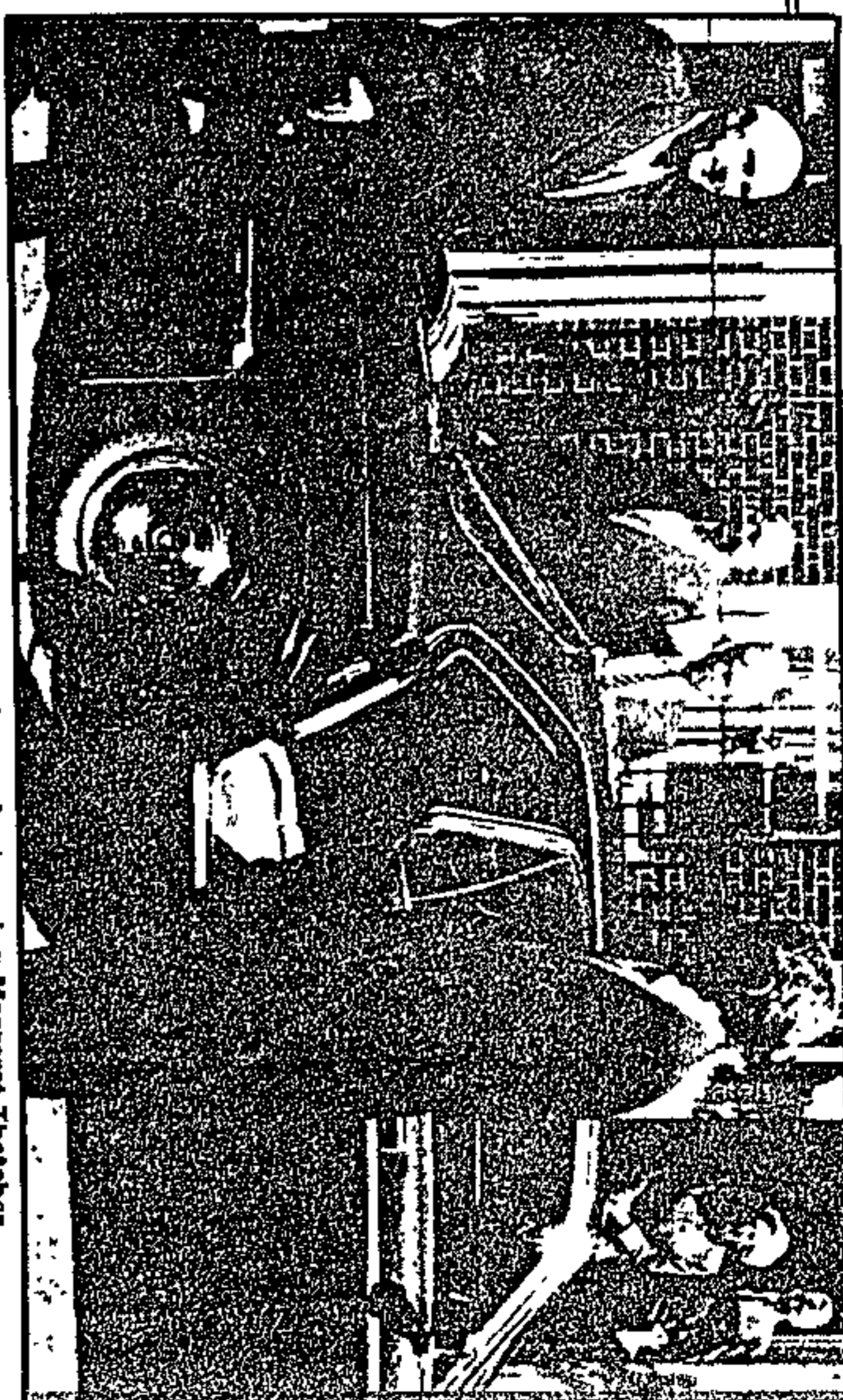
## CAUTION

Mrs Thatcher said she wished to continue her contacts with South African Ministers and all groups in South Africa "so long as they do not pursue their goals by violence". She and Mr De Klerk agreed to stay in touch.

Mr De Klerk's statement, by contrast, was a study in caution. He had delivered a message from the South African State President, he said, and put forward the views of the SA government.

"In addition I used the

ALL SMILES... F W de Klerk takes his leave of a beaming Margaret Thatcher



opportunity to state the South African Government's views on future constitutional development, the negotiation process in South Africa. Thatcher the Government's important aspects regarding our economy as well as the southern African situation and the constructive role South Africa is playing in the region."

In a briefing with South African journalists he refused to discuss any "hypothetical" scenarios about his future as SA's president. He also played down discussions about Nelson Mandela by saying he outlined to Mrs Thatcher the Government's position as stated by President P W Botha in his budget speech.

Mr De Klerk said the British PM had not attempted to prescribe any solutions to South Africa's problems. "I was heartened by her grasp of the complexities."

The talks with Sir Geoffrey and his minister of state Lynda Chalker had concerned the "need for creating conditions for normalising dialogue".

"The immediate priority is the successful implementation of independence for Namibia. Sir Geoffrey also expressed concern for the release of Mr Mandela and the lifting of the state of emergency," the spokesman said.

# Flaming policy row with FW led to banquet snub

# THE FURROW

S/Times 25/6/89

304A

Leaning Prime Minister personally escorted him to his car — spattered with white paint by protesters before he sped off to a five-minute press conference then to a lunch with foreign minister Sir Geoffrey Howe.

## SUCCESS

"Will he be an Afrikaner?" asked Gorbachev, asked the newspaper yesterday. De Klerk has raised expectations by his promise of liberalisation. If he fails to fulfil them, he should not be surprised if the West turns back on him."

The tour is continuing beneath a larger backdrop of southern African developments dominating the news. Imminent ceasefire in Angola, negotiations between Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique, and the Namibian settlement.

## By LESTER VENTER Political Correspondent

### PRESIDENT BOTHA could be on the brink of a damaging public showdown with the National Party leadership.

Party leaders now fear that the angry, reclusive and increasingly unpredictable Mr Botha might do something that will cause them grave embarrassment before the election on September 6.

Highly placed sources say that matters were brought to a head by Mr F W de Klerk's decision to unveil a new policy package at the NP federal congress on Thursday.

They said Mr Botha demanded that the proposals be laid before him for approval — but Mr De Klerk refused on the grounds that the State President was no longer party leader.

Hitherto Mr De Klerk has displayed great forbearance towards his ailing predecessor and has been scrupulous in observing protocol.

However, President Botha's reluctance to become reconciled with the fact that he relinquished political power when he resigned as NP leader

### BOTHA'S PIQUE: Page 18

In February has caused tensions to mount.

They finally burst into the open this week when — despite frantic last-minute pleas from NP leaders — Mr Botha bluntly turned down the invitation to a farewell banquet honouring him on the eve of the party congress.

Sources in the upper echelons of the NP said it was Mr De Klerk's firm stand on the party's right to formulate policy without interference that led to the snub. After resigning the party leadership five months ago Mr Botha became, technically, merely an ordinary member of the NP who held no office within it.

But he seemed highly reluctant to acknowledge this after more than 10 years of imperious rule.

"There was intense behind-the-scenes wrangling over the new policy and Mr Botha's wings were severely clipped in the process," a senior source said yesterday.

Mr De Klerk will now use the federal congress to stamp his leadership on the party. He plans to set the tone for an administration that will take South Africa into the '90s.

To achieve this, Mr De Klerk needs to show a clear break with the past.

### Warm

This factor, according to a source, combined with the party's deep concern over the slowdown of reform during Mr Botha's final 24 months, made the new generation of NP leaders determined to formulate a new policy free of Mr Botha's influence.

This week there was well-founded speculation that the new policy — including a Bill of Rights, a commitment to negotiations and a new flexibility on ethnic group formation — formed the basis of Mr De Klerk's talks with Western leaders.

Observers noted yesterday that Mr De Klerk's determination to press ahead with change could explain the unexpectedly warm reception Mr De Klerk received from West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, his foreign minister, Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, and the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

This speculation was reinforced by the new American Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr Hank Cohen.

In a transatlantic discussion with South African journalists he said he was expecting "some interesting proposals" from the SA Government after the September election.

However, as NP delegates prepare for this week's congress, many fear what Mr Botha — reluctant to allow a clean transfer of leadership to Mr De Klerk — might do next to display his displeasure.

To illustrate their fears, some point to the consternation which Mr Botha caused when, they say, he refused to

□ To Page 2

## ANGRY PW MAY FORCE SHOWDOWN

□ From Page 1

sign the proclamation of a new state of emergency until about 24 hours before the previous proclamation lapsed earlier this month.

Mr Botha apparently turned down the entreaties of a delegation of senior Ministers on the Friday before the deadline.

Only a weekend of intense work by senior uniformed security personnel to draft a new presentation ultimately persuaded Mr Botha to sign.

Since Parliament prorogued a month ago, Mr Botha has spent much of his time at his home in Wilderness.

For some weeks he has not attended Cabinet meetings, which are now styled as "Ministers' meetings".

Thursday's congress will, in effect, be the launching of the NP's election campaign.

It is understood that Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, Minister of Information and a former political science professor, played a major part in devising the new policy package.

It is believed that a Bill of Rights forms the basis of the NP's new direction, with an emphasis on individual rights. These are likely to be interpreted as the right of individuals to form groups that qualify for protection, but also permit citizens to opt for membership of "open groups".

# PARTY PIQUE



THE LATEST fit of presidential pique — a refusal by Mr Botha to attend his own farewell party — could be the last public action of a man grown weary and disillusioned beyond measure.

But nobody, least of all the National Party, is counting on it.

Through his early years as head of government, that redoubtable, finger-waving figure has shown that among his great political assets are patience, a general's feel for the terrain and a long, long memory.

The bad blood between the NP and its former leader is now in the open and unambiguous. That is to the good, but it raises an important question.

Is the NP in its present form capable of effecting an orderly and dignified transfer of leadership? Can it avoid being doomed, invariably, to the Kremlesque — its leaders deified in power, defied in decline and reviled in departure?

The answer, probably, is no, unless there are some radical changes to the soul of the party.

The NP is a complex web of regional, class and ethnic loyalties. It has experienced in recent years, to an extent perhaps unappreciated by the outsider, a profound change in its constituency, becoming more middle-class and cosmopolitan.

## Inviolate

But certain values remain inviolate. One of these is the sense that public dissent within the party is a sign of betrayal — one can disagree privately with the decisions of the leadership, but there is no room for such things as backbench revolts.

In recent years the party has paid heavily for this stance. In 1982 it was precisely the lack of open forums for party debate that led to the unending conspiring, *konkeling*, that eventually split the party.

The party under President Botha changed very little. The congresses still, to a considerable extent, represent the closed, complacent rhythms of a party that shelves problems and does not confront them.

But there is another pathology deep within the NP's soul, and that is its approach to leadership — its origins dating far back, perhaps, to an innate Afrikaner respect for authority and the symbols of authority. Part of it also derives from the sense of isolation and of being besieged — something which does little to encourage democratic manners.

Mr Botha understood this. Indeed, in retrospect, he profited from it. In serving the interests of

BRIAN POTTINGER suggests the NP is as much to blame as President Botha



for the present bad blood between them . . .

reform he crafted a strong, centralised presidency, an imperial one — and then put the party out to pasture.

He emphasised loyalty to the person, to himself, and a series of metaphysical values, such as "total strategy", "reform" and "civilised standards". He promoted many younger, brighter party figures above the heads of the stalwarts.

He told the congresses they could decide on "principle", but not "policy" (that was up to the party leaders), and then so thoroughly confused the two that most of the substantive reform in his era, the social and economic changes, occurred as policy and only the implausible and fumbled tricameral Parliament was put to a broader mandate.

All of this, there should be no mistake, was exactly what a reformist leader should have undertaken, but in so doing Mr Botha forgot two cardinal rules: Never lose your power base and, secondly, never deny your constituency more than you can hope to recoup for them.

Mr Botha ceded his power base in the party when he, as an executive president, lost sight of the party's self-image. In latter years he arrived at caucuses merely to hector, inform or occasionally warn — over, for example, the reports he had received from spies about the party's disenchantment with his style.

## Forgotten

He had forgotten his party mullahs and his style of technocratic and expedient management got things done — but at a cost. In later years he grew increasingly distanced from the party and remained largely unconscious of the tensions and anger that were building up. Unlike the Shah of Iran, he did not overestimate the party mullahs' appetite for change — he underestimated it.

At a time when the party was searching for reformist leadership, Mr Botha was locked into the

intricacies of how to defend power — not extend it. He had promised change to a basically conservative NP in 1978 when he took power. Ten years later he was being judged by a vastly different caucus, not so much for what he had achieved, but what he had failed to achieve.

So, when it became a question of leadership, the party caucus shifted easily behind Mr De Klerk and against Mr Botha. This infuriated the President so that most of his ire was directed at Mr De Klerk, which was unfair. His anointed successor was not the architect of Mr Botha's misfortunes (that must largely lie with Mr Botha himself), but is certainly an inheritor of them.

He has been cast in an impossible interregnum: Abroad right now as an emissary of new hope in this country with neither status nor mandate; party leader in an election he will not himself contest; in charge of the ruling party, with all the powers to propose policy but none of the influence to implement it.

## Stentorian

President Botha had a stentorian approach to opposition — if that opposition would not bend to reason — his reason, of course — the option was simply to shout it down or wipe it out.

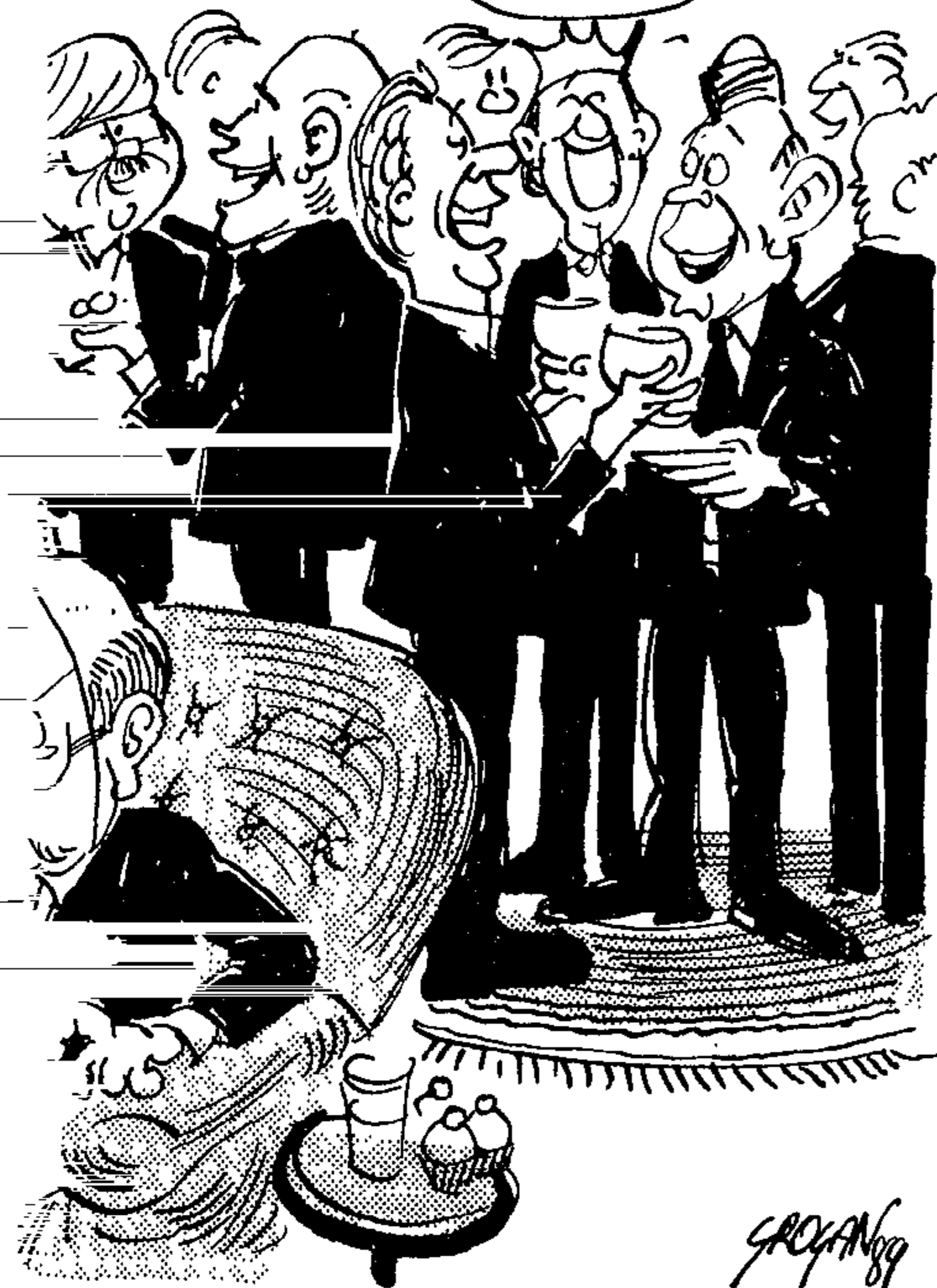
He defeated many enemies with this approach and lost even more friends. But the costs of this approach were never clearly computed by his party — as long as he continued to deliver the goods, there were no questioning voices raised in either the party or its Press about his methods.

That, perhaps, was the greatest betrayal and the reason for his deepest disappointment.

The party, by nature supine before power, and his Cabinet, cowed by his personality, never really signalled the approaching crisis to their leader who, right until the end, actually believed the lavish and quite hypocritical

25/6/89

(304A)



praise that was heaped upon him at every public occasion.

The NP Press never fired a warning shot, and the independent Press, steeped in a tradition of playing the ball and not the man, allowed many of Mr Botha's personal knock-ons to go unremarked.

It took divine intervention, a partially disabling stroke, to end the illusion. Atlas stumbled and suddenly the old conventions broke — Mr Botha's failings and the frustrations of the party over the years bubbled to the surface, catching both Mr Botha and a

wide section of the South African public quite by surprise.

It should not have, and it is this issue with which the party will have to deal so forcefully in the future.

If, as in the Botha era, the party suspends critical faculties and public debate in the interests of unity or some empty notion of loyalty, it will be doing Mr De Klerk the same disservice it did Mr Botha.

And we now all know how that ends up.

● Brian Pottinger is author of *The Imperial Presidency*.

WHY can't politicians just retire gracefully when the bells have tolled for them?

Why can't they, like other people, just go and sit on the stoep with *vroulief* and watch their grandchildren playing at their feet?

Fortunately this inability to retire is not an ailment restricted to South African politicians. Jimmy Carter still dishes out unwanted advice to those who saved America from another toothy term. Ted Heath still believes he knows best how to run Britain and has little modesty in telling Margaret Thatcher what she should do. In Japan there is a whole gerontocracy forever trying to make a comeback.

The exceptions are the Soviet Union where you are likely to end up in Siberia if you get too pushy, and Ronald Reagan who rode gracefully into the sunset.

But at his Wilderness holiday home President P W Botha refuses to be pushed into the wilderness. There he sits sulking over the way he was treated once he made the fatal mistake of letting go of his party's leadership and his power base within the NP caucus.

He is seldom seen in public, never attends Cabinet meetings and now even refuses to pitch up for the farewell bash organised in his honour.

Who knows, he may even reminisce on the days when his political mentor, Dr D F Malan, tried to rule the country from the grave through his efforts to foist Mr Klasie Havenga on the NP.

He also was rebuffed by the party, which opted instead for Mr Hans Strijdom — ironically, the uncle of Mr F W de Klerk.

Perhaps Mr Botha is thinking back on his own accession to power and the way in which Mr John Vorster behaved like a wounded buffalo after he was pushed from the top. Or on the way in which he, as new party leader, turned his back on his most trusted friend, Mr Lourens Muller, and backed Mr Marais Viljoen for State President.

Politics is a tough profession and few people know it better than Mr Botha who was educated in the School of Hard Knocks.

It is hard not to get sentimental about him. Even for a past-master in political manoeuvring like him, the speed and ruthlessness with which he was deposed must have been a surprise.



# Dries van Heerden PW's long, sulky exit.

But if Mr Botha is really interested in his place in history, as well he should be, the worst he can do is to continue his childish behaviour.

There is a country to be governed beyond the tranquil waves of the Wilderness. But he petulantly refuses to do the job he was elected to do — and handsomely paid for.

He should get out of Tuynhuys and give the job to someone willing to do it. Before September 6.

One can just hope and pray that he takes with him his whole imperial entourage — including that spokesman who this week told reporters Mr Botha will not comment on the farewell banquet incident because it is "a party political matter".

Like hell it is. And Mr Botha is a party political figure who rose through the ranks of the NP until party politicians elected him into a job where he carried out the party's political policy.

Mr Botha obviously did not learn the lesson of the Vorster trauma on how a politician can overstay his welcome.

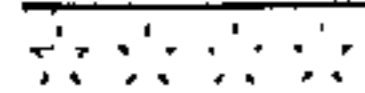
Is it asking too much that Mr De Klerk should now, at the start of his term of office, solemnly resolve never to subject the country to this sort of spectacle again?

# PROSPECTIVES 3

AMONG the career diplomats and others who laboured long and hard for Dr Chester Crocker, and now are mostly moving on to other things, there is a growing unease over where the Bush administration is headed as it tunes its approach to southern Africa.

They fear that for all of Secretary of State James Baker's talk of the priority he is according the region, his real interest is not the region itself, but rather how his president's policy plays in Washington. Put another way, his principal interest, and that of the inner circle he brought aboard with him, is peace with Congress, not how to encourage it on the ground.

Because of this, the odds are increasingly against Mr FW de Klerk coming to Washington next month, even though President Bush has personally said he is willing to see the National Party leader in the Oval Office.



Baker's kindergarten, as his top advisers are coming to be known (not without justice — on many aspects of foreign policy, including South Africa, they are neophytes all), fears that the visit will only make trouble on Capitol Hill and ruin the chances of long-term compromise between the executive and legislative branches.

This fear at present seems entirely unfounded, especially if the meeting between President Bush and Mr De Klerk is put in its proper context, as one of a preliminary series enabling the new administration to get the measure of all sides, including the ANC.

Barring some atrocity by the South African Government, all but extremists like Congressman Ron Dellums are disposed to see the meeting as legitimate, or at least as no big deal.

But the kindergarten — Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs Robert Kimmit, Policy Planning chief Dennis Ross and State Department counsellor Robert Zoellick — frets nonetheless



## Simon Barber Fixing odds against FW

### Washington Diary

and in so fretting is creating a set of preconditions and unspoken demands that will make it politically very difficult for Mr De Klerk to come here with an election in the offing.

Mr Bush himself rejected a proposal by Archbishop Desmond Tutu when they met last month that Mr De Klerk be made to "pay" in advance for his invitation. Bush quite rightly took the view that Mr De Klerk had nothing to pay with.

After all, he is not yet State President and the man who is seems hardly in the mood to do his successor any favours.

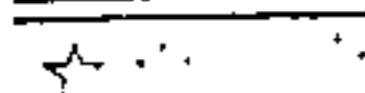
Even so, the kindergarten remains nervously of the view that the only way to keep the peace in Washington is for Mr De Klerk to be seen coming cap in hand and

ready to take the medicine that the president must publicly mete out to him. Which, of course, defeats the purpose.

The best that can be said of such appeasement is that it is even-handed. The right is being bowed and scraped to also. The issue, in this instance, is whether and how the MPLA should be rewarded for summoning the courage to talk to Unita.

A small token of acknowledgement would be useful — the dropping of opposition to Angola's joining the World Bank and the IMF, for example — if only to show that the US has stopped moving the goalposts in what it is demanding of Luanda.

Unfortunately, the kindergarten appears content to treat conservative hostility to such a move as an effective veto.



Until Unita was enfolded into the Reagan Doctrine in 1985, the US position was to grant Angola formal recognition if the Cubans went home. By the time the Cubans actually started leaving, the price had gone up to include national reconciliation.

When Dr Crocker tried to offer a little something after the signing of Tripartite Agreement last December — flexibility on the IMF/World Bank issue and an exchange of low-level interest sections (as opposed to full-blown embassies) — the Right blocked even that. It continues to do so and the administration acquiesces.

President Bush entered office determined to recapture the executive's prerogative in making foreign policy. His Secretary of State has found an easy way to do that by accepting Congress's policy and calling it his own.

Not for nothing did Margaret Thatcher hiss after their first meeting that Mr Baker was "a fixer".

# How FW's affairs made Maggie blush

*St Times 28/6/89 204A*

HERE is the news, read by Gucci Wheelbarrow ...

1. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain interrupted her heavy work schedule for an unexpected few days to rest and recover. Observers close to Mrs Thatcher said she looked exhausted and drawn and was in need of peace and quiet.

Her last appointment was with President De Klerk of South Africa. This was their third encounter in which Mrs Thatcher wished to know what progress had been made with genuine negotiations in South Africa and President De Klerk had again tried to explain the significance of "own" and "general" affairs, "open" and "closed" groups, as well as related problems to the British Prime Minister.

Those close to the Prime Minister said she was well disposed towards President De Klerk, that he spoke good English, but that she just

## F van Zyl Slabbert

relays an SABC news report in the era of F W de Klerk's "Own Affairs"



could not understand what he was saying.

Asked to comment, President De Klerk said he thought it unlikely that his appointment with Mrs Thatcher had had any influence on her need to rest and recover. However, if it had, it would not be the first time that the uniqueness of the South African situation had been a source of stress and confusion.

President De Klerk said the vast majority of South Africans had been stressed and confused by their own uniqueness since the National Party took power

in 1948.

2. A Bill before Parliament — The National Amendment Bill — has been referred to the Standing Committee on Constitutional Affairs for consideration. The Bill makes provision for the singing of "Die Stem" in White Group Areas; "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika" in Black Group Areas; and the simultaneous singing of both in the Free Settlement Zones. In the latter case, giving the "clenched fist salute" is in order, provided those who do so, quietly and firmly say "Ons vir jou, Suid Afrika".

## Disorder

3. The South African Tourist Board has decided to provide "own" and "general" affairs tour packages in all their regional offices. This has become necessary because of the logistical and diplomatic problems that can occur with people travelling and holidaying in places with "open" and "closed" beaches, "group areas" and "free settlement zones"; and International, National and "no-star" AWB hotels, motels, toilets and rest rooms.

4. A new psychological disorder has been diagnosed and is spreading at universities throughout the country. Called "Catatonic-Split-Area-sitis", it is caused when students coming from segregated high schools where they have been taught that sex is a matter of "own affairs", enter "open universities" only to discover it is a matter of general concern and excitement. "Split-Area-sitis" means that students cannot adjust to this reality and

cannot cope with their own excitement.

The authorities are extremely concerned about this disorder which is threatening to reach epidemic proportions, because those who suffer from it vigorously resist any remedial programmes. The Minister of Health has promised to look into the matter. (His son is in matric and head prefect of "Onderdrukkers Hoërskool" in Odendaalsrus South.)

5. The South African Sports Foundation has decided that the Currie Cup can henceforth only be competed for in Natal, and will be the premier "own affairs" Indian Sports Trophy. It has also appointed a specialist/expert subcommittee to consider what to do with the Black belt in judo, and whether it should be complemented with a White belt, a Coloured belt, and a Currie belt with similar international status.

The subcommittee will take oral and written representations on this issue until the day after Christmas. The Sports Foundation is emphatic that this matter should only concern sports-loving people and that politics must be kept out of it.

6. Mr Koos "Blindederm" Petoors was chosen Businessman of the Year for South Africa's "own affairs" CBDs for the fourth year in succession. He owns a one-man night-soil removal company in Boksburg North.

7. One of the few reported cases where conservative Afrikaner blood is not thicker than water, was when Mr Janneman Treurnicht, from the Waterberg District, was ostracised by his family for having a blood transfusion in a "general affairs" hospital during an emergency. Hospital staff say Mr Treurnicht refuses to leave the hospital until medical science has found a way of "de-transfusing" him and he can be welcomed back into the Waterberg

community.

8. On a lighter note: a Welkom magistrate has acquitted a driver who was caught speeding in an "own affairs" zone by a "general affairs" traffic policeman. The driver said he was a member of an "open group", living in a "free settlement zone" on his way to visit some of his relatives who are still members of a "closed group" living in a "white group area".

The traffic policeman, Mr Suzuki Kickstart van Tonder, said that, although he was a "general affairs" policeman, he was an "own affairs" supporter and was simply trying to keep things in order.

The magistrate accepted the bona fides of all involved, but said a conviction in this case would pre-empt judgment in a case before the Appeal Court where an "own affairs" brothel was found in a "general affairs" block of flats and would distort time-space consideration of the average South African.

## Serious

9. A light flash: Mrs Thatcher's doctors say her situation is more serious than was initially thought, and she may have to miss the Commonwealth Conference in three months' time. We will keep you informed on this matter as and when news becomes available.

Meanwhile, the British Foreign Office will not confirm or deny reports that Dr Andries Treurnicht has insisted on an interview with Mrs Thatcher in order to demonstrate to her that President De Klerk has no understanding of the concept of "own affairs" at all.

10. This is the end of "general affairs" news. For your "own affairs" news, we recommend you change to your "own affairs" wavelength where you will also receive the weather reports appropriate to your "own affairs".

Have a good day...

# Peace and

# prosperity

# go hand in hand

City Press 204A  
25/6/89  
By REVELATION NTOULA

**SOUTHERN** Africa's change in political trends is bound to affect the sub-continent's economic development profoundly.

Countries likely to benefit economically from a politically-changed SA are Angola, Mozambique and Namibia. Others are Zimbabwe, Zambia and SA itself.

Namibia's independence next year is almost certain.

Sadly though, when the new government takes over it will inherit an estimated R550-million debt.

Although Namibia is endowed with rich underground minerals, it ranks among Africa's poorest and most under-developed territories.

Employment opportunities in Namibia are minimal. Mining is one of the largest employers – there are few other industries of any importance.

## RUDIMENTARY

Skilled manpower is scarce among local people and the territory depends on imported skills.

If mining's revenue is used for the territory, it is not apparent – Namibia's infrastructure is rudimentary.

SA's period of administration did not, seemingly, put the territory's development high on its list of priorities.

The situation, however, is bound to change when Namibians – with a vested interest in the territory – take over its running.

There is little doubt that the new rulers will look north for trade links and that Angola, albeit underdeveloped, would be a natural partner.

It would, for instance, be cheaper to import oil from Angola and more profitable for Namibia to export its agricultural products to Angola.

A battlefield for more than a decade, Angola will benefit greatly after Namibia's independence.

Potentially wealthy but retarded by the war between its own forces, Unita, Cuba and SA, the country has rich mineral deposits which have not been fully exploited.

Unita leader Jonas Savimbi's party is unlikely to survive for long without SA's back-up; an MPLA/Unita settlement seems imminent.

The end of civil strife will present Angola with the task of reconstructing its three war-ravaged provinces – Cuanene, Huila and Namibe – at an estimated cost of R1,4 billion.

Although the situation in war-torn Mozambique is uncertain, Renamo ap-

SA holds Africa's key to the future

pears to be losing the 10-year civil strife that has almost halted its economic development.

Once-glamorous Lourenco Marques is now the tattered ruin of Maputo.

Industry, including commercial and subsistence farming, are literally non-existent.

The country is virtually bankrupt, with its currency worthless outside Mozambique.

All efforts have been directed at combating Renamo's attacks on villages and infrastructure.

Reconstructing the ruins of Mozambique will cost billions – and that must come before development can be tackled.

It is lamentable that the wholesale destruction that has accompanied the war has deprived thousands of children – who fled with or without their parents to refugee camps – of elementary education.

However, South African businessmen are beginning to invest in Maputo and Pretoria has a vested interest in Maputo harbour, once an important port of exit for SA's exports. This can be construed as encouraging.

It might not be too far-fetched to think SA would do everything in its power to help Frelimo curtail Renamo's activities.

## DEPRESSION

The Frontline states also stand to benefit immensely from the trade links that could be established with peace in Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. SA, which has suffered chronic depression through sanctions, stands to become the economic hub of the region if it abandons apartheid.

Southern Africa could set the pace for the continent's economic development.

The key to this lies in the Union Building vaults.

all in good spirit.

# P W due in Pretoria to chair Cabinet meeting

AR645 26/6/89  
30 4A

From ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

PRETORIA. — President Botha arrives here today to chair the first Cabinet meeting in a month, on Wednesday, amid some signs of nervousness in the National Party that he may try to strike back.

Well-placed sources confirmed today that Mr Botha would be chairing the meeting, but would definitely not be attending the party's federal congress in Pretoria on Thursday.

A source at Tuynhuys said the President's view had been made quite clear earlier — he should be a uniting factor, remaining aloof from and above party politics. He would thus not attend.

This response seems to answer newspaper reports that organisers of the congress were leaving two seats vacant at the head table in case Mr Botha and Mrs Elize Botha made a surprise appearance.

The reports suggested that Mr Botha was waiting for the right moment to take revenge against those who precipitated his departure from public life. Mr F W de Klerk, NP leader and president-

in-waiting, the reports suggested, would be a prime target.

The Tuynhuys source today dismissed these reports as "wishful thinking".

Another senior government source said he thought Mr Botha had "by and large accepted the whole position, that his terms expires on September 6 or soon thereafter".

"I don't think he plans a comeback or anything like that," he said, hastening to add that nothing should at this stage be done to further antagonise Mr Botha.

Sources said there was presently no question that Mr de Klerk was running NP policy: "If there was a showdown (between Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk), there is no doubt who would win it. But it would be very messy.

"It is not a power struggle. It is just a question of not making too many waves."

The NP information director, Mr Con Botha, said today: "It is very unlikely the President would do anything to damage the party after what he has done for it for the past 53 years."

## NP candidates threaten to resign

304A

# ANC DEBATE ON TALKS WITH SA

**LONDON —** The African National Congress has begun discussing whether it could negotiate with South Africa's white minority rulers and on what terms, an ANC spokesman said at the weekend.

She said an internal document, considering ways in which Pretoria's apartheid system might be dismantled peacefully, was being circulated within the ANC, the main group fighting white rule in South Africa.

It was also being discussed in South Africa, where the ANC is banned.

"We do not see any evidence the regime is willing to change its policies and make itself ready for talks," she said.

"But we think it is important to prepare a unified position so that if the time comes, we are

ready."

The spokeswoman, at the ANC's London office, said the document had been drawn up at a June 8 meeting of the organisation's national executive in Lusaka in

reaction to a "climate" of expectation" among foreign governments.

"It considers such questions of how talks could be conducted, how a transitional administration might be handled.

But this is all just theory," she added.

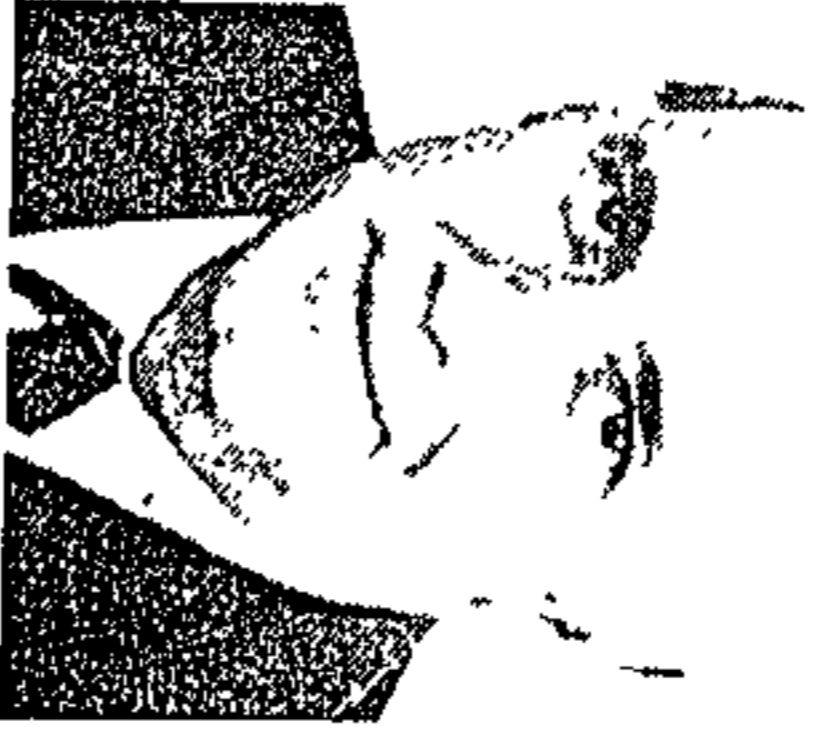
Supporters of the ANC, which has been waging a political and guerilla struggle in South Africa for 30 years,

demonstrated in central London on Friday when the head of South Africa's ruling National Party, F W de Klerk, arrived for talks with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

# GIVE DE KLERK BENEFIT OF DOUBT - PAPER

LONDON — Britain's Sunday newspapers largely ignored the visit to Britain of Mr F W de Klerk — except for the *Sunday Telegraph*, which said he was a man "willing to recognise the inevitability of reform".

In an editorial the paper praised Mrs Thatcher for being prepared to do business with De Klerk and said he must be "given the benefit of the doubt" about his commitment to change.



F W DE KLERK

The paper likened De Klerk to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, saying both were part of old systems but both realised

the need for reform.

"This does not mean that De Klerk will succeed in bringing about far-reaching reforms, the obstacles to which are, if anything, greater in South Africa than in Russia.

"Power-sharing in a multi-tribal society is easier to talk about than to achieve. To hand over power to the ANC — that would be easy.

"But little would be gained — and much lost even by the blacks — by switching from a relatively efficient white domi-

nation to a vastly inefficient — and just as cruel — black domination.

"At least, De Klerk is determined to try for reform, and it is a measure of Mrs Thatcher's statesmanship that she is prepared to give him her blessing."

The editorial cautioned against expecting fundamental change in South Africa in the near future.

"But in South Africa, as much as in the Soviet Union, there has been a loss of faith in the viability of the system."

# FW gets leaders' nod of approval

From MIKE ROBERTSON

ROME. — European leaders have given a nod of approval to National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, whose hectic four-nation tour ends today.

Mr De Klerk has impressed heads of state he met, particularly British

Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher. The leaders now expect South Africa to enter a new era of fundamental change under Mr De Klerk's leadership.

He was clearly satisfied that he had been able to establish a personal rapport with all the leaders he met.

Mr De Klerk said that much of the discussions had centred on the Namibian settlement and the "dramatic bid" to end the war in Angola, and that it had been clear that "everyone has the perception that something further must happen".

He said he was encouraged by the strong degree of realism pervading the European leaders' thinking on Southern Africa.

Significantly, at a time when the Commonwealth is preparing for a fresh sanctions onslaught, Mr De Klerk appears to have convinced the leaders he met that South Africa must be allowed to sort out its problems without outside interference.

He said on Saturday, after meeting

Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti, that one of the most encouraging aspects of the tour had been that European leaders were evidently not seeking to tell South Africa how to sort out its problems.

Mr De Klerk's most significant achievement was to have won guarded approval from Mrs Thatcher. After

## Plans to see musical scrapped

LONDON. — Anti-apartheid campaigners have claimed that their protests prompted NP leader Mr F W de Klerk to cancel plans to attend the leading London musical *Phantom of the Opera*, the *London Times* reported at the weekend.

Protesters said Mr De Klerk's change of plan was a victory for them. — Sapa

their Friday meeting, she said she detected a new mood in South Africa and called on all groups to grasp this opportunity to end violence.

Mr De Klerk flew to Lisbon on Saturday for talks and lunch with Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Anibal Cavaco Silva before continuing to Rome to see Mr Andreotti.

Neither Mr Silva or Mr Andreotti gave him the same public nod of approval as Mrs Thatcher, but Mr De Klerk said he had found

them both similarly constructive on their approach to South Africa.

He said at a press conference that there had been great interest from all the leaders about moves to end strife in Angola and Mozambique.

Mr De Klerk will today pay a courtesy visit to Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican Prime Minister. He then flies to Zurich, where he will hold meetings with Swiss officials at the airport before returning to South Africa.

2 Cape Times, Monday, June 26, 1989

## Reports on law conference misleading - Chief Justice

THE conference in Britain was not a cloak to cover a secret meeting between South African judges and the African National Congress, the Chief Justice, Mr Justice M M Corbett, said.

He said: "I refer to reports that have appeared in the South African press concerning the conference being held at Newnham Park, Oxfordshire, this weekend. These reports are, I am satisfied, totally misleading in regard to the nature and purpose of the conference.

"It is a small private symposium of approximately 40 participants. It has been convened and organised by Professor Ronald Dworkin, professor of jurisprudence at the University of Oxford. The object of the symposium is to discuss on a scholarly and academic basis legal problems and issues which are of particular relevance to South Africa.

"It affords, inter alia, an opportunity for the South

African participants to argue the case for the South African judiciary, its probity and its independence. The symposium is not open to the press. The participants include practising and academic lawyers and a number of judges from South Africa and other countries.

Judges from other countries include an eminent British law lord, two English High Court judges, a justice of the United States Federal Court of Appeals and a Commonwealth Chief Justice. All participants have been individually chosen and invited to the symposium by Prof Dworkin.

"If there are persons present who have connections with the African National Congress, then that is coincidental. There may for that matter be other persons present with very different political leanings. No participant has been invited as representative of any body or group.

"Nobody is there representing anybody. The judges attending the conference do not represent the judiciary, or the South African government, for that matter. Nobody at the conference is representing any political organisation. I have spoken by telephone to certain of the judges attending the conference and am satisfied as to these facts.

"I do not believe that attendance of this conference by the South African judges concerned will in the smallest degree compromise their judicial impartiality or independence. I am further satisfied that it is a bona fide conference undertaken in a serious spirit to discuss and debate the matters to which I have referred.

"There is no substance in the suggestion that it is a cloak to cover a clandestine meeting between South African judges and the African National Congress."

## Two ANC men at UK law conference

LONDON. — The Guardian yesterday revealed more details of the conference in Oxfordshire in which South African judges, legal academics and members of the ANC took part at the weekend.

The newspaper pointed out that in South Africa membership of the ANC was a criminal offence and that judges had passed death sentences on ANC guerrillas.

The Guardian said leaks in the South African press about the conference had annoyed the organisers.

"Under the title, The Concept of Law in South Africa, it has been arranged by Professor Ronald Dworkin, the American professor of jurisprudence at Oxford University."

The paper said the ANC was represented by Mr Zola Skweyiya and Mr Nathaniel Masemola of the organisation's legal department.

The Guardian quoted Prof Dworkin as saying: "This is not an ANC initiative. I have invited these people personally. It is a very distinguished academic gathering. I put the proposal to the Ford Foundation which thought it would be a worthwhile exercise."

— Sapa

# Nats fear PW 'revenge'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent



President Botha

TOP Nationalists are worried about what the all-powerful, but increasingly unpredictable, President P W Botha might do to compromise the National Party ahead of the election.

The bad blood that has developed between Mr Botha and the party — what one Nationalist termed "the wounded buffalo syndrome" — has reached the point where the president might be planning revenge, some party insiders believe.

Senior Nationalists were uncertain yesterday about whether Mr Botha — having pulled out of his farewell banquet and disrupted the programme for the NP's federal congress in Pretoria this week — might place the party in a predicament by staging a surprise visit to the congress.

"We don't know what's going to happen — and anything can happen," one source admitted yesterday.

However, two seats will be set aside at the head

table for the presidential couple just in case Mr Botha decides to put in an unscheduled appearance on Thursday.

Most Nationalists are still in the dark about the precise reason for Mr Botha apparently changing his mind about attending the gala banquet to honour his more than 50 years of service to the party.

Some believe that Mr Botha has decided to shun the programme planned for him this week because "he feels the occasion will be too emotional"; particularly in view of the distance that has developed between Mr Botha and the party hierarchy since he resigned as NP leader in February.

Others believe he might have viewed the original format of the federal congress as "a slur" since it precluded him from being actively associated with the NP's election plans and strategy.

In terms of the earlier plan for the congress, the farewell banquet for a select group of 300 VIPs on Wednesday night would have been followed on

Thursday morning by the full congress adopting a motion of thanks to Mr Botha.

Once this had been completed, Mr Botha was expected to leave the congress, paving the way for the party to enter the election fray under new leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Party strategists felt it was important, for tactical reasons, to market the party differently for the upcoming "FW era".

Mr Botha apparently believed that this would reflect badly on him, and this may have prompted his decision to opt out of the affair.

Party sources yesterday said the NP's 1989 election manifesto would be basically the same as the document on which the party had relied for the May 1987 poll.

However, the manifesto had been updated with an "action plan" to highlight those aspects of NP policy which looked to the future, and which the party hoped to link more closely with Mr De Klerk.

● Thumbs-up for De Klerk — Page 3

CAT. TmH  
26/6/89 304A

# Pik to face 'star DP candidate'

## Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party hopes to consolidate its Linden by-election victory by putting up a star candidate against Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in the September election.

DP sources said the three aspirant candidates were an actor, a former policeman and a medical specialist, two of whom were former NP supporters.

DP candidates committee chairman Mr Cecil Bass would not reveal the names of the three and said the announcement would be made on Wednesday.

He said the municipal by-election had given people confidence that Mr Botha's stronghold, of which Linden was the core, was no longer invincible.

Other DP sources said the nomination of Mr Botha's adversary was crucial as the DP had to substantially reduce Mr Botha's 4 000 majority in the light of the Linden shock-victory.

## Houghton seat

It was announced at the weekend that Johannesburg city councillor Mr Lester Fuchs, 32, will contest the Hillbrow seat, while the DP leader in the council, Mr Tony Leon, 32, has been nomi-

nated in Houghton to replace MP Helen Suzman, who has retired.

Mr Geoff Engel, 33, an executive director for Gallo (Africa), will represent the DP in Bezuidenhout while Mr Norman McFarlane, 33, a management consultant, will take on Mr Bar-end du Plessis in Florida.

Dr Theunis de Bruin, 34, a Florida general practitioner, will represent the party in Helderkruijn while Mr Louis de Waal, 37, executive director of a leading car rental company, will represent the party in the North Rand.

Businessman Mr Chris du Preez, a former divisional chairman for the NP, will represent the DP in Vereeniging while Germiston city councillor Mr John Oxley will contest the Germiston seat.

Mr Bass said the DP would announce candidates for Turffontein, Rosettenville, Johannesburg West, Klerksdorp, Potchefstroom, Jeppe and Bryanston before the end of the week.

The CP national secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said the CP would again contest all 13 Pretoria seats — "and this time round we aim to win at least half of them".

Political scientist Mr Willem Kleynhans said the DP's chances in Waterkloof, Rissik and Pre-

toria East had been greatly enhanced by the party's impressive performance in the Linden municipal by-election earlier this month.

Yesterday the DP announced its candidate in Waterkloof as Mr Martin Brink, a lawyer and former chairman of the Waterkloof Ridge branch of the NP; in Sunnyside, pharmacist Mr John Purchase; in Rissik, estate agent Mr Andy de Beer, and in Pretoria East, Ms Martie Meiring, a journalist and sister-in-law of the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring.

Pretoria political analysts predict that the CP will break the NP's stranglehold on Pretoria.

Mr Kleynhans said the area had been a clean sweep for the NP's candidates since the last stronghold of the old United Party fell in Sunnyside at the 1961 elections.

A candidate in a fifth constituency, Verwoerdburg, will be named next week.

Sapa reports that the former Chief of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, is the Democratic Party's candidate in Walmer and that Mr Eddie Trent will fight Port Elizabeth Central for the party.

The National Party has nominated Mrs Anne Nash in Central and Mr Alie van Jaarsveld in Walmer.

# ANC discusses negotiation questions

LONDON — The African National Congress has begun discussing whether it could negotiate with South Africa's white rulers and on what terms, an ANC spokesman said at the weekend.

She said an internal document, considering ways in which apartheid might be dismantled peace-

fully, was being circulated within the ANC and in South Africa.

"We do not see any evidence the regime is willing to change its policies and make itself ready for talks," she said. "But we think it is important to prepare a unified position."

The spokesman, at the ANC's

London office, said the document had been drawn up at a June 8 meeting of the organisation's national executive in Lusaka.

"It considers such questions of how talks could be conducted and how a transitional administration might be handled," she added. — Sapa-Reuter

304A

# West German Minister Visits SA

3048 By Kevin Udemans

The West German Minister of Labour, Mr Norbert Blum, arrived in South Africa yesterday for a four-day visit during which he will meet President Botha, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Deputy Minister of Transport Mr Eli Louw.

He will also be meeting leading anti-apartheid activists.

Mr Blum, the deputy federal chairman of the Christian-Democratic Union, is the first top-rank-

ing West German official to visit South Africa since 1978, said Mr Herbert Quelle, a spokesman for the West German Embassy.

Mr Blum started his short visit to South Africa by making a call yesterday on the restricted Mr Eric Molobi, a leader of the banned United Democratic Front, and his wife, Martha, at their home in Diepkloof, Soweto.

## DETAINÉES

He was accompanied by the West German Ambassador to South Africa, Dr Ingo Stabreit.

Today he is to meet Dr Max Coetzee, chairman of the restricted Detainees Parents' Support Committee, and his wife, Audrey, co-chairman of Black Sash.

Among the organisations Mr Blum will be meeting are the National Council of Trade Unions, the National Union of Metalworkers of South African and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Mr Blum also plans to discuss a set of guidelines for German companies doing business in South Africa, drawn up by the German Metalworkers' Union last year.

West German Labour Minister Mr Norbert Blum (left), who is on a four-day visit to South Africa, visited Mr Eric Molobi, a leader of the United Democratic Front, and his wife, Martha, in Diepkloof, Soweto, yesterday. Mr Blum presented Mr Molobi with a plaque. The West German ambassador to South Africa, Dr Ingo Stabreit (right), accompanied Mr Blum on the visit.

Picture by Alf Kumalo.

De Klerk says 'no grand plan' for region

# World sees SA a 'broker of peace'

Jan 26/1989  
304A

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

ROME — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk made it clear as his whirlwind European tour drew to a close that he believed "reasonable and sensible developments in South Africa" would favourably impress the international community.

Today, he was due to round off his European tour with a courtesy call on the Vatican Prime Minister, Cardinal Casarole.

Mr de Klerk indicated that the leaders he had met were looking to South Africa to play a key role in resolving the problems of southern Africa.

Giving his impressions of the hectic tour, he said that in all the discussions he had held there had been a special interest in the problems of southern Africa as a region.

As a result of the "dramatic" recent peace moves in the region, especially in Angola where the ruling MPLA and Unita have agreed to hold reconciliation talks, all the leaders he had met had expressed the need for something further to be done.

## No demonstrations

There was no "grand plan" under discussion at the moment for the whole region, he stressed.

Looking relaxed after the tensions of the high-pressure tour, he spoke to South African journalists in the courtyard of his hotel near the Spanish Steps.

He had spent the day unwinding in Rome and had lunched at the magnificent Villa del Este in Tivoli.

There have been none of the demonstrations that dogged him in London and it was clear the favourable response to his meeting on Friday with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher had helped to improve his frame of mind.

The meeting has been adjudged a success by both sides and a crucial rapport seems to have been established between Mrs Thatcher and the man almost certain to be State President after September 6.

In his hectic schedule Mr de Klerk met West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher on Thursday, Mrs Thatcher and her Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe on Friday, and Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva and Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti on Saturday.

He had to take a special helicopter flight from London to fit the two leaders into his Saturday schedule.

Last night he attended a reception given for him by the South African Embassy.

## 'Encouraged'

Apart from establishing good rapport with Mrs Thatcher he also seems to have hit it off with the other leaders, who appeared to have been impressed by him as a person.

Mr de Klerk said last night that the visit had provided a special opportunity to meet personally leaders who had for years adopted a "constructive" approach to South Africa.

"I was encouraged by the strong undertone of realism which marked their approach," he said.

It was clear to him that all the leaders he had spoken to had shown a special interest in southern Africa.

"It was clear to me that everyone has some or other view that as a result of the positive development in Namibia and the dramatic recent happenings in Angola, something further must happen.

"There was a great appreciation for what South Africa has done in Namibia and in Mozambique with the Nkomati Accord and since then.

"But they have also seen a need for more initiatives and positive developments, in Mozambique especially."

● Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti urged Mr de Klerk to consider clemency for political prisoners and appealed for the release of Nelson Mandela, ministry sources said yesterday.

Italian news agency Ansa yesterday quoted sources as saying Mr Andreotti stressed that stability in southern Africa depended on economic and social development and linked that to constitutional reforms in South Africa as well as to the abolition of apartheid.

# Dialogue with judges 'not ANC initiative'

304A  
star 26/6/89

LONDON — The African National Congress's dialogue with sections of the white South African Establishment had taken a remarkable turn, with members of the ANC meeting a group of Supreme Court judges at a private conference in the Oxfordshire countryside, the *Guardian* reported yesterday.

The newspaper said: "With membership of the ANC a criminal offence in South Africa, and with judges habitually passing death sentences on ANC guerillas, the meeting, funded by the Ford Foundation, is being seen as a significant part of the ANC's new efforts to explore ways of negotiating with Pretoria in whatever forums are available.

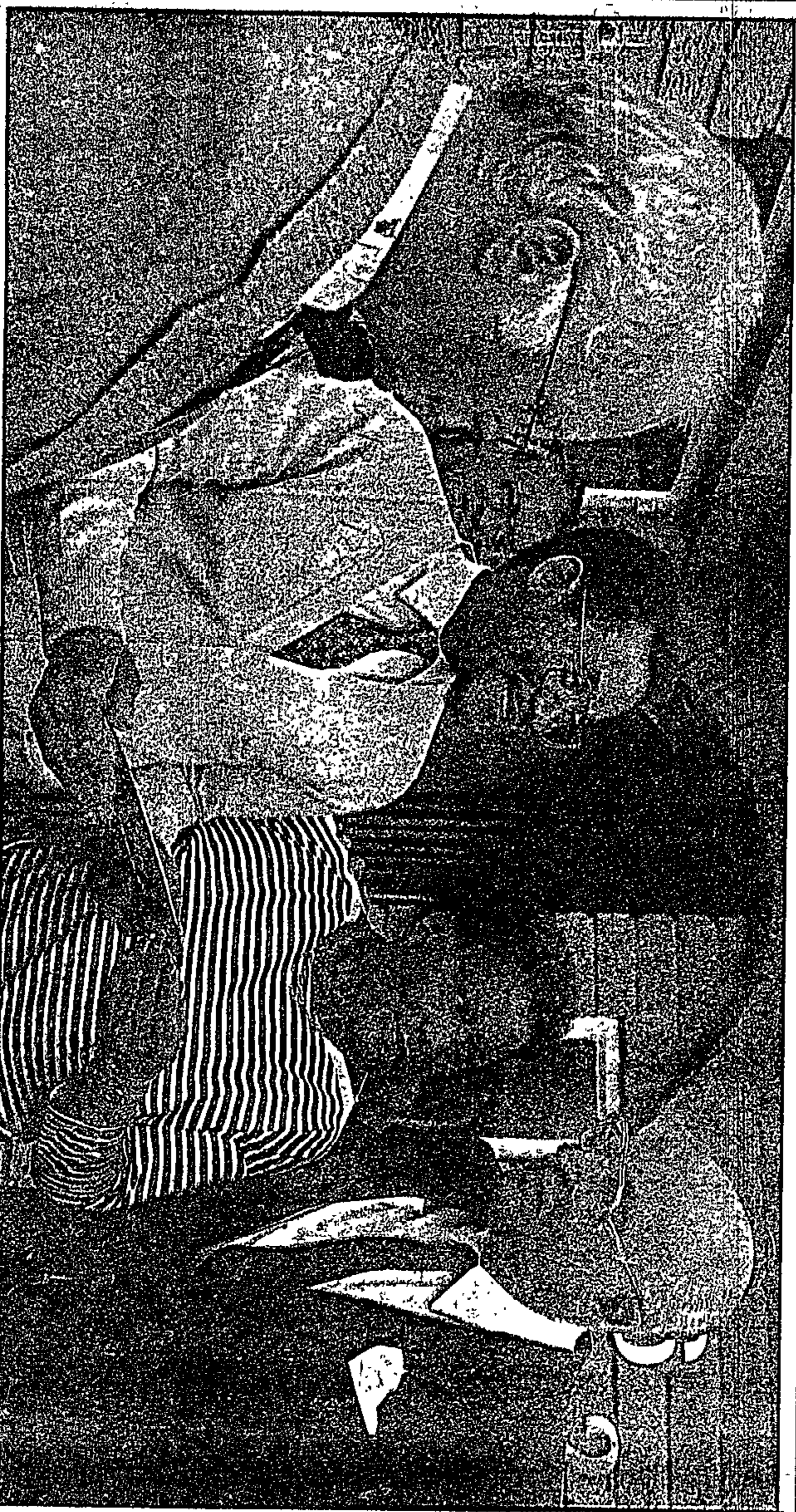
"An internal ANC document

considering options for the peaceful dismantling of apartheid has been circulated within South Africa."

The *Guardian* said leaks in the South African press about the conference had annoyed the organisers.

"Under the title, 'The Concept of Law in South Africa', it has been arranged by Professor Ronald Dworkin, the American professor of jurisprudence at Oxford University."

The *Guardian* quoted Prof Dworkin as saying: "This is not an ANC initiative. I have invited these people personally. It is a very distinguished academic gathering. I put the proposal to the Ford Foundation which thought it would be a worthwhile exercise." — Sapa.



## West German Minister visits SA

3048 By Kevin Udemans

The West German Minister of Labour, Mr Norbert Blum, arrived in South Africa yesterday for a four-day visit during which he will meet President Botha, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Deputy Minister of Transport Mr Eli Louw.

He will also be meeting leading anti-apartheid activists.

Mr Blum, the deputy federal chairman of the Christian-Democratic Union, is the first top-rank-

ing West German official to visit South Africa since 1978, said Mr Herbert Quelle, a spokesman for the West German Embassy.

Mr Blum started his short visit to South Africa by making a call yesterday on the restricted Mr Eric Molobi, a leader of the banned United Democratic Front, and his wife, Martha, at their home in Diepkloof, Soweto.

### DETAINEES

He was accompanied by the West German Ambassador to South Africa, Dr Ingo Stabreit

Today he is to meet Dr Max Coles, chairman of the restricted Detainees Parents' Support Committee, and his wife, Audrey, co-chairman of Black Sash.

Among the organisations Mr Blum will be meeting are the National Council of Trade Unions, the National Union of Metalworkers of South African and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Mr Blum also plans to discuss a set of guidelines for German companies doing business in South Africa, drawn up by the German Metalworkers' Union last year.

West German Labour Minister Mr Norbert Blum (left), who is on a four-day visit to South Africa, visited Mr Eric Molobi, a leader of the United Democratic Front, and his wife, Martha, in Diepkloof, Soweto, yesterday. Mr Blum presented Mr Molobi with a plaque. The West German ambassador to South Africa, Dr Ingo Stabreit (right), accompanied Mr Blum on the visit.

Picture by Alf Kumalo.

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## DP members pull out of Lusaka trip

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The Democratic Party hierarchy is putting pressure on DP members not to take part in this week's Five Freedoms Forum conference in Zambia at which the role of whites in a future South Africa is to be discussed with the banned African National Congress.

Five Freedoms and DP sources confirmed that some DP members have already withdrawn from the all-white South African delegation of about 120 people.

Among the DP members who would probably still travel to Lusaka on Thursday for the three-day conference with about 40 ANC members was former Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman.

Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck's name was

"still on the list", a FFF spokesman said. However, a senior DP source said the party's executive had requested Mr van Eck not to attend the conference, which was sponsored by the US, Canadian, Dutch, Swedish and Danish governments. Mr van Eck could not be reached for comment.

The DP source said while the party supported negotiation with the ANC, it was not in favour of "going on someone else's visit with people who do not necessarily share our political agenda".

He said most Democratic Party MPs and the three co-leaders — Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan — had turned down invitations to join the largest white delegation yet to meet with the ANC.

"We will make our own visit in due course. Although no definite decisions have been taken, I will not be surprised if it happens next year."

# Pressure on DP to shun ANC meeting

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The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pressure is being put on Democratic Party members not to take part in the Five Freedoms Forum conference in Zambia at which the role of whites in a future South Africa is to be discussed with the African National Congress.

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The DP source said while the party supported negotiation with the ANC, it was not in favour of "going on someone else's visit with people who do not necessarily share our political agenda".

## Turned down

He said most DP MPs and the three co-leaders, Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, had turned down invitations to join the largest white delegation yet to meet the ANC.

"We will make our own visit in due course. Although no definite decisions have been taken, I will not be surprised if it happens next year."

The FFF spokesman said about 20 DP members

would attend the conference, to be held from Thursday to Sunday.

Of those, about 12 were DP officials such as MPs, candidates for the September election, city councillors and constituency organisers.

Ten prominent Nelspruit citizens in the process of compiling a blacklist of the "120 ANC worshippers" do not accept Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok's announcement that the government will be closely watching them.

Angered by the government's "unwillingness or inability" to stop the tour, group member Mr Ben van Schalkwyk said: "By visiting the ANC and speaking to them these 120 white South African 'traitors' are indirectly becoming partners in the maiming and killing of innocent people."

What was expected of the government, Mr van Schalkwyk said, was that these people should not only be watched but that their names should be made public in order that they be stigmatised and ostracised.

"We want the government to know that South Africans who will be exercising their democratic vote are not taking this matter lightly," he warned.

# DP candidates threaten to resign

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

ALL 11 potential Indian candidates for the Democratic Party are threatening to resign from the party and form a new party if their nominations are not confirmed this weekend.

Party sources said today the 11 members would form a new party called the Non-Racial Democratic Party.

The leader of the DP in the House of Delegates, Mr Pat Poovalingam, who has issued a virtual ultimatum to the party leadership to contest 11 seats, today declined to comment on whether the group would form a new party.

It is understood that the 11 DP members will reject any move to limit DP nominations to the existing sitting three members — Mr Poovalingam, Mr Mammoo Rajab, who was elected vice-chairman of the Natal coastal region last week, and Mr John Lyman.

The DP leadership has repeatedly postponed taking a decision on the issue. A strong group in the party is totally against participation in the houses of Delegates and Representatives.

The argument against participation is that it would seriously damage links with extra-parliamentary forces.

● See page 2.

INSIDE: Weather 2, Finance 11, Letters 12, Racing 14, Sport 15 and 16.

DP candidates for  
PE, Rand named

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Tony Leon, Mr Louis de Waal and Mr Lester Fuchs were among the Democratic Party candidates for the September 6 general election nominated at the weekend.

Mr Leon, 32, an attorney and the leader of the Democratic Party in the Johannesburg City Council, has been nominated to replace Mrs Helen Suzman in the Houghton constituency.

**HILLBROW**

Mr Fuchs, 32, who is also a Johannesburg city councillor, has been nominated as the Democratic Party's candidate for the Hillbrow constituency.

The DP North Rand candidate is Mr de Waal, 37, the executive director of a car rental company.

Other Witwatersrand candidates who were

named by the DP this weekend are Mr Geoff Engel, 33, who will stand in the Bezuidenhout constituency, Mr Norman McFarlane, 33, for the Florida constituency and Dr Theunis de Bruin, 34, a Florida general practitioner who will be standing in Helderkrui.

In two nomination contests in Port Elizabeth, former chief of the South African Air Force, Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers, and Mr Eddie Trent were named as the DP candidates in Walmer and Port Elizabeth Central.

In Natal two Afrikaans-speaking people have been nominated as the Democratic Party candidates for Mooi River and Klip River.

Mrs Barbara Buys, wife of a Rosetta farmer and a former Nationalist, secured the Klip River nomination over Mr Graham McIntosh, former Progressive Federal Party MP for Maritzburg North.

Mr Wessel Nel, 35, beat Mr James Rennie for the Mooi River nomination.

# Nat Party to unveil five-year action plan

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE National Party aims to unveil a five-year "plan of action" with negotiation for a new constitutional system as its main focus at its federal congress in Pretoria this week.

According to top Nationalist sources, such negotiations aimed at black political rights, among other things, are now becoming the party's main priority.

In the process it is prepared to make important adaptations to its present stance even on issues such as violence.

The demand that parties interested in negotiation must firmly abandon violence as a means to political ends may be softened. This will be done in an effort to create what are described as "eased conditions," which in the end could draw bodies such as the African National Congress into negotiations.

Nationalist spokesmen emphasise that there would, how-

ever, also have to be similar counter-gestures from the ANC. While the basic thrust of the party will not be changed, factors which exclude groups from negotiations will be modified.

The five-year plan of action will not be a constitutional blueprint but it will give more details about matters on which the National Party wants to negotiate.

The party is also said to be pressing ahead with its own plan without tailoring it to attacks from the left or the right.

Apart from the political aspects, other matters such as the economy, housing and education will also be dealt with.

The party is producing an election manifesto with the five-



year plan as the abbreviated version.

The general election campaign of the party will be launched at the congress in Pretoria on Thursday. Mr F W de Klerk will also report back on his European tour, where he was under pressure on the question of negotiation.

Power-sharing with other groups and human rights, especially the protection of individual rights and the development of "free association" groups, will be important aspects of

the party's approach. There will also be emphasis on the need to protect minority rights.

Some of the new elements in Nationalist policy will be based on the landmark study published in March by the South African Law Commission. It proposed a Bill of rights, enshrining freedom of speech, movement and association.

It also recommended freedom to form political parties, the right of peaceful assembly and a universal franchise.

## PW as '19th century man'

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha, portrayed as a whip-lashing tyrant from the last century, has made it to the pages of that irreverent chronicle of American bad taste, Mad Magazine.

The latest edition carries a feature on new comic book superheroes with send-up satires on a handful of public figures from boxer Mike Tyson, dubbed Self-Destructo, to "Cher, The Flesh".

Among them is the South African President ... "19th Century Man" — real name: P W Botha.

A brief CV under a caricature of a booted, whip-lashing tyrant, dressed in black, gives the origin of 19th Century Man thus: "One evening in 1848, P W forgets to leave a wake-up call with one of his slaves, and sleeps through an entire century of changing racial attitudes."

## De Klerk's view on church rejected

304A

CHURCH leaders of the Anglican and Methodist churches yesterday rejected the view of National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, that the church should not be involved with politics.

Mr De Klerk said in Rome on Sunday that while there was at present generally good church/state relations, "individuals in some churches transgress by becoming involved in political activities."

Bishop Peter Storey of the Methodist Church said: "My impression is that political leaders irrespective of their ideological position want the church to ignore political issues."

"This is sad because if Mr De Klerk looks back over the last 40 years, he will see that it is the churches who have always been at least 20 years ahead in calling for changes which his own government now recognise are necessary."

"If they had listened at the time, instead of resorting to the kind of statement he just made, much pain and suffering in this land would have been avoided."

The provincial liaison officer of the Anglican Church, Canon Winston Ndungane, said Mr De Klerk's view that church leaders should keep quiet on political issues was outdated and unacceptable.

"This is God's world and everything that happens in it must be judged against His law. Apartheid, in seeking to separate people on the grounds of race, is against God's law. In every country church leaders are obliged to work to bring about societies in which God's values prevail." In South Africa this means it is incumbent on the churches to work to bring about an end to apartheid."

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# BUSH'S MAN IN AFRICA SPELLS

A NEGOTIATED internal settlement for South Africa was one of the Bush Administration's top priorities according to Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Speaking to journalists during the first live video link-up between Washington and South Africa by a television station, *World Network*, Cohen said the Bush Administration would conclude its Southern African

## OUT HIS POLICY

policy review by the end of next month.

Although President George Bush is to make a final decision on his administration's policy towards Southern Africa, Cohen said a set of all the available options has been developed for him.

Discussing possible options, Cohen said the US could play an

"activist" role in South Africa.

It was hoped that the US would catalyse the internal situation, along with Britain and West Germany, to promote dialogue between the South African Government and its black leaders.

"The Reagan Administration successfully concluded UN Resolu-

tion 435 and the next priority would be to promote a negotiated settlement in South Africa," he told audiences in Pretoria, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

Asked whether National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk would be meeting Bush, Cohen refused to comment adding that diplomatic

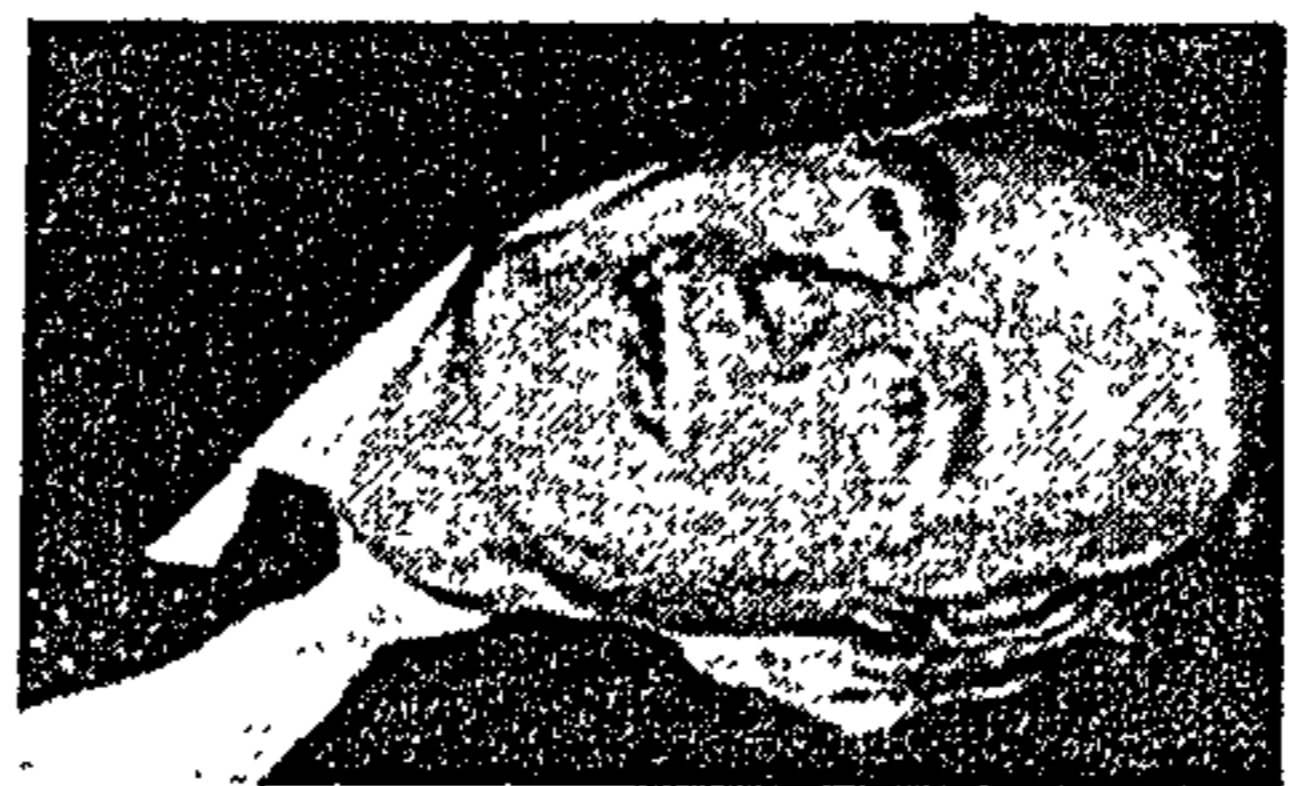
discussions on the subject were taking place.

During his visit to Southern Africa next month Cohen said he would be asking the African National Congress: "Are you ready if the South African Government proposes dialogue?"

He said major de-

velopments in South Africa this year were the growing realisation that changes were essential and that the negotiations should not result in any losers.

Although Cohen acknowledges that the Soviet Union could be instrumental in promoting a negotiated settlement in South Africa, he warned South Africans not to play the Soviet Union off against the US as the country could need both superpowers.



President Bush... policy review.

# South Africa is a sick society says Tlhagale

Sowetan 27/6/89

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THE church has declared apartheid a moral heresy but many Christians, including church leaders, still remained advocates of the system by voting for the Government which perpetuated oppression.

This was said yesterday by Roman Catholic priest, Father Buti Tlhagale in his opening sermon at the start of the South African Council of Churches (SACC's) annual conference at Bosmont, Johannesburg, yesterday.

Describing South Africa as a sick society which worried more about the ill-treatment of

By **THEMBA MOLEFE**

pets than the health of children living in shacks, Tlhagale said: "If apartheid is declared a moral heresy then those who uphold it, who vote for it, are by implication the heretics. They must be labelled as such."

He said that once this had been done it followed that sanctions must be applied against "deviant insiders."

"... then those who vote for the abominable apartheid government that has brutalised the majority of South Africa for half a century ought to recant."

"The question is: is the church in a position to

exercise its authority on those who endorse racial discrimination and uphold injustice? If church leaders vote for the government can they be expected to excommunicate themselves? Or is the church just gaming when it declares apartheid a heresy and refuses to unravel the implications of such a stance?"

He said a "deep divide" existed within the church which was being ignored. "Segregation and discrimination ought to be abolished in order for the oppressed to embrace each other."

The opening service was held in the same chapel of the St Barnabas College where a toxic poison was sprayed on Sunday night. The chemical stench could still be felt even after the chapel was cleaned.

Sowetan 27/6/89 (304A)

## FW returns

ZURICH — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk flew home to South Africa from here last night after an exhausting week-long tour of Europe.

In Rome he had a "positive and constructive" meeting of one hour 45 minutes in the Vatican City, Rome with Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican Prime Minister.

He then took the scheduled flight to Zurich to catch the SAA flight to Johannesburg which was due

to arrive at 9,30am today.

He was expected to address a Press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after landing.

Into his tight schedule which began last Tuesday, De Klerk crammed meetings with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva and Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti as well as other ministers.

# NP to unveil its plans

THE National Party, reeling under indications of increasing voter

*Sowetan 27/6/87*  
rejection, is gearing up to fight back when launching its election campaign in Pretoria this week.

The party is going full-out to ensure its federal congress at which it will unveil its election manifesto on Thursday is a maximum success.

However, at this stage there are no indications that the NP will be giving voters any clearer indications on the key question of how it intends to get stalled negotiations off the ground.

Senior party sources and members of his staff yesterday rejected reports that President P W Botha could upset National Party plans.

Some of the sources indicated there was a suspicion that there was a campaign to denigrate President Botha to force him to retire before September to allow National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to go into the election as president.

The sources emphasised, however, that De Klerk was not part of any

such campaign.

A member of the cabinet, who did not want to be quoted by name, said yesterday: "People who are saying that Botha will damage the party are going to have egg on their faces."

"He decided at the beginning of the year not to take any further part in party politics."

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# DP faces huge task says outgoing Helen

THE Democratic Party would face a monumental task in the future as the cornerstones of apartheid remained firmly in place, the outgoing MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said in Johannesburg last night.

Speaking during her 38th and final report back meeting, she said National Party leader F W de Klerk's goal to have "a South Africa free of domination or oppression in whatever form" — was meaningless unless the apartheid laws were replaced.

She said the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Land Acts remained firmly in place.

"Until these go, and until blacks are able to vote for the Parliament that makes the laws that govern their lives and until the absurd concept of own affairs and general affairs is abandoned, De Klerk's fine sounding phrase

## Sapa

outlining his goal to be "a South Africa, a totally changed South Africa", is meaningless."

She said there was a strong tide running in favour of the Democratic Party.

"There is the inflation which has eroded savings and is making it extremely difficult for people in the lower and middle income groups to maintain standards of living, there is the shocking revelation of corruption in high places and there is the anger of the public at government extravagance and over-spending."

There was also the threat of future international isolation and punitive sanctions which had resulted from government policies.

This, she said, was a factor which De Klerk would have been appraised of in no uncertain terms when he met British PM Mrs Margaret Thatcher and other European leaders last week, especially in

the wake of the recent elections for the European Parliament.

However, she said there were also factors against the DP, such as the fear of the Conservative Party — "the vote Nat to keep the CP out" propaganda, forgetting that the lesser of two evils is still an evil."

There was also the "let's give the new State President a chance" syndrome, as De Klerk executed his takeover from Mr P W Botha as State President and as the National Party highlighted reform in its election propaganda.

Furthermore, there was the rejection by many white voters of the

policies advocated by the DP, such as the aim of a non-racial democracy in South Africa with franchise for all adults, and no discriminatory legislation.

The so-called "public imperative" for the merger of the Progressive Federal Party into the DP, together with the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, was something "which many people believe to be necessary."

However, she said the PFP had a rightful claim to be thoroughly proud of the role it had played in opposition politics.— Sapa.



MRS HELEN SUZMAN

two years ago, figures released by the  
Ministry of Health revealed.

*Call 7412 27689* *283* *288*  
**Probe into AWB man** *3049*

JOHANNESBURG. — The Johannesburg City Council is to investigate the behaviour of the superintendent of the Hillbrow swimming pool and member of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mr Leonard Veenendal.

gm. Trunks 27/6/89 304A

# DP 'kicked' by Slabbert



Dr Denis Worrall ...  
"DP kicked in the  
crotch".

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

DR. DENIS WORRALL last night sharply criticised Dr Van Zyl Slabbert and Dr Wimpie de Klerk — two key figures who served as advisers to the Democratic Party.

The DP had been "kicked in the crotch" by Dr Slabbert, Dr Worrall told a meeting in Matatiele in the Mooi River constituency.

This follows remarks by Dr Slabbert to the Vrye Weekblad newspaper that there were

some people in the DP who belonged to the right wing of the NP and he would never vote for them.

Dr Slabbert, who added that there were also "without doubt many able people in the DP", was until recently mooted as a possible DP candidate in the Stellenbosch constituency.

Turning to Mr F W de Klerk's brother, Dr Worrall said that Dr De Klerk had "dropped" the DP because "blood is thicker than political convictions". Dr De Klerk, who delivered a

scathing attack against the National Party government at the founding congress of the DP at the beginning of April, publicly asked that the NP leader be "given a chance" by voters just three weeks later.

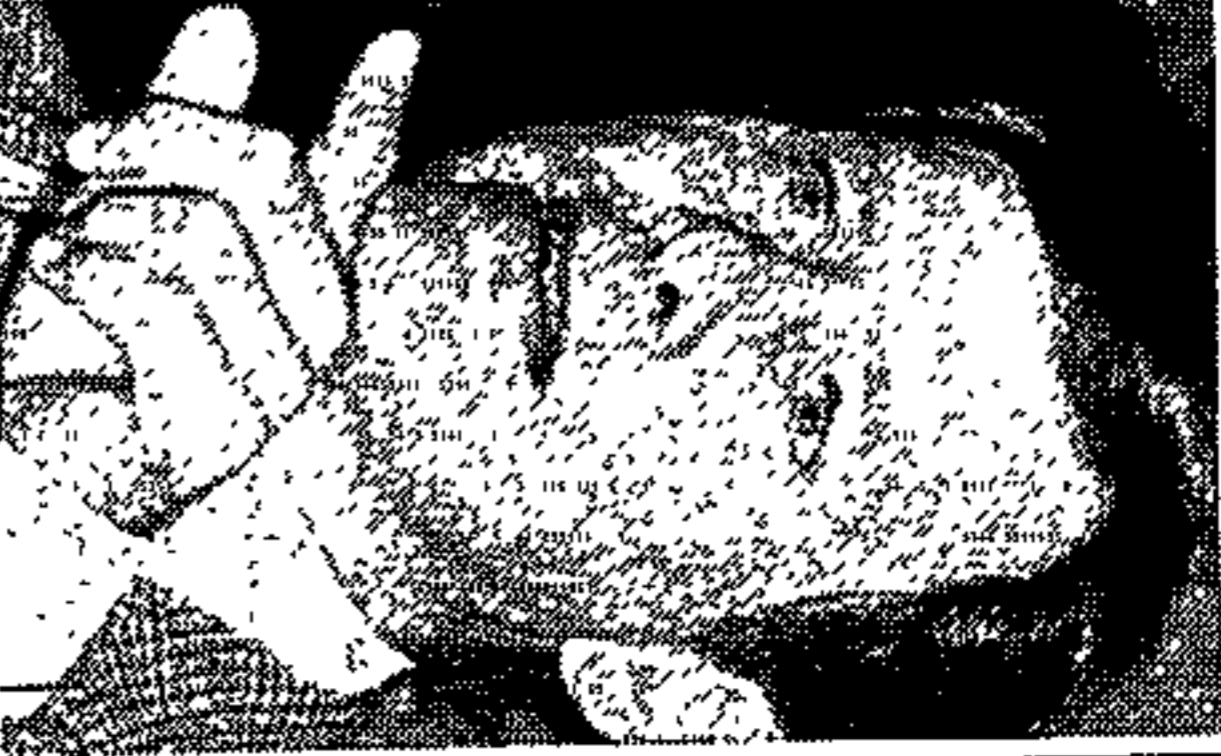
Dr Worrall said that despite these setbacks, the DP was "doing very well" in all parts of the country.

"We are drawing on the young Afrikaners and English speakers. Our candidate line-up includes a lot of ex-Nats and Afrikaners speakers."

Dr Worrall also said that the current crisis facing the Nats had been triggered by the economic situation and the "gatevol" factor.

"People have had enough," he said, "and after 41 years of NP rule, they know who to blame."

Dr Worrall said: "Those who can put it into words say we cannot afford another five years of public sector overspending, crippling taxation, inflationary costs, soaring prices and the perks and corruption."



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert  
"won't vote for  
some in DP".

# Suzman sees 'strong tide' for the DP

CM- Tmk 27/6/89  
304A

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party would face a monumental task in the future as the cornerstones of apartheid remained firmly in place, the outgoing MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said here last night.

Speaking during her 38th and final report-back meeting, she said the goal of National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk to have "a South Africa free of domination or oppression in whatever form — a new South Africa, a totally changed South Africa", was meaningless unless the apartheid laws were repealed.

She said the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Land Act remained firmly in place.

"Until these go, and until blacks are able to vote for the parliament that makes the laws that govern their lives; and until the absurd concept of Own Affairs and General Affairs is abandoned, De Klerk's fine-sounding phrase is meaningless."

She said there was a strong tide running in favour of the DP.

"There is the inflation which has eroded savings and is making it extremely difficult for people in the lower and middle income groups to maintain standards of living; there is the shocking revelation of corruption in high places and there is the anger of the public at government extravagance and over-spending."

There was also the threat of future international isolation and punitive sanctions which had resulted from government policies.

This, she said, was a factor which Mr De Klerk would have been apprised of in no uncertain terms when he met the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, and other European leaders last week, espe-

## 'FW holds baby, but may not train it'

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha's resignation as leader of the National Party left Mr F W de Klerk "holding the baby, but with no authority to train it", the outgoing MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, said last night.

Outlining the events of the 1989 parliamentary session, she said more had happened outside Parliament than in it.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse had, however, made his mark by refusing to pass a bill which would have postponed the general election until 1992. The sun had also set on the vast empire built up by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who retired towards the end of the session.

The bill which Mr Hendrickse had refused to pass would have allowed for an increase in the number of MPs, so that if a new delimitation was held, the NP would retain its Cape stronghold of 56 seats.

Turning to Mr Heunis, she said he had bungled things in Parliament ever since the Helderberg election in 1987.

Mr Hendrickse had forced the recall of Parliament last year when Mr Heunis tried to make Group Areas an own-affairs bill. Then Mr Heunis's National Council Bill was rejected. The House of Representatives refused to approve his vote in the Budget. — Sapa

cially in the wake of the recent elections for the European Parliament.

However, she said there were also factors against the DP, such as the fear of the Conservative Party — "the vote-Nat-to-keep-the-CP-out propaganda, which forgets that the lesser of two evils is still an evil".

There was also the "let's give the new State President a chance" syndrome, as Mr De Klerk executed his take-over from Mr P W Botha and as the National Party highlighted reform in its election propaganda.

Furthermore, there was the rejection by many white voters of the policies advocated by the DP, such as the aim of a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

The so-called "public imperative" for the merger of the Progressive Federal Party into the DP, together with the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement, was something "which many people believe to be necessary". — Sapa

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Cape Times, Tuesday, June 27, 1989 3

## PW Botha unlikely to attend NP congress

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT P W Botha flew to Pretoria yesterday but it now appears that he will not be putting in an appearance at the National Party's federal congress to be held in the city on Thursday.

However, Mr Botha will be meeting senior government colleagues at tomorrow's cabinet meeting, the first he has attended in the past month.

Mr F W de Klerk, who returns to South Africa after his European tour today, will enjoy the undivided attention of the party faithful when he formally launches the NP election campaign on Thursday.

He is also expected to give an assessment of his four-nation European excursion at the congress.

## Briefing

# A shot in the arm for Nats (304A)

The European tour of F W de Klerk may have won the Nats some support, reports **PETER FABRICIUS**, Political Correspondent.

ROME — National party leader F W de Klerk's whirlwind mini-European tour which ended today must be judged a success for him and the National Party.

It was probably also a qualified success for the country — though the final judgment on this can only be made once he has taken over as State President.

The visit — and especially the distinct nod of approval from British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher — has consolidated Mr de Klerk's position within the National Party as heir to President Botha.

Though he made some mistakes and still has some rough edges in the statesman department, he went down better as a person than his predecessor and in West Germany, for instance, a government official described him as more "professional and conciliatory" than President Botha.

The tour has also given the NP a powerful shot in the arm before the elections, at least in its fight with the Democratic Party.

Mrs Thatcher's friendly handshake outside 10 Downing Street, her friendlier wave as he left and her statement that she was "encouraged by the mood of change" in South Africa will undoubtedly win over many of the waverers on the left in the NP who might otherwise have crossed to the DP.

### Influenced

She, in effect, endorsed Mr de Klerk's rather uncertain reformist image — and that critical constituency which is making up its mind whether to give F W a chance will surely be influenced by the fact that a person of Mrs Thatcher's stature has obviously decided to do so.

The public approval of Mrs Thatcher may encourage what Mr

the public approval of Mrs Thatcher was perhaps what Mr de Klerk really came to get rather than anything that might have been discussed.

It was, indeed, a prize which made it worthwhile running the gauntlet of all those anti-apartheid demonstrators.

However, the visit was probably not such an unqualified success for the NP in its fight with the Conservative Party.

The CP exploited the occasion by suggesting that Mr de Klerk had gone abroad to negotiate the country's future.

From that point of view, Mrs Thatcher's approval might have been warmer than Mr de Klerk really wanted.

From the country's point of view, the visit was successful in that Mr de Klerk seems to have established a good working relationship with Mrs Thatcher and other leaders he met.

A good line of communication with Mrs Thatcher especially — South Africa's best friend in a hostile world — is obviously very valuable.

If anyone can nudge the National Party in the right direction, she can.

### A chance

But Mrs Thatcher's approval must be seen of course as qualified, as British Government sources have confirmed.

She has given him a chance to do the things she believes must be done in South Africa — principally to release Nelson Mandela and start a real process of negotiation with genuine black leaders.

What he said to give her hope is not certain. Mr de Klerk insisted all along that he had no hidden agenda. Some of the governments he spoke to confirmed that he, in fact, said nothing new.

If he did say anything new, it would probably have been to Mrs Thatcher alone and word is unlikely to leak out.

British sources said Mrs Thatcher had probably impressed upon Mr de Klerk that with peace breaking out all over southern Africa, the world's finger would point even more sharply at South Africa to resolve its fundamental problems.

They believe the five-year clear run Mr de Klerk will have after he takes over as State President might be the last "window of opportunity" that will open for South Africa.

They expect Mr de Klerk to have achieved something concrete in the next 18 months.

The real assessment of the success of the visit will have to be postponed until then.

# FW flies home after busy European tour

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

304A

2/6/89  
ZURICH — National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk flew home to South Africa last night after an exhausting week-long tour of Europe.

In Rome yesterday he had a "positive and constructive" meeting of 1 hour, 45 minutes in the Vatican City in Rome with Cardinal Casaroli, the Vatican Prime Minister.

He then took the scheduled flight to Zurich to catch the SAA flight to Johannesburg which was due to arrive at 9.30 am today.

He was expected to address a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport after landing.

Into his tight schedule which began last Tuesday, Mr De Klerk crammed meetings with British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, West German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl, Portuguese Prime Minister Mr Cavaco Silva and Italian Foreign Minister Mr Giulio Andreotti.

# Tension as Nats fear snap from Great Croc

SA 2/16/89 Political Staff

304A

President Botha is to chair the first Cabinet meeting in a month's time, amid some signs of nervousness in the National Party that the outgoing leader may try to strike back at his opponents in the NP.

Well-placed sources confirmed yesterday Mr Botha would be chairing the meeting, but would definitely not attend the NP federal congress in Pretoria on Thursday.

A source at Tuynhuys said the President's view was that he should be a uniting factor for South Africans, remaining aloof from party and would therefore not attend.

This response seems to answer newspaper reports on why organisers of the congress were leaving two seats vacant at the head table in case Mr and Mrs Botha made a surprise appearance.

The reports suggested the Great Crocodile, as Mr Botha is known, is lurking in the shallows waiting for his of revenge against those who precipitated his departure from public life. Mr F W de Klerk, the reports say, will be a prime target.

The Tuynhuys source dismissed these reports as "wishful thinking".



# Tears and tributes as loving fans bid Suzman farewell

8 Nov 23 Nov 1987

304A

No P W-style party problems at Houghton last night when Mrs Helen Suzman presented her 36th and last report-back speech before retiring from Parliament. Here, satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys, in the role of P W Botha, hands a bouquet of daisies to the First Lady of South African politics.

## Staff Reporter

"We just called to say we love you", sang the adoring crowd last night as more than 600 of Mrs Helen Suzman's fans borrowed a tune from Stevie Wonder to bid farewell to the First Lady of South African politics.

They packed out the Houghton Primary School hall. They filled the seats, they overflowed into the aisles, they stood jam-packed at the entrance.

And led by Des and Dawn Lindberg, they raised the rafters as

they sang their tribute to Mrs Suzman (73) at her 36th, and last, constituency report-back.

Singing the praises of the veteran human rights and anti-apartheid campaigner were Democratic Party MPs, city councillors, and even "Mr P W Botha", dressed in familiar three-piece suit and hat, wailing: "Mrs Helen Suzman, why do you have nicer people at your farewell than me?"

It was, of course, actor Pieter-Dirk Uys, making up for the lack

of National Party representation. There were tributes and greetings from President George Bush, Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher, President Chaim Herzog, President Kenneth Kaunda, Dr Quett Masire, Mr Joaquim Chissano, Mr Nelson Mandela and numerous other leaders.

Mrs Suzman's report-back included not only information on the last parliamentary session but on her entire career.

She highlighted her achievements and failures as United Party MP, lone Progressive Party MP from 1961 to 1974, and now retiring DP MP.

Long-time friend and former provincial councillor Mrs Irene Menell announced the rules: "No snot 'n' trane."

But there were more damp eyes than there are National Party MPs in the Assembly as the faithful sang out their farewell: "We just called to say we love you, and we mean it from the bottom of our hearts."

● See Page 13.

Staw 27/6/89

## CP throws down gauntlet on constitution

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

If 030 Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has challenged the National Party to reveal its constitutional plans before the September general election.

In a statement yesterday, Dr Treurnicht said voters had the right to know which constitutional proposals were to be put on the negotiating table.

### CONSTITUTION

He was reacting to NP leader Mr FW de Klerk's remark, made after meeting with German Chancellor Mr Helmut Kohl, that it was impossible to pre-empt details of a future constitution which still had to be negotiated.

Dr Treurnicht said Mr de Klerk had, in effect, admitted that the NP would request voters to support a party which "by implication declares that it does not have a policy" since a new constitution would have to be negotiated with the black majority.

He said even the NP-supporting media had criticised Mr de Klerk for his recent vague policy statements.

# Blacks must have rights — Minister

Start 7/6/89

Staff Reporter 304A

Dr Stoffel van der Merwé, Minister of Information, told about 70 National Party supporters at a public meeting in Rosettenville last night that there was a need to restructure the South African constitution.

"But," he said, "we must not exchange one form of domination for another."

Dr van der Merwé said the National Party had realised it could not separate the blacks by placing them in homelands.

"If the National Party had stuck to that policy, we would have found ourselves in a political desert," the MP for Helderkruijn said.

"Blacks are with us in the so-called white South Africa and we cannot deny them political rights."

The solution, he said, lay in a system which conformed to five basic principles.

"A democracy must be established which does not allow one group to dominate over another, and a situation which can develop into a one-party state or a dictatorship cannot be allowed."

"Civilised rights must be allowed and the new system must ensure that law and order are maintained."

"The fifth principle is that free enterprise must be allowed."

# Jubilation was

## 'small mistake'

Star 27/6/89

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

304A

National Party jubilation about the defection of "yet another active Democratic Party supporter", University of South Africa academic Professor Jan Hupkes, was described by him yesterday as "a small mistake".

Professor Hupkes, who said he had been apolitical for many years, confirmed he had decided to back the NP's Randburg candidate, Mr Glenn Babb, in the forthcoming general election.

The NP's Randburg divisional council said yesterday that Professor Hupkes had rejoined the NP.

This followed last week's announcement that Mr Gert van der Linde, election campaign chairman for DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan in 1987, had rejoined the NP.

Professor Hupkes said he had always been a "Wynand Malan fan" and had supported him since his days as NP MP for Randburg. However, he did not agree with the DP's economic policies.

He added that he had full confidence in the NP under the new leadership of Mr F W de Klerk and regarded Mr Babb as an outstanding candidate who deserved full support.

June 27 1989

PW unlikely to attend congress 304A

# NP girds its loins for a fight-back

star 27/6/89.

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party, reeling under indications of increasing voter rejection, is gearing up to fight back when it launches its election campaign in Pretoria this week.

The party is going full-out to ensure its federal congress, at which it will unveil its election manifesto on Thursday, is a maximum success.

At this stage there are no indications that the NP will be giving voters any clearer indications on the key question of how it intends to get stalled negotiations off the ground.

Senior party sources and

members of his staff yesterday rejected reports that President Botha could seriously damage National Party plans.

Some of the sources indicated there was a suspicion that there was a campaign to denigrate President Botha to force him to retire before September to allow National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to go into the election as president.

The sources emphasised, however, that Mr de Klerk was not part of any such campaign.

A member of the Cabinet, who did not want to be quoted by name said yesterday: "People who are saying that President Botha will damage the

party are going to have egg on their faces.

"He decided at the beginning of the year not to take any further part in party politics.

"All he wants to do is retire from politics gracefully."

Party sources did concede, however, that President Botha was upset by the way he was treated earlier in the year and this probably contributed to his refusal to attend a special banquet in his honour.

NP information director, Mr Con Botha, said yesterday: "It is very unlikely the President would do anything to damage the party after what he has done for it for the past 53 years."

Although there was no final confirmation from his office, President Botha is not considered likely to attend.

Other retiring Cabinet Ministers, including Mr Chris Heunis and Mr Stoffel Botha, are scheduled to attend and they have also indicated that they will be actively involved in the election campaign.

## Solidarity rocked by resignations

The ruling Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates has been rocked by the resignation of a third senior Transvaal member within days, according to a spokesman for the party. He said in Pretoria yesterday the latest resignation was that of the MP for Central Rand, Mr Soobiah Collakoppen. Earlier, House of Delegates chairman Mr Boetie Abrahamjee announced his resignation from Solidarity and it was followed by that of Mr Cassim Ebrahim, a Transvaal ex-member and head of the Witbank branch. — Sapa.

Star 27/6/89

304A

By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The "election deal" row between the Democratic and National parties flared up again yesterday, with two senior DP members angrily denying the latest NP claims that an aspirant DP candidate made the first contact.

Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling and former Edenvale MP Mr Brian Goodall said suggestions that a potential DP candidate in Modderfontein, Mr Nic Nel, who was subsequently turned down as a candidate, first contacted the NP's Modderfontein chairman, Mr Ben Smith, about an election deal were "absolute rubbish".

They insisted that Mr Smith contacted them "out of the blue with the extraordinary suggestion of an election deal".

# Election 'deal' row flares up once more

Although the Modderfontein MP, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, at first denied suggestions of an NP offer to the DP, he later conceded that Mr Smith had contacted the DP.

Mr Dalling said yesterday that he had no knowledge of messages sent to Mr Smith by Mr Nel.

Mr Nel also denied he had

sent the messages which caused Mr Smith to contact Mr Dalling and Mr Rupert Lorimer, the DP candidate in Edenvale.

Mr Dalling said: "This whole thing is getting very boring. General Malan has been the one who has been making all the allegations.

"If he was not involved, as he has repeatedly said, he should now shut up. If he was involved, and one wonders whether he has not co-ordinated the approach, he should say why. He can't try to be two things at the same time."

Mr Goodall said it was "nonsense" to suggest that Mr Nel had initiated an arrangement. Mr Nel had only become aware of Mr Smith's suggestions after Mr Smith had contacted Mr Goodall.

MEMBER SIGN.		REP. SIGN.		TOTAL		SUBS.		TRANSFERS		GRAND TOTAL	
IMBO	500 G	SOUP MIX	0.87	0.98							
IMBO	500 G	SPLIT PEAS	0.87	0.98							
IMBO	500 G	SPLIT & SPAN	1.31	1.48							
NO NAME	500 G	SPAGHETTI	1.56	1.76							
GANTS	400 G	SPAG ET FRIK	1.23	1.39							
VAN ZYL	500 G	S/BEANS REDSPK	1.18	1.33							
IMBO GRD 2	500 G	SUGARBANS WIT	1.99	1.99							
IMBO	2.5 KG	SUTTER	3.43	3.88							
NOO	410 G	SWEETCORN	0.76	0.86							
NOO	115 G	TAMATE PASTE	0.58	0.66							
NOO/GANTS	750 ML	TAMATE SOUS	2.19	2.47							
PROJECT	100 ML	TAMATE PASTA	1.29	1.34							
ROOTLOS	80	TVA BAGS R/B	2.21	2.50							
GANTS	100 G	TVA BAGS PLATE	2.13	2.11							
NO NAME	500 S/PI	TOILET PAPER	0.47	0.53							
LAETHEL	500 G	VLOERPOLITOK	1.61	1.85							
NO NAME	750 ML	VINEGAR	0.69	0.77							
NO NAME	750 ML	VISOLLE	1.94	2.19							
SO SOLE	2 L	WASGOEDVERSAG	2.08	2.35							
RED & BLACK	1 KG	WASPOLITR	2.08	2.35							

# World body hears report from Eglin

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The September 6 general election will be critical to future developments in South Africa, Democratic Party foreign affairs spokesman Mr Colin Eglin told a meeting of the executive of Liberal International in Reykjavik, Iceland.

Mr Steingrímur Hermannsson, Prime Minister of Iceland, presided over the meeting.

Mr Eglin said special interest was shown in progress being made in Namibia towards the implementation of Resolution 435, the implications for South Africa of the change in leadership of the National Party, and the emergence of the DP in South Africa.

## HOPEFUL MESSAGE

"I was able to give members present a more hopeful message than in the past but pointed out that the general election of September 6 was going to be critical," said Mr Eglin.

He told the meeting that the if the DP maintained the success of the recent Lindenby election, it would "undoubtedly have a profound effect not only on the mood of the country but on the prospects for serious and constructive negotiations".

IMBO	500 G	SOUP MIX	0.87	0.98					
IMBO	500 G	SPLIT PEAS	0.87	0.98					
SPIC & SPAN	750 ML	SPIC & SPAN	1.31	1.43					
NO NAME	500 G	SPAGHETTI	1.56	1.76					
GANTS	400 G	SPAG EN FRIK	1.23	1.39					
VAN ZYL	500 G	S/BEANS REDSPK	1.10	1.23					
IMBO GRD	500 G	BUCARBEANS WT	1.99	1.99					

There have as yet been no withdrawal symptoms as I've been too busy answering all the letters that I've received (since announcing my retirement from parliamentary politics), I even compulsively started answering anonymous letters, too, including the one that started: "You old hag, about time, too, that we got rid of you."

I have seen scores of MPs disappear without trace in the 36 years I have sat in Parliament, not to mention dozens of Cabinet Ministers. I have also been through five Prime Ministers, so to speak.

Perhaps when I tell you that I first raised the issue of separate taxation for working wives when Eric Louw was Minister of Finance, the stark reality of my lengthy sojourn in Parliament will come home to you. I hope Cecil Margo will take note!

There have been other issues which I can perhaps claim as firsts. I was the first MP to visit squatter camps and to raise the issue in Parliament... back in 1969.

I have moved Private Member's motions on the death penalty, on the Drugs Act and the abortion law, on the abolition of the pass laws and on Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the Mixed Marriages Act. And, of course, on the laws allowing detention without trial. Of these, only the death penalty and the abortion law remain unchanged.

### Improvement in prisons

I have been the first MP to take a very special interest in prisons and I think I can claim to have been responsible for the improvement in conditions there.

I have been the first to attempt to impeach a judge since 1935. I didn't succeed in that attempt, but I did succeed eventually, after many months of pressure on the Speaker, in being allowed the first debate on a motion of censure on a judge.

This was on Judge J J Strydom who, you may remember, passed those atrociously inadequate sentences on two farmers who beat a black worker to death.

My motion was defeated but maybe the debate will give pause to those handing down racist judgments.

I've learnt a lot during my sojourn in Parliament, certainly a great deal of law. I'm probably the best unqualified lawyer south of the equator today. I've had a ringside seat from which to observe and participate in three-and-a-half decades of South African history.

I have witnessed the careful assembling of the apartheid jigsaw puzzle, especially during Hendrik Verwoerd's reign, as he put one piece of legislation after the other on to the statute book to enforce separation of the races in every facet of life in South Africa.

### Crisis to crisis

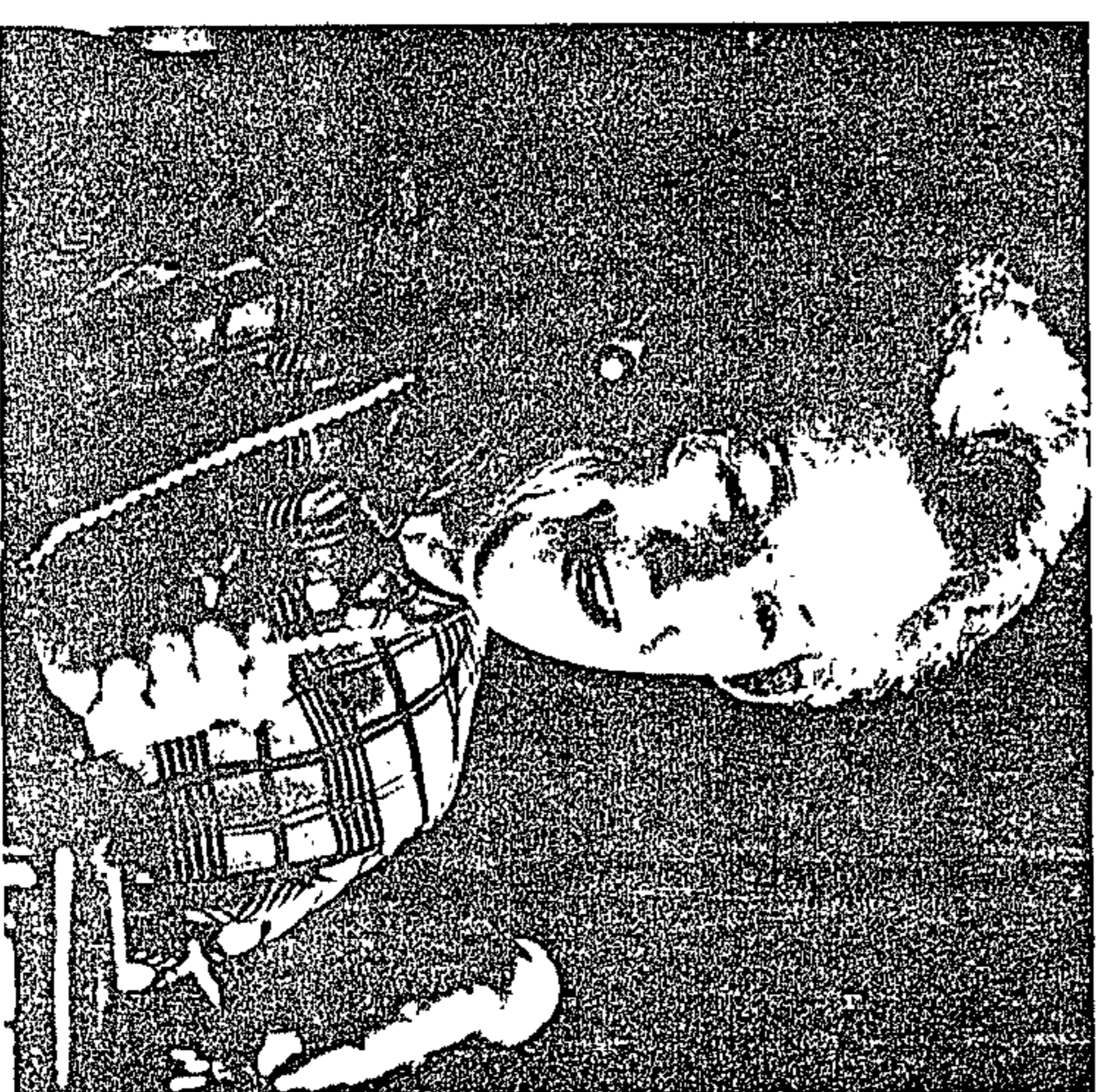
As black resistance to discrimination and oppression manifested itself in unrest, so the State took more and more powers at the expense of the civil rights of the individual.

And thus South Africa has lurched from crisis to crisis — from Sharpeville in 1960 to Soweto in 1976, to Crossroads in the late seventies to Uitenhage in the early eighties, to Mamelodi, to Sebokeng and the PWV area from 1984 onwards — resulting in the ongoing state of emergency which has just been renewed with censorship and the curtailment of the public's right to know about unrest-related incidents, and, of course, with the detention over these years of thousands upon thousands of people without trial.

Many apartheid laws have been repealed in the last 10 years. It has been no small sat-

# It has been frustrating but worthwhile, says Suzman

Outgoing Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman last night performed one of her last official parliamentary duties in reporting back to her constituency on this year's portfolio session. Here follows an edited version of her speech to the constituency she has represented for 36 years.



Grand finale... Mrs Helen Suzman at her final report-back meeting, held in a packed Houghton school hall last night.

isfaction to witness the disappearance of laws I opposed when they were introduced.

Perhaps the most cynical utterance in politics that I have ever heard was made by the ex-editor of Die Burger, Mr Piet Cillie, who said: "We had to try apartheid to show that it would not work. One's heart sinks when one thinks of the devastating effects of that experiment of apartheid."

I am often asked certain questions about my years in Parliament. One of them, of

the National Party side and shout "Go back to Israel!" every time I opened my mouth. Then, however, came the Six Day War, and Israel was too good for me, so he changed his cry to "Go back to Moscow".

I could tell you lots of canvassing stories. There is a story of my being out to dinner one night in Cape Town and my host, trying to present me in a favourable light to his black waiter, said, "Josiah, do you know this lady? She's Mrs Suzman. She spends all her time trying to do things for people."

And Josiah looked at me disdainfully and he said: "She wastes her time."

Well, did I waste my time? Frankly I don't think so. I think it has been a tremendous privilege to have been in Parliament, to have had a hand in keeping values alive which all of us believe in, to allow nothing to go by default, to have been given the opportunity to have eyeball-to-eyeball confrontations with the Government about all its offensive actions.

### Ineffable boredom

And especially to have been able to intercede on behalf of victims of apartheid or of police action by virtue of being a Member of Parliament.

Yes, it has been worthwhile, despite the frustrations and often the ineffable boredom. I think I used my years in the House to advance by eliciting valuable information through the vast numbers of questions I put to Ministers during every session, a practice which has been carried on most enthusiastically by other PFP Members when they came to Parliament.

I remember on one occasion a Minister said bitterly to me: "The questions that you ask do great harm to South Africa overseas." And I told him that it wasn't my questions that harmed South Africa, it was his answers that harmed South Africa.

Well, to coin a phrase, tonight you witness the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. I believe my decision not to stand for re-election in September has been made at the right time. For me, five more years is too long.

The so-called "public imperative" for the merger of the PFP into the new DP, together with the Independent Party and the New Democratic Movement, is something which very many people believe to be necessary. This does not mean, incidentally, that I am prepared to accept without protest any derogatory remarks whatsoever about the old PFP.

### Cornerstones

It's not a case of the PFP not having anything to be ashamed of, it is a case of the PFP's rightful claim to be thoroughly proud of the role which it has played in opposition politics.

Whether the merger will bear the fruits optimists hope to obtain on September 6 remains to be seen, and also whether the Democratic Party will regard the position of Official Opposition held for 10 years from 1977 to 1987 by the PFP.

The DP will have a monumental task, for the cornerstones of apartheid remain firmly in place.

Until blacks are able to vote for the Parliament that makes the laws that govern their lives, and until the absurd concept of own and general affairs is abandoned, F W de Klerk's fine-sounding phrases of a South Africa free of domination are meaningless.

One can only hope that the electorate will show clearly and unequivocally in which direction it wants South Africa to go on September 6.

# You set an example for us all

## POLITICAL REPORTER

Tributes from world leaders heralding Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman as a courageous champion of human rights have poured in on the eve of her retirement after 36 years in Parliament.

American president George Bush: "For more than 35 years you have courageously defended the highest standards of democracy, human rights and civic decency. Your departure from active politics will leave a void that will be hard to fill."

"However, I am confident that your determined campaign for justice and freedom will be carried forward by increasing numbers of South Africans of all races who seek a better future for their country."

British prime minister Margaret Thatcher: "In the long and difficult struggle against apartheid and towards a just society in South Africa, the contribution you have made is second to no other."

"I would like to express my warmest personal admiration. The example you have set is an inspiration to us all and we shall continue to be guided by it in our own efforts to contribute to justice and peace in South Africa."

In a hand-written message from Victor Verster Prison, ANC leader Nelson Mandela: "The consistency with which you defended the basic values of freedom and the rule of law over the last three decades has earned you the admiration of many South Africans."

### Free from constraints

"A wide gap still exists between the mass democratic movement and your party with regard to the method of attaining those values. But your commitment to a non-racial democracy in a united South Africa has won you many friends in the extra-parliamentary movement."

"Allow me to hope that in the days that lie ahead your voice will be heard throughout the country, free from the constraints which parliamentary convention imposes."

Dutch ambassador Mr P van Baaren, writing in Dutch: "On the eve of your departure from active politics in South Africa, I wish to convey my greatest admiration for your determined efforts to abolish apartheid. 'Your democratic contribution has strengthened many people's belief that a democratic, non-discriminatory South Africa can be achieved by peaceful means.'"

Israeli president Chaim Herzog: "It is one thing to fight for a good cause in the company of other like-minded persons; it is quite another to fight alone. You have done that so courageously and devotedly over so long a time that you have won admiring respect from lovers of freedom all over the world."

German foreign minister Hans Dietrich Genscher: "With your courageous work for human rights, democracy and justice in South Africa you have become a symbol of resistance against the inhuman regime of apartheid. With your example you have raised high the torch of hope for peaceful change in South Africa, not only for many people in your country but also abroad."

Kenyan Chief Minister Enos Mabui: "We pay tribute to this great daughter of Africa and wish you well for the future."

...in his present post.

## No AWB signs left in shop

Star 27/6/81  
BY SUE LEEMAN  
The Star Bureau

LONDON — There is no sign proclaiming the premises of "Cutdown", suppliers of clothing and accessories to Britain's radical Right.

Until recently, customers also had the option of buying a "Hang Mandela" T-shirt and clothing carrying the AWB's Swastika-like emblem.

Last Friday, police raided the shabby premises in Soho, seizing these items and other goods they say fall into the category of "racist material". No arrests were made.

### Boarded up

The shop itself is easy to miss among more upmarket establishments. The facade has been boarded up and it first seems that the place has been deserted.

There is now nothing on the shelves which either supports the AWB or attacks the ANC. The staff member on duty declined to say who he was, although he denied he was the shop owner. The more he was questioned, the more threatening he became.

"You're from the press, aren't you?" he snorted. "We don't have much faith in them here."

He turned his back and headed for his stockroom.

Watershed congress key to future talks

# NP to unveil five-year plan to change SA

Cape Town  
Political Staff

The National Party will this week lift the curtain on its crucial five-year plan to change the face of South Africa.

If the strategy leads to an easing of restrictions and improved circumstances for negotiation, there are hopes that radical groups such as the ANC and PAC may change their tune on violence and be willing to engage in talks.

But they would also have to take "a giant step" to close the gap between the Government and themselves, party sources said today.

The five-year plan of action will be unveiled at the NP's extraordinary Federal Congress in Pretoria on Thursday. The main thrust of the plan, which will take the place of the normal election manifesto, will be aimed primarily at how the NP intends to achieve a negotiated constitutional settlement for the country.

The failure of the NP to get real negotiations off the ground is being seen by party members as the NP's Achilles heel in its attempts to beat off the rapidly growing left and right wings.

It is also the issue which the major parties in the coloured and Indian Houses are making a key election issue, and on which the international community is demanding rapid progress to avert even tougher sanctions.

A senior source said today the plan of action will "contain a series of objectives which we will pursue over the next five years."

## "Shield" from twin attacks

"It is obviously not possible to say what SA will look like by then, but we will rather be looking at what we will do to negotiate the future."

The plan would be based on the general lines already being followed by the party with "no substantial change in definition".

There would be differences in the definition of who would or should be excluded, with exclusions being couched in different terms.

For instance, there would be no specific term calling for the "forfeiture of violence".

The sources said the plan of action was based not on meeting the attack from the Left or the Right, but in setting the NP ground for the fray.

Some facets of the plan would "shield" the party from attacks from both sides.

The plan would also deal to a greater or lesser extent with other issues such as the economy, education and development.

● LONDON — The ANC is gearing up for a diplomatic initiative in a marked change in tactics, according to an influential political newsletter here.

The fortnightly *Africa Confidential* says this new emphasis reflects the organisation's "diminished military prospects and dangerously low morale among ANC fighters" since the Namibian accord and the expulsion of its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, from Angola.



## Tears and trik fans bid Suzn

Staff Reporter

"We just called to say we love you", sang the adoring crowd last night as more than 600 of Mrs Helen Suzman's fans borrowed a tune from Stevie Wonder to bid farewell to the First Lady of South African politics.

They packed out the Houghton Primary School hall. They filled the seats, they overflowed into the aisles, they stood jam-packed at the entrance.

And led by Des and Dawn Lindberg, they raised the rafters as

they sang the Suzman (73) at constituency

Singing the eran human apartheid c Democratic councillors, a Botha", dresse piece suit and Helen Suzman nicer people than me?"

It was, or et Dirk Uys, mak

# FW de Klerk's tour must be judged a success

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff, from Rome

**N**ATIONAL party leader FW de Klerk's whirlwind mini-European tour which ended today must be judged a success for him and the National Party.

**DIPLOMACY**

It was probably also a qualified success for the country though the final judgment on this can only be made once he has taken over as State President.

The visit — and especially the distinct nod of approval from British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher — has consolidated Mr de Klerk's position within the National Party as heir to President Botha.

Though he made some mistakes and still has some rough edges in the statesman department, he went down better as a person than his predecessor and in West Germany, for instance, a government official described him as more "professional and conciliatory" than President Botha.

The tour has also given the NP a powerful shot in the arm before the elections at least in its fight with the Democratic Party.

Mrs Thatcher's friendly handshake outside 10 Downing Street, her friendlier wave as he left and her statement that she was "encouraged by the mood of change" in South Africa will undoubtedly win over many of the waverers on the left of the NP who might otherwise have crossed to the DP.

She, in effect, endorsed Mr de Klerk's rather uncertain reformist image — and that critical constituency which is making up its mind whether to "give FW a chance" will surely be influenced by the fact that a person of Mrs Thatcher's stature has obviously decided to do so.

The public approval of Mrs Thatcher was perhaps what Mr de Klerk really came to get rather than



**FRIENDLY MEETING:** British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher and Mr F W de Klerk at Number 10 Downing Street, London, during Mr de Klerk's whirlwind overseas tour.

anything that might have been discussed.

It was, indeed, a prize which made it worthwhile running the gauntlet of all those anti-apartheid demonstrators.

The visit was probably not such an unqualified success for the NP in its fight with the Conservative Party.

The CP exploited the occasion by suggesting that Mr de Klerk had gone abroad to negotiate the country's future.

From that point of view, Mrs Thatcher's approval might have been warmer than Mr de Klerk really wanted.

From the country's point of view, the visit was successful too in that Mr de Klerk seems to have established a good working relationship with Mrs Thatcher and the other leaders he met.

A good line of communication with Mrs Thatcher especially — South Africa's best friend in a hostile world — is obviously very valuable.

If anyone can nudge the National Party in the right direction, she can.

But Mrs Thatcher's approval must be seen of course as qualified, as British government sources have confirmed.

She has given him a chance to do the things she believes must be done in South Africa — principally to release Nelson Mandela and start a real process of negotiation with genuine black leaders.

What he said to give her hope is not certain. Mr de Klerk insisted all along that he had no hidden agenda and some of the governments he spoke to confirmed that he, in fact, said nothing new.

If he did say anything new, it would probably have been to Mrs Thatcher alone and word is unlikely to leak out.

British sources said Mrs Thatcher had probably impressed upon Mr de Klerk that with peace breaking out all over Southern Africa, the world's finger would point even more sharply at South Africa to resolve its fundamental problems.

They believe the five-year clear run that Mr de Klerk will have after he takes over as State President might be the last "window of opportunity" that opens for South Africa.

They expect Mr de Klerk to have achieved something concrete in the next 18 months.

The real judgment of the success of the visit which ends today will have to be postponed until then.



Dr Worrall

Dr Slabbert

## Slabbert tells <sup>AKG 27/6/88</sup> Worrall: <sup>30 vlt</sup> 'calm down'

### Political Staff

DR Frederik van Zyl Slabbert today told Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall to "calm down" and not to be sensitive about a remark about rightwing people in the DP.

Dr Worrall has taken Dr Slabbert to task for "kicking the DP in the crutch".

It was a reference to a statement Dr Slabbert made in a newspaper interview when he said there were some people in the DP who belonged to the right wing of the National Party and he would never vote for them.

### UNCALLED FOR

Speaking in Matatiele in the Mooi River constituency last night, Dr Worrall said the blow was "quite uncalled for".

He told the meeting: "The DP, despite having been dropped by one adviser — because blood runs thicker than political convictions — and more recently kicked in the crutch by Dr van Zyl Slabbert, is doing very well in all parts of the country."

He said the party's candidate line-up included a lot of young ex-Nats and Afrikaans-speakers.

### NEW PERSONALITY

"The DP is developing a new personality, different from the parties which made it up, and a fresh and original political approach."

Dr Slabbert said today that that Dr Worrall must "please calm down".

"I was referring to my experience in Parliament with former PFP colleagues."

"I cannot imagine who in the DP who was not with me in party or parliamentary politics could apply my statement to himself or herself."

"If Dr Worrall feels sensitive about the remark it is more his problem than mine."

"I would suggest he reads the whole interview. Then he would see it was a wide-ranging discussion of politics in general rather than any specific analysis of personalities in the current DP."

● Farewell to Helen Suzman, pages 4 and 20.

# Love and good wishes at Suzman farewell



Mrs Helen Suzman

From ALAN DUNN  
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — It was a marvellous send-off. There were 650 of the Suzman faithful, bidding her farewell in the warmest way they knew.

Last night at the Houghton Primary School there was an outpouring of thanks and fondest farewells for Helen Suzman, 36-year parliamentary elder, globally hailed campaigner for equal rights, fearless foe of injustice, and caring MP.

Mrs Suzman's 36th and final report-back meeting started with former provincial councillor and Suzman-sidekick Irene Menell announcing the rules of the meeting. "Helen has told me 'no snot en trane.' But there was, plenty."

AKC 41  
27/8/89  
(304)

Mrs Menell went on to read greetings and tributes from George Bush, Margaret Thatcher, Chaim Herzog, Kenneth Kaunda, Quett Masire, Joaquim Chissano, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Enos Mabuza, a host of foreign ministers and ambassadors, and Nelson Mandela.

His note was left to the last, but newspapers are not allowed to quote him, so only Helen and her audience know what he said.

Next at the podium was Mrs Suzman, 71.

"I've been asked: 'Did it make any difference being Jewish?', and I think in the beginning it did, when I was the only Prog in the House.

"There was an old Nationalist gentleman from Cradock, Mr

Bekker. He would shout: 'Go back to Israel' every time I opened my mouth. Then, however, came the Six-Day War, and Israel was too good for me, so he changed his cry to 'Go back to Moscow'."

Mrs Suzman dug further into her trove of incidents which will, one day, make rich memoirs.

"I was at dinner in Cape Town, and my host, trying to present me in a favourable light to his black waiter, said: 'Josiah, do you know this lady? She's Mrs Suzman. She spends all her time trying to do things for your people.'"

"Josiah looked at me disdainfully and he said: 'She wastes her time.'"

"Did I waste my time? I don't think so."

"It has been a tremendous privilege to have been in Parliament, to have had a hand in keeping values alive which all of us believe in, to allow nothing to go by default, to have been given the opportunity to have eyeball to eyeball confrontations with the government about all its offensive actions and especially to have been able to intercede on behalf of victims of apartheid or of police action."

Colleagues, companions and advisers were thanked exhaustively. "Thank all of you," she said, stopping to note that her list of gratitude was making it sound like a Barnitzvah.

It was genuine love, on all sides. ● A ringside seat on history, page 20.

# A ringside seat on SA history

12665  
57/6/89  
304A

Extracts from a farewell speech this week by Mrs HELEN SUZMAN to the voters of Houghton whom she represented in Parliament for 36 years

OVER the last three weeks I have had the interesting experience given to few people of reading my own obituary notices in the Press — local and overseas. There

have as yet been no withdrawal symptoms as I've been too busy answering all the letters that I've received. I'm afraid I compulsively even start answering anonymous letters, including one that started: "You old hag, about time, too, that we got rid of you".

I've learnt a lot during my sojourn in Parliament, certainly a great deal of law. I'm probably the best unqualified lawyer south of the equator today. I've had a ringside seat from which to observe and participate in three and a half decades of South African history, and that cannot be lightly dismissed.

I have witnessed the careful assembling of the apartheid jigsaw puzzle, especially during Verwoerd's reign, first as Minister of Native Affairs and then as Prime Minister, as he put one piece of legislation after the other onto the Statute Book.

Pari passu with the passing of these discriminatory laws came the erosion of the rule of law.

## Crisis

As black resistance to discrimination and oppression manifested itself in unrest, so the State took more and more powers at the expense of the civil rights of the individual.

And thus South Africa has lurched from crisis to crisis — from Sharpeville in 1960, to Soweto in 1976, to Crossroads in the late seventies, to Uitenhage in the early eighties, to Mamelodi, to Sebokeng and the PWV area from 1984 onwards, resulting in the on-going state of emergency which has just been renewed, with censorship and the curtailment of the public's right to know about unrest-related incidents — and, of course, with the detention over these years of thousands upon thousands of people without trial.

Many apartheid laws have, of course, been repealed in the last 10 years and it has been no small satisfaction to

witness the disappearance of laws I opposed when they were introduced.

Perhaps the most cynical utterance in politics that it has ever been my misfortune to come across was the statement made by the ex-editor of Die Burger, Mr Piet Cillie, later a professor at Stellenbosch University, who said: "We had to try apartheid to show that it would not work". One's heart sinks when one thinks of the devastating effects of that experiment of apartheid.

## Conscientious

I am often asked certain questions about my years in Parliament, one of them, of course, is: "Has being a woman made any difference?" The answer is certainly not, except, of course, some 30 years ago, it didn't do any harm to look a little better than I look now! I asked for no privileges and I certainly was given none, and that was just as I wanted it.

However, I should tell any aspirant woman candidate that to make any impression on Parliament you do have to be a lot brighter than your male colleagues — often not too difficult. I needn't tell you to be more conscientious, because women are always more conscientious than men.

I've been asked, "Did it make any difference being Jewish?", and I think in the beginning it did, when I was the only Prog in the House. There was one old gentleman from Cradock, Mr Bekker. He used to sit on the front bench of the National Party side and shout "go back to Israel" every time I opened my mouth.

Then, however, came the Six Day War, and Israel was too good for me, so he changed his cry to "go back to Moscow".

## Waste

One night out for dinner in Cape Town, my host, trying to present me in a favourable light to his black waiter said: "Josiah, do you know this lady? She's Mrs Suzman. She spends all her time trying to do things for people". And Josiah looked at me disdainfully and he said, "She waste her time". Well, did I waste my time?

Frankly I don't think so. I

think it has been a tremendous privilege to have been in Parliament, to have had a hand in keeping values alive which all of us believe in, to allow nothing to go by default, to have been given the opportunity to have eyeball to eyeball confrontations with the government about all its offensive actions; and especially to have been able to intercede on behalf of victims of apartheid or of police action by virtue of being a Member of Parliament.

Yes, it has been worthwhile, despite the frustrations and often the ineffable boredom. I think I used my years in the House to advantage by eliciting valuable information through the vast numbers of questions I put to Ministers during every session.

I remember on one occasion a Minister said bitterly to me, "The questions that you ask do great harm to South Africa overseas" and I told him that it wasn't my questions that harmed South Africa, it was his answers.

I should tell you that I've been thrown out of the House only twice in 36 years; once by accident, and another time when I refused to withdraw having called P W Botha a coward for refusing to appoint a select committee of inquiry into an accusation he made against me — that I had allowed a foreign agent to use my notepaper, to the detriment of South Africa.

## Tapping

I discovered eventually that the government had been illegally opening my post and tapping my telephone, and indeed one of my main regrets is that I did not proceed with a court case against the government at that time, for the "agent" was my house guest and a highly respected professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

I believe my decision not to stand for re-election in September has been made at the right time. For me, five more years is too long and De Klerk will want a full five-year term. The so-called "public imperative" for the merger of the PFP into the new DP, together with the Independent Party and the New Democratic Movement is, I

think, something which very many people believe to be necessary.

Whether the merger will bear the fruits optimists hope to obtain on September 6 remains, of course, to be seen.

There is a strong tide running in favour of the DP at present. There is the inflation which has eroded savings and is making it extremely difficult for people in the lower and middle income groups to maintain standards of living; there is the shocking revelation of corruption in high places and there is the anger of the public at government extravagance and over-spending.

There is also the threat of further international isolation and punitive sanctions as a result of government policies, especially in the wake of the recent elections for the European Parliament.

On the other side there are, of course, factors against the DP, such as the feat of the Conservative Party — the "vote Nat to keep the CP out" propaganda, forgetting that the lesser of two evils — as I have said before — is still an evil.

## Syndrome

There is the "let's give the new State President a chance" syndrome, as F W de Klerk takes over from P W Botha. And NP propaganda will highlight reform. And, of course, there is also the rejection by many white voters of the policies which are advocated by the Democratic Party.

The DP will have a monumental task, for the cornerstones of apartheid remain firmly in place — the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Land Acts. Until these go, and until blacks are able to vote for the Parliament that makes the laws that govern their lives, and until the absurd concept of Own Affairs and General Affairs is abandoned, De Klerk's fine sounding phrase outlining his goal of "a South Africa free of domination or oppression in whatever form — a new South Africa, a totally changed South Africa", is meaningless.



Blum says Mandela has an important role to play in bringing peace.

# Blüm denied visit with jailed Mandela

*Sowetan 28/6/89 253* *3047*

THE West German Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr Norbert Blüm, was denied an audience with the imprisoned ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, yesterday, Mr Blüm said in Pretoria.

He was addressing reporters after an unscheduled meeting with Coetsee after the State President, Mr P W Botha, redirected him to Coetsee regarding permission to see Mandela.

Pretorians stopped to stare in amazement as the short but dapper Blüm cut short his meeting with Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok to walk up Pretorius Street — pursued by scores of West German and foreign cameramen and empty dip cars — to the Ministry of Justice a block away.

Blum told newsmen afterwards he had also expressed his opposition to capital punishment, and pointed out that if the Uppington 14 were executed, there would be "worldwide unrest", because the convicted people had merely been at the scene when the crimes were committed.

Blum added that it was not really important whether he personally saw Mandela, but it was important that Mandela be afforded an opportunity in playing a role in finding a solution to South Africa's problems.

"Mr Mandela has an important role to play in bringing peace to a situation that is full of conflict," said Blum. — Sapa.

# Church group Sowetan 28/6/84 warns Govt

POLITICAL problems black leaders.

in South Africa will not  
be solved through  
"draconian restrictions",  
bannings and other  
forms of repression, the  
Pretoria Council of  
Churches warned yes-  
terday. (304A)

The executive commit-  
tee of the PCC said in a  
statement that a demo-  
cratic and acceptable  
situation could only  
prevail in this country if  
the Government unban-  
ned all the people's  
organisations and lifted  
restriction orders on  
organisations opposing  
apartheid. The PCC also  
urged the government to  
negotiate with popular

The statement said:  
"We demand in the name  
of Christ that the state of  
emergency and the  
unjustified restrictions  
imposed on released  
detainees be lifted  
without delay. To  
continue to detain black  
leaders critical of the  
Government and to  
impose such unjustifiable  
restrictions on them  
when released only  
worsens the situation  
rather than solving it".

Many of the restricted  
people were continually  
exposed to the "indig-  
nity" of reporting to a  
police station several  
times a day.

# NP unveils plans to negotiate

THE National Party is to unveil plans for the next five years this week which could, under eased conditions, lead to negotiations with organisations such as the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress.

However, the organisations like the ANC and PAC would also

have to make a quantum move to close the current gap between the Govern-

ment and themselves, party sources said.

At the moment the NP

remains adamantly opposed to negotiations with the ANC, actively attempting to stop any meetings with it by individuals and organisations.

The five-year plan of action will be unveiled at the NP extraordinary federal congress in Pretoria tomorrow.

# End apartheid now — Chikane

THE time to end apartheid and make peace is now, the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, said in his report to the organisation's 1989 annual conference.

The theme of his report was inspired by a recent foreign policy speech by US president, Mr George Bush to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation.

He quoted Bush as saying: "The passion for freedom cannot be denied forever. The

world has waited enough. The time is right. Let Europe be whole and free."

"I agree with Bush that the 'time is right.' I hope Bush will also agree with me that the time is right not only to let Europe be 'whole and free' but also to end the apartheid system and let South Africa be free from white racist domination and oppression," Chikane said.

The conference at St Barnabas College in Bosmont, Johannesburg, ends on Friday.

304A Soweto 28/6/89

3044

# FW home: nothing new

NATIONAL Party leader Mr F W de Klerk yesterday arrived back in South Africa after six days in Europe, confident, complacent and with nothing new to say about the future of the country.

After all, he told the Press at a snap conference at Jan Smuts: "We didn't go to Europe to negotiate." Nobody made any unrealistic demands or created any unrealistic expectations, De Klerk said.

By ISMAIL  
LAGARDIEN

Everybody in Europe, he said, understood South Africa's complexities, "and I was heartened by the recognition given to the need for orderly reform, a step-by-step approach and a broadening of mutual trust as a prerequisite for successful reform."

De Klerk repeated the Government's policies on reform and said that South Africans had to chart their future for themselves. He made no mention which South Africans and on the issue of the release of Nelson Mandela, his position remained the same as before he left.

He said that the European leaders had their own view of the direction in which they feel South Africa should move.

"In conveying these ideas however, there was no attempt to be prescriptive. On the

contrary, their approach was designed to illustrate their own political problems," De Klerk said.

Violence was not a viable means of attaining a solution to the problems in the country and all the European leaders were unanimous on this issue, he said. "There is strong opposition to sanctions as a matter of principle and positive developments will make an important contribution to the relief of pressure for additional sanctions," he said.

## Policy

De Klerk told Sapa there was no policy clash between him and the State President, Mr P-W Botha.

Reacting in a media statement in Pretoria to a statement by Conservative Party MP Dr F Hartzenberg, De Klerk said he had already stated the NP was building on the political initiatives of Botha, "for whom we have the greatest respect and appreciation."

# Japan gives R1,7-m

THE Government of Japan has contributed R1,7 million to the Kagiso Trust for disadvantaged South Africans for the year 1989.

Consul-general of Japan, Dr. Shinsuke Horiuchi, made the presentation to Mr. Eric Molobi, acting for the chairman of the Kagiso Trust, Dr. Beyers Naude, yesterday.

Horiuchi said: "The Government of Japan firmly believes that the uplifting of the disadvantaged South Africans is one of the key elements which considerably contributed to the solution of the South African problem."

"This financial contribution is to support the projects mainly in educational and medical areas for the people disadvantaged by apartheid."

He said the Government of Japan desired that the problem of apartheid in South Africa would be solved peacefully as early as possible.

It has appealed to the South African Government on various occasions to take necessary steps for fundamental reforms aimed at abolishing apartheid and to all parties concerned to begin talks toward a peaceful solution.

Sapa

304A

# Suzman looks back on political year

STATE President Mr P W Botha's resignation as leader of the National Party left Mr F W de Klerk "holding the baby but with no authority to train it", the outgoing MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman said.

Outlining the events of the 1989 Parliamentary session, she said more had happened outside Parliament than in it.

Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse had, however, made his mark by refusing to pass a Bill which would have postponed the general election until 1992, and the sun had set on the vast empire built up by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, who retired towards the end of the session.

## Refused

The Bill which Hendrickse had refused to pass would also have allowed for the increase in the number of MPs, so that if a new delimitation was held, the NP would retain its Cape stronghold of 56 seats, even though the Transvaal would gain further seats.

Turning to Mr Heunis, she said he had bungled things in Parliament ever since the Helderberg election in 1987.

## Struggle

Hendrickse had forced the recall of Parliament last year when Heunis tried to make Group Areas an Own Affairs Bill. Then Heunis' National Council Bill was rejected. The House of Representatives refused to approve his vote in the budget, and the President's Council had to consider two versions of the budget, the one agreed to by the Assembly and the other rejected by the House of Representatives.

"All in all, a bad time for Heunis. He has, not surprisingly, given up the unequal struggle."

Five Ministers had announced their "disappearance, some voluntarily, others by force majeure, so to speak" during the 1989 session.

She said there had always been a turnover of about one-third of the total number of MPs at each general election — and September 6 would be no exception.

A few important Bills were passed, two of these being the foreign funding Bill and a Bill to revalidate the inclusion of Moutse into KwaNdebele and Botshabelo into QwaQwa. These measures were strenuously opposed, since both Botshabelo and Moutse had not only opposed their inclusion into those

two homelands, but had also actually won court cases which had invalidated similar bills previously passed by the government.

She said these bills were particularly offensive because they eroded the authority of the courts and were made retrospective.

A Bill in which Suzman took particular interest was one which made rape by a husband on his wife a punishable offence. The law commission had recommended this unequivocally, and she and MP, Mr Dave Dalling had both endorsed the recommendations. — Sapa.



HELEN SUZMAN

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Intimatewear	WERE	NOW
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Bikini panties	6,99	399
Manchester	WERE	NOW
Single Blankets	69,99	4999
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Accessories		NOW
Selected Handbags		1/2 Price



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CHL. This 28/6/89

 30/6/89

# DP in racism row over Delegates

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE rumblings in the Democratic Party about whether to participate in the elections for the House of Representatives and House of Delegates burst into the open yesterday when a DP MP publicly criticised "some" party leaders for opposing such a move.

The MP, Mr Mahmoud Rajab, said the attitude of these DP members was "tantamount to gross racialism, as is the attitude of the UDF which condones participation only in the white House of Assembly".

Mr Rajab, who is vice-chairman of the DP's

Natal Coast region, also disclosed in a statement that the regional executive had recommended participation in the House of Delegates.

The DP's national board is scheduled to meet on Monday to consider the thorny issue of whether to participate in the elections for the other two Houses.

It is committed to defending the seats held by three House of Delegates MPs, Mr Rajab, Mr Pat Poovalingham and Mr John Iyman.

However it has not yet decided whether to fight any other seats in the Houses.

Some DP members believe that the party

will jeopardise relationships with extra-parliamentary groups if it participates in the elections for the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates.

However, other DP members believe the party should use every possible opportunity to gain footholds in all elected bodies, including the coloured and Indian Houses.

Should the national board decide to restrict itself to the three Delegates seats, there seems little doubt that there will be a break-away from the party by those who want the party to fight seats in all three Houses.

In his statement, Mr Rajab said: "Some leaders of the DP, who apparently regard the

votes of white radical students and members of such organisations as the Black Sash as more important than correct policies and principles, have angered the more than 2 000 Indian South Africans who are members of the DP and who are represented strongly in a number of House of Delegates constituencies."

These leaders argue it would be correct to contest the three seats but not the others, he said.

Mr Rajab added that if the DP board rejected participation in the House of Delegates it would be "a serious blow to the non-racial character of the DP".

# FW pledges to 'deliver goods'

CAW 7m 28/6/89 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk returned from his European tour yesterday pledging to "deliver the goods" in reforming apartheid, but skirting the issue of the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr De Klerk is expected to unveil a major five-year plan of action to bring about representation at the highest level for all South Africans at the NP federal congress in Pretoria tomorrow.

He said the government's position on Mr Mandela remained un-

changed. "We continuously deal with this matter with great circumspection..."

"The government would welcome a situation where Mr Mandela could be constructively involved in the finding of peaceful solutions for our problems in this country."

While NP members were clearly overjoyed at the success of the tour, Mr De Klerk warned against overstating what had been accomplished.

Among the issues raised by

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the others he met were the release of Mr Mandela, the ending of the state of emergency and the holding of genuine negotiations for a new constitution.

Mr De Klerk said, however, that the leaders were all pragmatists and realised none of these things could be achieved overnight.

His major achievement was to convince the leaders of his sincerity. — UPI and Own Correspondent

# NP congress pins hopes on 'action plan'

CNN 7:00 28/6/89 304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The National Party will formally launch its 1989 election campaign here tomorrow by drawing the battle lines for what the party believes will be its toughest contest since coming to power in 1948.

As hundreds of Nationalists from across the country began flooding into the city for the party's federal congress, expectations were high surrounding the NP's five-year "plan of action" which will be unveiled at the Pretoria City Hall.

The action programme will form the centre-piece of the NP's election campaign, but the star of the show will be NP leader and president-in-waiting Mr F W de Klerk.

With an angry and increasingly volatile President P W Botha refusing to attend the important event, the stage has been set for Mr De Klerk to be projected in an unrestrained

fashion as the new symbol of unity, "a dynamic new leader for a new political era".

Unencumbered by the presence of a brooding and petulant president, the party will be better placed to play down the division and bickering of the past five months and market the NP as a party on the move.

Details of the NP's manifesto and action plan are being kept under wraps until tomorrow, but party officials noted at the weekend that they contained no major deviations from existing NP policy and the 1987 election manifesto.

Party sources have emphasised the importance of the NP drawing a clear distinction for voters — both to the left and the right of the party — between the NP of old and the party with Mr De Klerk in the driving seat.

Tomorrow he will explain what he described on his return from Europe as "the need for successful renewal and change that will not affect stability".

## NP bankrupt, says Momberg

Political Staff

NATIONAL PARTY attempts to bill Mr F W De Klerk's visit to Europe a success underlined the party's bankruptcy, Democratic Party candidate in Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, said in Nelspruit last night.

"Mr De Klerk must put his promises to the statesmen of Europe into meaningful internal policy changes," he said.

## 'Growing number' of ex-Nats join the DP

Political Staff

A NUMBER of ex-Nationalists had joined the Democratic Party and more were doing so, DP national director Mr Neil Ross said yesterday.

"We are continually being contacted by dissatisfied Nationalists who have had enough of the NP."

He said among the former Nationalists who had joined the DP were Dr Theunis Schlebusch, the former NP MPC for Queenstown who is the DP's candidate there, and Dr Kobus Jordaan, a former NP senator and senior official in the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, who is standing for the DP in Umhlanga.

# Participation? No ways!

PROMINENT community leader Dullah Omar says tricameralism is in essence the exact opposite of the ultimate aim of the democratic struggle in South Africa — a nonracial society.

Omar, chairperson of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Western Cape), said various arguments had been advanced for participation including that it could be a strategic tactic for anti-apartheid forces.

"The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) has never stated that non-participation is a principle. But to propose participation as a strategic option at this stage of our struggle is without foundation and fraudulent.

"It's necessary for our method of struggle to be consistent with our aims which are the breaking down of apartheid and a society free of ethnicity."

Omar said the tricameral Parliament had reproduced itself in "101 ways" in the five years of its existence.

**Participation in South Africa's tricameral parliamentary system is again being touted as a possible strategic option for extra-parliamentary groupings now that elections have been announced for September 6 this year.**

**At a time when the country's fourth consecutive state of emergency has paralysed the functioning of key anti-apartheid organisations such as the UDF, placed severe restrictions on most of their leadership and prevents the normal assembly of people to discuss their grievances, is it not possible to use the tricameral Parliament as a platform?**

**An emphatic "No!" was the response of prominent community leader and advocate Dullah Omar in an interview with MOEGSIEN WILLIAMS:**



Dullah Omar

"We have seen how the system of 'own affairs' has multiplied to ridiculous proportions with separate health systems, different curricula in schools and multiple forms of pension and welfare for different race groups."

He said ethnicity was a "natural outflow" of tricameralism even for those who merely wanted to use it as a platform.

"If, for example, a candidate is put up in Bonteheuwel, the candidate will have to be coloured and he or she will only be able to secure the votes of coloured people. The nature of the campaign, unlike many of the other campaigns by the democratic movement, will be coloured."

"Ethnic consciousness will be promoted and the daily political life will be ethnic. This is counter to the cul-

ture of struggle which the democratic movement has built over many years."

"Assuming that participation as a tactic is acceptable, what are the gains?"

"Parliament as a platform is useless. The Labour Party, which entered tricameralism on this ticket, has become an ethnic party and a mere rubber stamp and henchmen for

the National Party in the implementation of the state of emergency.

"The government has been able to shift the blame and responsibility for the mismanagement of the country to coloured faces who now occupy seats of authority over 'own affairs'."

"The Labour Party has also assisted the government in hoodwinking the international community that a process of reform is underway in South Africa and in this way help offset its various crises."

The Labour Party had been weakened in its response to measures which they did not support and had allowed to "pass through" to the President's Council.

"Important legislation became enacted in this way and the correct thing for the Labour Party to have done was to have walked out of Parliament."

The President's Council is merely their fig leaf to cover their embarrassment and shame."

He said the people had built their own platforms in the trade union movement and other organisations.

## Suffering

"Today we see that these platforms have withstood the worst repression in the country's history. There has been a great deal of suffering but the determination of our people has ensured that we survived the onslaught."

Omar said the best interests of the people must always be the primary consideration when strategies and tactics needed to be decided or adopted.

"There isn't a shred of evidence to suggest that the utter rejection by our people of the tricameral system since 1984, has changed."

"The mere fact that the state had to implement four consecutive states of emergency to underpin the very system, shows that nothing has changed."

He said the assessment of the situation by those who claimed that non-participation had failed and had resulted in a political logjam, was "hopelessly wrong and misleading."

"In fact, the non-participation tactic has been massively successful and has led to the most intense political struggles in the history of this country."

"The democratic movement has never promised or stated that anti-tricameralism will automatically lead to a nonracial South Africa."

## Ethnicity

"The campaign against the tricameral Parliament has been like many other campaigns fought against apartheid and discrimination going back to the earlier part of this century. Some of these campaigns were successful, others were not."

He said the real debate on tricameralism was the intention of the Nationalist government — the "balkanisation" of South Africa and a future based on ethnicity.

"A further argument being advanced for participation is that the labour movement has been able to make gains by participating in the bargaining system."

"It's false to equate the labour and political situation in South Africa. The unions have been granted certain recognition by the state whereas the political organisations have been proscribed."

"There's no Labour Relations Act at a civic level, only instruments of division and rule. No real opportunity is afforded political organisations to engage in free debate and discussions."

Omar said the democratic movement had in recent times gained in strength and would be able to conduct an anti-election campaign tied to several other issues such as the labour movement's opposition to the amendments to the Labour Relations Act, the crisis in education, housing and the cost of living.

"The democratic movement is now in a position to again seize the initiative in a way it was unable to do in the past few years."

911-110175 29/6/89

## Ex-Nats <sup>30k4</sup> to head local DP campaigns

### Political Staff

THE Democratic Party campaigns in the Maitland and Stellenbosch seats are to be headed by two former Nationalists.

The DP's campaign manager in Maitland, where Dr Esther Letegagan is the party's candidate, is to be Mr Deon Swart, until recently a member of the National Party committee in the constituency.

In Stellenbosch, the DP's campaign manager is a former NP organiser, Mr Jan Bester. Mr Bester was chairman of the NP's student branch at Stellenbosch University before working for the party full-time.

The DP said yesterday the decisions of Mr Swart and Mr Bester to join the DP were a reflection of growing dissatisfaction with the government by many Nationalists.

Meanwhile the DP has launched a drive to set up party branches in areas which are Conservative Party strongholds in the Transvaal.

# Crocker reflects on SA-American relations

**T**HE past eight years have wrought fundamental changes in the relations between the United States and Africa.

I believe the prospects for this relationship have never been as bright as they are now. For the first time in our history the United States has a president who knows firsthand Africa and its enormous diversity, problems and potential.

George Bush has travelled extensively in sub-Saharan Africa's 46

CHESTER Crocker served as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from 1981 to 1989. Upon leaving office he took the opportunity to reflect on US-African relations over that period and looked to the challenges that lie ahead. He describes these remarks as unofficial observations by "a once and future student of Africa."

independent nations over his many years of public service. He knows all but a few African presidents and prime ministers personally from extensive conversations with them in their capitals or ours.

Bush inherits mature partnerships between the United States and all but

a few of sub-Saharan Africa's most resolutely anti-American countries.

These are partnerships he had a hand in forging and which I know he will sustain.

A few countries with which we have long enjoyed close relations and which have great development potential

continue to slide toward economic ruin under policies that have not and will not work.

## Candid

The Reagan Administration pursued a candid dialogue donors, and financial institutions and provided economic assistance to promote policy reform.

We have made a start toward effective means

of debt relief to support such reform.

These efforts must continue and be strengthened.

Economic reform is politically risky. We cannot inject courage into leaders too shortsighted to take such risks but we can and should continue to bolster those who are trying to turn the corner.

We have done much about the problem of African Debt but we have not found the answer and we need to do more.

This brings me to the question of South Africa and its regional role which seems likely to remain a shared African and US obsession for the foreseeable future.

## Agenda

From the very beginning, the Reagan Administration had a twofold agenda with regard to South Africa.

To the extent we could, we have sought to help insulate from the death throes of apartheid the states in Southern Africa whose fates are inextricably connected with that of South Africa.

To this end, we have worked to help these states achieve a modus vivendi with South Africa that, without eroding their principled stand on the issue of apartheid, would enable them to enjoy sufficient security and domestic tranquility to pursue effective economic and political development.

So we have worked to buttress the independence, democratic institutions and market economic systems of Botswana and Zimbabwe while seeking to ensure the continuing ability of Zambia, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique to pursue similarly effective courses of political and economic development as they choose to do so.

## Accords

The Nkomati Accord and the rapprochement between Mozambique and South Africa that it has made possible, as well as the Angola-Namibia accords, are especially visible monuments to this sustained US diplomatic effort.

But there is a great deal more that has been done — and much more effort that lies ahead.

In South Africa itself, we have sought to promote the most rapid possible admission of all South Africans to an equal role in the political and economic life of their country.

This is easy to say, but it amounts to attempting to play a constructive role in the reengineering of the political culture and constitutional system of a country



Chester Crocker held the Africa portfolio for eight years.

separated from us by 13000 km, centuries of estrangement from Western values and a dramatically different history.

The difficulty is magnified by the small — and now rapidly declining — US presence on the ground in South Africa and by the obvious tensions in relations between our governments, reflecting profound differences between us.

## Truths

In these circumstances, we must recognise some plain truths.

No one other than South Africans can remake South African political culture or the South African constitution.

We cannot compel them but we can and should help them move toward fundamental change in ways consistent with our own values.

The South African Government runs South Africa and cannot be ignored or written off.

It sets the pace of change in the country.

It remains the only institution with the power to repeal the oppressive system it now so effectively enforces and it is the key to more co-operative and less threatening South African relationships with neighbouring black-ruled states.

Ordinary South Africans (black, white, coloured and Indian) and a wide range of non-governmental and private organisations set the political climate within which the South African Government operates.

While their direct impact on current governmental decisions is limited, we should encourage dialogue and creative thinking wherever it may take root and not give a distracted

government a pocket veto over the society as a whole.

We need to talk to both the Government and the groups opposed to it and to encourage them to talk to each other.

We have a constructive role to play in helping South Africans to break down the racial and political barriers to dialogue about the future of their country.

Some of the proponents of sanctions in the United States and abroad are well-meaning and I share their sense of frustration with the slow pace of change in South Africa and the elusiveness of any denouncement to the South African drama.

## Symbol

But sanctions have become a symbol of the frustration they are designed to address.

They have been advocated as an article of faith, as an end in themselves.

No credible case has been made for broad, open-ended sanctions against South Africa.

Our experience with such sanctions against South Africa to date is that they are counter-productive.

Be that as it may, it is obvious that we as a nation need to engage in serious reflection on how we deal with South Africa on the two issues of greatest concern to us: Pretoria's regional behaviour and institutional racism in South Africa.

Reaching consensus in the United States on these issues will tax the political skills of the new administration and the willingness of Congress to work with the White House.

But there is so much at stake that we cannot afford not to try.

## Stay out, Botha told

PRESIDENT P W Botha was told bluntly yesterday to stay out of foreign affairs after reports that he reminded a senior West German Cabinet Minister of Germany's Nazi history. (304A)

Mr Ray Swart, Democratic Party foreign affairs spokesman, said yesterday Botha could only bedevil South Africa's already sensitive foreign relations.

According to the visiting West German Minister of Labour and Social Affairs, Mr Norbert Blüm, the president, when discussing human rights had pointed out that Germany had concentration camps in their history. Sowetan 29/6/89, p. 5.

# Nats using Broederbond plan, says CP

3064  
Can Times 29/6/89

PRETORIA. — The National Party's five-year action plan sounded suspiciously like a Broederbond document in which South Africa's constitutional future was discussed, Conservative Party deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday.

He said the CP had recently come into possession of the Broederbond document which seemed to be the source of the NP's five-year plan of action, due to be announced at the NP's federal congress today.

"If it is obvious from its contents that the NP plan is based on the Broederbond plan, then it will be proof that the NP leaders and the Broederbond were bungling the right of self-determination of whites behind the backs of the voters and even of the the NP's own congress."

He said it appeared from recent events that the results of this "bungling" were first being discussed with overseas leaders and would be put before the NP federal congress later.

"We challenge the leaders of the NP and the Broederbond to to spell out, before the election on September 6, what else they are planning."

It now seemed that the NP could not think for itself anymore and had left all its thinking to its secret "Broederbond bosses".

Dr Hartzenberg said some of the views contained in the Broederbond document were:

- The right of all South African citizens to effective participation at all levels of government;
- The proposed new constitution should be acceptable to the majority of South African citizens;
- The acceptance of a Bill of Rights which could be tested in court;
- The right of individuals to associate or decline to associate with certain groups, and
- The establishment of open groups.

# Nationalist manifesto looks like more of same mixture

CA 7m 15 29/6/89 (3044)

PRETORIA — The word "apartheid" is not mentioned once in the National Party's 22-page Plan of Action "to create a new South Africa" which will be unveiled at the party's federal congress.

But a close reading of the document makes it clear that while the Government plans to soften certain aspects of its racially-based policies, the new apartheid will be extended and entrenched during the next five years of NP rule. The drafters of the abbreviated policy document, which will serve as the NP's handbook in the coming election, endorsed by the federal congress today, acknowledge that it does not represent a major deviation from existing NP thinking.

Indeed, the preface to the proposed Plan of Action notes that the party's May 1987 election manifesto "remains relevant and valid today." However, the latest document, apart from giving NP policy a fresh coat of paint to coincide with what is already being called The F.W. Era in party circles, does serve to highlight areas of emerging "fluidity" in traditional NP thinking and the "slippage" that is starting to show in relation to key policy concepts such as "groups" and "own affairs". The plan also implies a greater flexibility when it comes to emergence of new institutions (both at the political and

From ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent



educational level, negotiation" proposes the broadening of the Own Affairs concept well beyond the racial categories associated with the tricameral Parliament to include geographic areas such as homelands. It notes, "In a state in which cultures and interests differ, it is extremely important to extend this federal principle (of 'sub-governments') so that each area of population group has as much say as possible about its own affairs."

## Vagueness

This vagueness is extended by the NP's region of information, Mr. Banting in Pleas, a respectful recognition of what must come from negotiation. Mr. Banting notes that apart from the need for "negotiation" and a "dynamic approach" to political issues, the document places special emphasis on "negotiation", which crops up 15 times during the 22 pages.

But the action plan is also very much a celebration of Own Affairs and other concepts with racial overtones — a feature which might make it all the more difficult to get negotiations off the ground.

Section Two of the plan, labelled "No Domination: Group Pro-

"open group", and possibly others.

The system whereby people change their (race) group might be adapted to allow the recipient or host group to act as gatekeeper rather than whites making decisions on behalf of other groups. Whites, however, would still enjoy the power to disqualify outsiders trying to enter their group, if they so wished.

While Cabinet ministers said the NP wished to accommodate "natural group formation" under a system in which society will find its own criteria, the plan does not specify how potential new groups will be accommodated in political structures.

## Accommodate

But this did not mean that additional houses would continually be grafted to the present Parliament like "building blocks".

However, it was possible in theory that the Population Registration Act in its current form would cease to be relevant to political participation.

The action plan is mildly positive towards the SA Law Commission's recently published report on a Bill of Rights for South Africa which would enshrine the legal protection of individual rights but notes that supplementary steps need to be taken to ensure the overall protection of groups in constitutional structures.

It calls for a report to be tabled in Parliament following a study into all possible constitutional models in which particular attention would be given to "methods by which a constitutional dispensation may effectively protect the political rights and values of groups, and the practical implications of the various models".

## Acceptable

The NP's action plan insists that in the new South Africa provision is made for "an own community life, own residential areas and own schools" for those who prefer these, as well as "free settlement areas" in which the State subsidy for private schools will apparently be increased significantly.

The Group Areas Act will accordingly remain "until such time as an effective and generally acceptable measure can be substituted".

However, a new "firm but sensitive" method for dealing with Group Areas violations is mooted in terms of which police action and prosecution would occur only after attempts at "assistance and negotiation" had failed and "should co-operation not be forthcoming".

The NP proposes to deal with discrimination in relation to public amenities not by scrapping the Separate Amenities Act but by "the provision of adequate amenities for the needs of the various groups (which) will do much towards improving the situation".

The action plan notes that in cases where it is "impractical to provide amenities specifically for various population groups", these should be made available in an "orderly fashion".

The objective would be "the further opening of amenities where circumstances so require, and where this can take place without causing serious conflict". Amenities which had been "successfully" opened should not be closed again.

## Abnormal

A significant aspect in the section of the action plan dealing with security notes that "special measures such as the regulations proclaimed in terms of the state of emergency are temporarily justifiable".

Dr Van der Merwe said this meant the present emergency "should be seen as a temporary, abnormal situation rather than a desirable situation".

Perhaps the major election sweetener contained in the action package is the commitment by the Government — "provided there are no drastic adverse changes in prevailing domestic and foreign circumstances" — to reduce standard tax levels for both individuals and companies over the next five years.

This tax relief would be attained by implementing various measures, including "getting rid of unnecessary duplication".

Ultimately, though, the NP's action plan does not appear intent on overseeing the death of apartheid in a new South Africa, but rather assisting in spawning a fresh crop of softer option hybrids designed to buy time for white control.

While removing some of the strictness and sting from our racially ordered society, whites will still ultimately call the shots — or at least have the power of veto — on issues that really count under the proposed system.

It would, perhaps, be an oversimplification to characterise the latest NP initiative in "same game, different name" terms.

But if the thinking underpinning the action plan is retained, the most South Africans can look forward to during The F.W. Era is "a kinder, gentler" apartheid.



ne unturned until we're brought to justice."

# PW's 'nazi' jibe to Bonn minister

Cape Times 29/6/89

3044

JOHANNESBURG. — President P W Botha shouted at a visiting West German cabinet minister, interrupted him and asserted he was not qualified to discuss apartheid because of Germany's nazi past. The row between Mr Botha and Bonn's Labour Minister, Mr Norbert Blum, occurred on Tuesday when the two men met for 40 minutes in Pretoria. On his departure last night Mr Blum refused to comment on the reported clash.

"Mr Botha had his point of view, and I had mine," he said, noting that such discussions could often be misinterpreted. Their talks had been "open and frank".

Mr Blum is the first West German minister to visit SA in 11 years. A West German embassy spokesman said another such visit was not expected soon.

The meeting with the State President began amicably enough, sources said, with Mr Botha lauding Germany's beauty.

When Mr Blum wanted to discuss apartheid Mr Botha apparently lost his temper and disputed Mr Blum's right to criticise conditions in South Africa in view of the nazi background in Germany.

Mr Blum, who himself has a reputation for candour, responded that it was precisely because of nazism that West Germans spoke out against abuses of human rights wherever they saw them, sources said.

Mr Jack Viviers, spokesman for Mr Botha's office, confirmed last night that Mr Blum met Mr Botha on Tuesday but would not comment further.

● Bonn: 'Give FW a chance' — Page 2

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# 549

From page 1

Nats. Plan  
4/17/44 296/89

Dr Van der Merwe said the government's willingness to build a new political system meant that "there may not be a House of Assembly in five years".

He said the government would like to see a system in which South Africans voted "directly for representatives at a national level in five years".

It was also possible that the Population Registration Act "would cease to be relevant to political participation" in five years, he said.

However, Dr Van der Merwe cautioned that the government did not want to provide guarantees that changes would take place within a given time-frame as many changes would depend on negotiation.

# DP's Athlone foray rebuffed

By MUNSOOR JAFFER (2048)

THE Democratic Party's first foray into a black area in the Western Cape was rebuffed by residents in Athlone on Wednesday.

A meeting organised by the party in the Samaj Centre, Rylands Estate, was taken over and its representatives subjected to a barrage of questions and criticisms.

The meeting, apparently held at the "request of residents in the area", was eventually chaired by Mr Moosa Kaprey, the former chairperson of the National Education Crisis Committee.

The DP members, Mr Bill Sewell, Western Cape chairperson, Dr Jannie Hofmeyer and Mr Herbert Hirsch, were met by a group of between 80 and 100 people singing freedom songs.

It emerged that members of the communi-

ty had been "tipped off" about the meeting by a Rylands man who had been invited to attend.

The group was clearly angered by the DP's decision to hold a meeting in the community - a factor which could heavily influence the party's decision next week on whether to field candidates for the House of Delegates and Representatives in the forthcoming general election.

Besides the members of community-based organisations and the DP delegation, there were no more than five other people present.

After DP representatives were given an opportunity to outline their policies, members of the audience asked questions.

One man charged that

the DP had organised the meeting in "a devious and sly manner" and had "deliberately gone over the heads of the people's organisations".

A local teacher, who claimed to be the brother of House of Delegates MP, Pat Poovalingham, said the party worked with collaborators who had been rejected "over and over by the oppressed community".

Speakers bluntly told the DP representatives "to go back where they came from and stay out of our areas".

The meeting unanimously adopted a resolution which referred to the DP as "a ruling class party primarily serving the interests of big business and content to work within the racist tricameral system which our people have rejected."

The resolution concluded: "We pledge to struggle for the fulfilment of the demands set out in the freedom charter as the only solutions to South Africa's problems."

Mr Bill Sewell, approached for comment after the meeting, said residents of Rylands had invited the party to the area to outline its policies.

"We were very surprised by the antagonism of the people who were not invited but took over the meeting."

The meeting was solely planned to outline the DP's policies and there was no plan of converting it into an election meeting.

"We will outline the party's policies to any persons anywhere in South Africa who invite us to do so."



The Democratic Party's Herbert Hirsch smiles bravely in the face of vehement objections by Athlone residents to an attempt by the party to hold an information meeting in Rylands Estate this week

PIC: BENNY GOOL

# Party stresses need to act against slums

304A By Alan Dunn

Local and provincial authorities should act against slum conditions, the National Party says in its action plan.

"Over-population of available housing and illegal squatting create health hazards and poor social conditions," the document says.

The document adds that this is irreconcilable with civilised standards and notes the need for adequate housing opportunities.

Authorities should also act against the contravention of health regulations and other malpractices in connection with over-population and illegal squatting.

Discrimination should be eliminated in public amenities. "The provision of adequate amenities for the needs of the various groups will do much towards improving the situation," the Nationalist document says.

"In cases where it is impracti-

cal to provide amenities specifically for various population groups, they must be made available to all in an orderly fashion."

The plan says that one of the party's main objectives is progress in providing and extending amenities for all communities.

It also aims for the "further opening of amenities where circumstances so require, and where this can take place without causing serious conflict".

## New methods likely to kill off old foe

Apartheid is holed up with a clutch of hostages. It cannot get away but it could take a lot of people with it if it decides to go down fighting.

Outside the house are those who want to play a waiting game and send in the sandwiches, and there are those who want to starve the bandit out.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement is celebrating its 30th birthday this week and re-doubling its efforts to isolate South Africa.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher drove the movement to new heights of indignation last week by meeting South Africa's future leader, F W de Klerk, at Downing Street.

In effect, Mrs Thatcher and the Anti-Apartheid Movement are forming a "hard guy/soft guy" act which may still bring the South African Government out with its hands up.

In retrospect it seems extraordinary that an Anti-Apartheid Movement was not founded until 10 years after the National Party had come to power in South Africa and many years after it had begun to campaign for separate development.

When Archbishop Trevor Huddleston stomped the length of Britain trying to tell people about the plight of black people in South Africa, he found a profound ignorance of the reality.

In those days "the only thing that people in Britain knew about South Africa was that it produced good cricket and rugby sides", the archbishop said.

"The black people just did not exist. They were ignored."

There were still Conservatives in the 1960s who publicly defended or even supported apartheid.

Denounced as a communist, Arch-

## AAM in Nineties may need to change

Why polarised protest against South Africa has had its day. RICHARD DOWDEN suggests a broad strategy to bring down apartheid.

bishop Huddleston needed a bodyguard to protect him at rallies.

A Gallup survey of British attitudes in 1965 asked if blacks in South Africa should have equal political rights and social equality.

Only 42 percent said yes, a figure that had grown to 72 percent by 1985.

At last after 30 years the movement has won the argument.

Today, no one would dare defend separate development and even serious supporters of the Government in Pretoria preface their statements with a condemnation of apartheid.

### Arms and sport

The movement scored successes in 1977 with the UN arms embargo and the Gleneagles Agreement on sporting links with South Africa.

In the past few years membership has taken off in the way the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's membership did in the early 1980s.

Between 1965 and 1984 it moved from 2 000 to just under 20 000 today, with about 1 300 affiliated organisations.

It scored a huge propaganda success with the Nelson Mandela birthday concert at London's Wembley stadium last year when, for the first time, it seemed being anti-apartheid was no longer the prerogative of professional campaigners but a national sentiment.

A visit to the AAM headquarters in Mandela Street, north London, confirms the impression that it has all the strengths and weaknesses of an old-fashioned protest movement.

The standard uniform is still track shoes and T-shirts, the standard technique is to organise, demonstrate and chant slogans.

The storeroom at the offices is stacked to the ceiling with campaigns going back several years.

Large brown packets are marked "I am prepared to die", "Sanctions Now", "Free Nelson Mandela".

The movement is open to anyone who is against apartheid but it feels happiest among the trade unions, students and the broad Left.

The AAM insists its left-wing image is a media creation.

"We do have broad support, with the exception of the business community and the bulk of the Conservative Party," says a spokesman.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement maintains close links with the ANC. Some would say the ANC dictates its policy.

Will it now, as apartheid crumbles, follow the ANC's lead and emerge from its protest stage to head a broad cross-party coalition of all those who want apartheid ended? — The Independent News Service.

Star 29/1/87

803

304A

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

The Group Areas Act as an instrument to pattern residential settlement has long outgrown its usefulness and should be scrapped soon, the chairman of the Development Studies Department at the Rand Afrikaans University, Mr Johan Fick, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Speaking on the second day of the conference on "The Witwatersrand — Key to South Africa's Prosperity," at the Carlton Hotel, Mr Fick said research he conducted in the United States, Europe and black-ruled southern African countries showed overwhelmingly that ethnic loyalties resulted in a

## Group Areas Act not necessary, says RAU man

number of areas within cities having certain predominant ethnic characters.

"The pattern seems to be clear," he said. "If groups are differentiable, the social dynamics underlying the process of residential settlement invariably manifests itself in a strong tendency of mono-colour neighbourhoods to persist."

He said the perception among many white South Africans that the Group

Areas Act guaranteed an own community life for them was of a mythical nature. The truth, he said, was that community-based interests in the vast majority of neighbourhoods were not threatened.

The Government's and the Johannesburg City Council's actions should be aimed primarily at facilitating "the inevitable outcomes of residential patterning in these mar-

ginal areas" instead of resisting them.

He said particular attention should be given to the handling of alienation, frustration and conflict in neighbourhoods going through the transitional phase of a character change.

The process of character change for an area, he pointed out, could be quite traumatic and therefore had to be cushioned by mechanisms such as the enhancement through subsidy strategies of the mobility of those leaving the area, while laying a strong emphasis on the maintenance of standards, security and quality of life in the area.

# 'Change' to Areas Act

Star 29/6/89  
By Alan Dunn

304A

The National Party wants to stop making criminals of Group Areas Act offenders.

While it intends retaining the muscle of turning to prosecution as a last resort, the NP plans to create an entire bureaucracy to apply the law "firmly, yet sensitively".

The Minister for Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "The idea is to shift emphasis from the police (enforcing the Act)."

He was explaining the NP's five-year "Plan of Action", which states that until effective and generally acceptable measures could be substituted, the Act would racially protect residential areas.

## PROSECUTION

The plan says that the Government should create "notification points" where contraventions of the law can be reported.

It says further that officials would then probe the case and attempt to solve the problem without legal intervention. Officials would offer "assistance and negotiation" to the people and community involved.

"For this purpose a special housing component has already been established in the Department of Land Affairs," the 22-page action plan says.

"Should co-operation not be forthcoming and after alternative housing has been made available, prosecution may be instituted."

He said the Act was very much under review, but he could not put a time-frame on negotiations. The Government would do its utmost in the next five years to replace the Act through negotiations. It would concentrate on reaching agreement.

The plan says that individuals and groups should have the freedom to choose their own communal lifestyles:

"Therefore provision is made for an own community life, own residential areas and own schools for those who so prefer, as well as a pattern of free settlement, together with a system of subsidised private schools for those who prefer to live outside a specific group context," it says.

Communities would be run along "live and let live" lines.

A strategy was needed to relieve both the urgent housing demands of people in the process of rapid urbanisation and to protect the community lives of established communities.

The NP intends continuing protection of "own" residential areas.

## 'No' to free settlement

~~3049~~ Pretoria Correspondent (3049)

Verwoerdburg has voted against a free settlement application in an area called The Reeds.

The area — The Reeds extensions 4 and 17 — does not meet the viability requirements laid down by the town council which is to recommend to the Free Settlement Board that the application be refused.

In a declaration of policy, the council said no existing residential areas would be considered as free settlement areas. *Staw 29/6/87*

An application for free settlement in a new residential area would have to be viable with regard to infrastructure, including accessibility and "own" facilities, and the wishes of local residents would be given serious consideration.

Management committee chairman Dr Pieter Smith said at a council meeting last night that he hoped this policy and its practical implementation in the decision on The Reeds would suffice. He called on protesters to "stop crying wolf".

## NP is willing to negotiate rights

Political Staff 304A

The National Party is prepared to introduce a Bill of Human Rights only as part of a future negotiated constitution.

But it has set as a key objective an intention to give "content to the overall judicial and structural protection of groups in constitutional structures".

In its plan for the next five years the NP says a democratic system could only be maintained if it protected individuals, preserved group values and guarantees the political rights of groups by a credible system which should enjoy maximum support.

The plan referred to the recent South African Law Commission report on a Bill of Rights.

The Commission had recommended a Bill of Rights which would protect individual rights and group values such as culture, religion and language.

It said the political rights of groups should be protected in the constitution.

#### Political Staff

The National Party's five-year "plan of action" unveiled in full detail overnight for the NP federal congress in Pretoria today, is in for a buffeting from opposition groups.

The plan, announced by Cabinet Ministers Mr Barend du Plessis and Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, was interpreted by opposition groups as a new election manifesto and dismissed as "vague and unexciting".

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Dennis Worrall said this was the election for the NP to seek a

# NP's five-year action plan already

mandate to repeal apartheid, but the plan, in fact, entrenched apartheid.

Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said the plan was unacceptable because it perpetuated the artificial formation of groups on a race basis.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said he believed it was based on an Afrikaner Broederbond document leaked

3044

Star 29/6/84

to the CP.

The NP plan would make a black majority government inevitable and whites would become prisoners of a constitutional system they were unable to change.

The plan commits the NP to achieving general political, constitutional and economic goals over the next five years.

It strongly emphasises the need to negotiate these objec-

tives with other communities. The NP has stressed that the plan is not a manifesto.

The goals in the plan include a virtual decriminalisation of the Group Areas Act, a commitment to reduce personal and company tax rates to specified levels, a change in the powers and election procedure of the State President, the replacement of the President's Council by a non-political body of ex-

perts, other mechanisms to prevent minority groups being dominated, a Bill of Human and Group Rights as part of a future negotiated constitution, and reducing the call-up of Citizen Force and Commando members as much as possible.

ANC spokesman Miss Freni Ginwala told the BBC's "Newsnight" programme: "There are some minor changes in the social sphere, but blacks will have

full of "fine-sounding phrases", but these were meaningless until acted upon.

Professor Willem Kleyhans, former head of political science at the University of South Africa, said the plan was a "damp squib" and a "major disappointment" to the electorate.

The National Party intends to go to the electorate on September 6 with a new federal policy that allows free formation of groups, including an open group, but it still bases its approach squarely on race.

● See Page 4M.

to vote separately and whites will ultimately have the veto. It doesn't meet our demands."

Anti-Apartheid Movement general secretary Mr Mike Terry dismissed the plan as window dressing.

"Obviously one of their motives is to win more English-speaking voters," he said.

Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman told "Newsnight" the NP plan was

under fire

304A

Mr 29/6/89.

304A

## NP launches plan for SA's future

# 'Wise men' group to spark vital deal

### Political Staff

The National Party intends appointing a group of "wise men" to stimulate a leadership negotiation process aimed at a new constitutional system.

Along with strong emphasis on the need for negotiation, the concept of South Africa as one undivided state with one citizenship for all is stressed in the National Party "plan for action", which was unveiled in Pretoria yesterday.

The plan calls on the Government to instruct credible and independent experts to study all possible constitutional models and to define the implications, advantages and disadvantages of each model.

A report should then be tabled dealing with:

- Constitutional options to prevent domination of one group by another.
- Methods by which a constitutional dispensation may effectively protect the political rights and values of various

groups.

- Methods to entrench a constitution against future amendment or repeal which may result in the infringement of individual and group rights.

Consideration of a Bill of Human Rights as part of a negotiated constitution is recommended.

The plan states that every South African has the right to participate in political decision-making at all levels of government which affect his interests.

### Election plank

The plan, on which the party will fight the September election, emphasises the need for consensus through negotiation preceded by intensive talks with the leaders of groups willing to participate peacefully.

The party also commits itself to placing before the electorate any new constitutional principles before implementation.

The use of violence is rejected as being in conflict with the fundamentals of democracy.

And therefore only people and organisations with a commitment to peace could be permitted to take part in the political process and in negotiations.

One of the key objectives will be to promote self-determination in own affairs along with group determination on general affairs by means of the devolution of power.

Attempts will be made to get a "new dynamic" into negotiations aimed at finding a basis for eliminating and preventing domination, and creating a method to deal with disputes.

The party is also committing itself to making a definite start, based on discussions and negotiations, with the setting up of institutions for the creation of a new system.

The functions and powers of the head of state in a new system and the manner in which he should be elected will be reassessed.

Further checks and balances, such as the power of veto, are also to be considered and negotiated.



West German Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Mr Norbert Blum with National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk during their 45-minute meeting in Pretoria yesterday. Mr Blum later told reporters Mr de Klerk should be given a chance and judged on his deeds.

# President's Council on way out? (3048)

By Peter Fabricius,  
Political Correspondent

The National Party plans to scrap the controversial President's Council and replace it with a non-political mechanism for resolving deadlocks between legislative bodies representing various groups.

The idea of an "objective and depoliticised deadlock-breaking mechanism" is mooted in the NP's five-year "Plan of Action" which was unveiled at its federal congress in Pretoria yesterday.

The deadlock-breaking body, which would have the final say when disputes occurred, is one of several mechanisms proposed to prevent groups being dominated by one another.

The idea is that legislative decisions will be made by a consensus between groups.

Where consensus cannot be reached, deadlock will be broken by a group of "wise men" — non-political experts who are recognised by the community as such.

"The institution must be designed to function as objectively and as apolitically as possible within the framework of the values enshrined in the Constitution and it must be held in high esteem by the entire population," the plan says.

# Group identity still a key policy of Govt

## Political Correspondent

A political dispensation based on the group concept remains the key to National Party dogma but with additional groups including a non-racial South African group added.

But the party intends to go into the election admitting that the manner in which group is defined must be overhauled in the next five years to make it more acceptable to other groups.

This could include the scrapping of the Population Registration Act.

The plan is to negotiate a new definition to group which could include a new non-racial South African group.

However, at a press conference Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, did not say whether the NP was prepared to drop the group concept altogether.

The groups, including an all white group and the non-independent homelands, would be the building block of any new constitutional arrangement.

Dr van der Merwe said there was no limit to the number of groups which could be formed with various parameters including culture or language being taken into account.

But the party proposed that in any new constitutional framework minority groups would retain a veto right on all important issues.

The party leaves the voters in no doubt that it will push ahead with the costly and controversial concept of own affairs, saying it would promote self-determination regarding own af-

fairs by "continued action."

The five-year action plan says the present definition of groups created problems and should be revised in a process of negotiation to allow greater freedom of choice.

The NP suggests the following principles could apply.

- A new basis of definition should be negotiated by leaders of existing groups.

- There should be freedom of association and dissociation which would permit a person to change from one group to another with the consent of the recipient.

- Provision "must also be made" for a group for which South African citizenship will be the only qualification.

- The right of a group to maintain its own identity and values must be effectively protected.



CAN THIS 29/6/89 3064

NP CONGRESS

# 'Wise men' to replace President's Council

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE National Party plans to scrap the controversial President's Council and replace it with a non-political mechanism — probably a constitutional court — for resolving deadlocks between legislative bodies representing various groups.

The dead-locking body, which would have the final say

when disputes arose, is one of several mechanisms proposed to prevent groups being dominated by one another.

The idea is that legislative decisions will be made by a consensus between the groups.

Where consensus cannot be reached, deadlock will be broken by a group of "wise men" — non-political experts recognised by the community.

"The institution must func-

tion as objectively and as apolitically as possible within the framework of the values enshrined in the Constitution and it must be held in high esteem by the entire population," according to the plan.

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said the NP was aiming at something like the West German constitutional court.

This was not strictly a court

of law but a body of experts of high standing in society.

The NP had not decided if the body would be elected but it did not foresee this.

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, in his capacity as NP information chief, said the very fact that the NP was prepared to consider a non-elected body was a "major deviation from all previous NP thinking".

## Group concept remains foundation of policy

From BRUCE CAMERON  
Political Staff

A political dispensation based on the group concept remains the key to National Party dogma but with additional groups, including a non-racial group, added.

The party intends to go into the election admitting that the manner in which "group" is defined must be overhauled in the next five years to make it more acceptable to other groups.

This could include the scrapping of the Population Registration Act.

The plan is to negotiate a new definition of group which could include a new non-racial group as well as a restricted freedom of association.

### BUILDING BLOCKS

At a Press conference on the NP plan of action Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, however fudged whether the NP was prepared to enter negotiations that would result in the group concept being dropped.

The groups, including an all-white group and the non-independent homelands, would be the building-blocks of any new constitutional arrangement.

Dr van der Merwe said there was no limit to the number of groups which could be formed with parameters including culture or language being taken into account.

The party leaves the voters in no doubt that it will push ahead with the costly and controversial concept of own affairs, saying it would promote self-determination regarding own affairs by "continued action".

The five-year action plan says the present definition of groups for political participation created problems and should be revised in a process of negotiation to allow greater freedom of choice.

### DEFINITION

The NP suggests the following principles could apply:

- A new basis of definition should be negotiated by leaders of existing groups;

- There should be freedom of association and dissociation which would permit a person to change from one group to another with the consent of the recipient;

- Provision "must also be made" for a group for which South African citizenship will be the only qualification; and

- The right of a group to maintain its own identity and values must be effectively protected.

The NP says the principle of sub-governments had already been established in area or regional governments, such as the homeland governments and group governments, such as the three houses of parliament.

"In a state in which cultures and interests differ, it is extremely important to extend this federal principle so that each area has as much say as possible over its own affairs."

# Nats unveil plan for 'one undivided SA'

By TOS WENTZEL  
Political Correspondent

THE concept of South Africa as one undivided state, with one citizenship for all is emphasised in the National Party "plan for action" which was unveiled at its federal congress in Pretoria today.

The party intends appointing a group of "wise men" to stimulate a negotiation process among leaders aimed at a new constitutional system.

The plan calls on the government to instruct credible and independent experts to study all possible constitutional models and to define the implications, advantages and disadvantages of each model.

A report should then be tabled dealing with:

- The constitutional options available to prevent domination of one group by another.

- Particularly the methods by which a constitutional dispensation may effectively protect the political rights and values of groups and the prac-

tical implications of the various groups.

- Methods which are available to entrench such a constitution against future amendment or repeal which may result in the infringement of individual and group rights.

Consideration of a Bill of Human Rights as part of a negotiated constitution is recommended.

### Decision-making

The plan states that every South African has the right to take part in political decision-making at all levels of government which affect his interests, subject to the principle of no domination.

The plan on which the party will fight the September election emphasises the need for consensus reached through negotiation preceded by intensive talks with the leaders of groups willing to take part peacefully.

The party also commits itself to placing before the electorate any new constitutional principles before they are implemented through parliament.

The use of violence is rejected as being in conflict with the

fundamentals of democracy. Therefore only people and organisations with a commitment to peace can be permitted to take part in the political process and in negotiations.

One of the key objectives will be to promote self-determination regarding own affairs along with group determination on general affairs by means of the devolution of power.

Attempts will be made to get a "new dynamic" into the negotiation process aimed at:

- Finding a basis for eliminating and preventing domination;

- Creating a deadlock-breaking mechanism to deal with disputes or obstructionism;

- A more just and meaningful basis on which groups may be defined for political participation.

The plan states that the democratic system can be maintained only if it protects individuals, preserves group values and guarantees the political rights of groups by means of a credible system.

## Nats plan tax cuts over next 5 years

By PETER FABRICIUS  
Political Staff

THE National Party plans to go to the electorate with a commitment to make substantial cuts in individual and company tax in the next five years.

In a complete departure from normal practice, the NP "Plan of Action" contains specific economic and other targets.

The plan appears to have been inspired by the NP's fear that bread-and-butter issues will cost it heavily at the polls.

It was unveiled at the National Party's extraordinary federal congress in Pretoria today.

### TARGETS

The economic targets include:

- A reduction in the marginal tax rate for individuals from 45 percent for an R80 000 income to no more than 40 percent for the R100 000 level.

- A reduction in company tax from 50 to 40 percent and the phasing out of tax abatements as recommended by the Margo Commission.

- A reduction in the deficit before borrowing to about

three percent of gross domestic product.

Less specific targets include reduction of inflation to "more acceptable levels", a continuous programme of privatisation and deregulation, an industrial strategy focused on export promotion and import replacement, further beneficiation of raw materials, continued reconstruction of the agricultural sector, and promotion of tourism.

### "DEFINITE RISKS"

Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance, said at a Press conference that the NP had set quantifiable economic goals for the first time and there were "definite risks" attached to it.

Lowering the marginal rate for personal tax to 40 percent would lower all rates, he said.

Though the government planned to reduce company tax from 50 to 40 percent, it would not lose.

Many companies were in effect paying only 30 percent by avoiding tax on expenses. By phasing this out the government intended to make all companies pay 40 percent.

## Bill of Rights to be worked out in future

Political Staff

THE National Party is prepared to introduce a Bill of Human Rights but only as part of a future negotiated constitution.

But it has set as a key objective, an intention to give "content to the overall judicial and structural protection of groups in constitutional structures".

A democratic system could only be maintained if it protected individuals, preserved group values and guaranteed the political rights of groups by a credible system which should enjoy maximum support.

The plan referred to the recent South African Law Commission report on a Bill of Rights.

The commission recommended a Bill of Rights which would protect individual rights and group values such as culture, religion and language.

But the political rights of groups should be protected in the constitution.

## 'Reform, renewal are necessary'

Political Correspondent

THE key to South Africa's reinstatement in its rightful place in the international community is to be found in the progress of development, reform and renewal programmes, the National Party says.

The long-term goals must include the restoration of sound economic and cultural relations worldwide, international competition in world sport, membership of international institutions and organisations. Outside interference is rejected.

## Security still a major objective

Political Staff

WHILE annual Defence Force camps and the involvement of Citizen Force and commando members should be as limited as possible, the maintenance and development of security services is the National Party's long-term goal, according to its five-year plan.

The state of emergency was "temporarily justifiable" to enable the security forces to restore stability. Defence Force readiness would be maintained and monitored, and a key objective was the adequate equipping of the police "to enable them to fight crime even more effectively".

## New treatment in pipeline for Group Areas offenders

By ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

THE National Party wants to stop making criminals of Group Areas Act offenders.

While it intends retaining the muscle of turning to prosecution as a last resort, the party plans to create an entire bureaucracy to apply the law "firmly, yet sensitively".

The Minister for Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, said: "... the idea is to shift emphasis from the police (enforcing the Act)."

### RACIALLY PROTECTED

The plan states that until effective and acceptable measures could be substituted the Act would racially protect residential areas.

The plan says the government should create "notification points" where contraventions of the law can be reported.

Officials would probe the case and attempt to solve the problem without legal intervention. They would offer "assistance and negotiation" to the people and community involved.

For this purpose a special housing

component has already been established in the Department of Land Affairs," the 22-page action plan says.

"Should co-operation not be forthcoming and after alternative housing, where appropriate, has been made available, prosecution may be instituted."

### UNDER REVIEW

Dr van der Merwe said he could not vouch for police not becoming marginally involved in some cases.

He said the Act was under review, but could not put a time-frame on negotiations. The government would do its utmost in the next five years to replace the Act through negotiations and would concentrate on reaching agreement.

The plan says individuals and groups should have the freedom to choose their own communal lifestyles.

"Provision is made for an own community life... and a pattern of free settlement, together with a system of subsidised private schools for those who prefer to live outside a specific group context," it says.



Dr Dawie de Villiers

## Democrats <sup>PR 645</sup> asked to <sup>29/6/87</sup> leave meeting <sup>2047</sup>

By DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Staff Reporter

A GROUP of people, apparently Cape Action League members, disrupted a meeting in Rylands because they thought "it was some sort of election meeting", said Democratic Party member, Mr Herbert Hirsch.

Mr Hirsch and two other DP members were told that the party was not welcome on the Cape Flats or in the mass democratic movement because it was a ruling-class party with "collaborators".

They were later asked to leave the meeting, in Samaj Centre.

They "would have welcomed the opportunity of talking and listening to members of the mass democratic movement. We desire constructive discussion with anyone on the future of our country", Mr Hirsch said.

### INVITED

The meeting was not a DP meeting, said Mr Hirsch, who with Western Cape regional chairman Mr Bill Sewell and University of Cape Town lecturer Mr Jannie Hofmeyer, had accepted an invitation from residents to explain the party's policy.

Before accepting Mr Sewell had emphasised that the election would not be discussed because "the regional executive of the DP made a decision in May not to fight any seats in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives in this area".

● Mr Sewell and Mr Hofmeyer were not available for comment today because they are on their way to Lusaka for talks with the African National Congress.

# Dawie out of touch, says DP opponent

NK6u5 29/6/89 3048

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

THE Democratic Party candidate for Piketberg, Mr Attie Engelbrecht, a former National Party member, last night accused the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Dr Dawie de Villiers, of being a political mercenary out of touch with the local community.

Mr Engelbrecht, a Boland farmer whose family has been prominent in National Party circles in the area, vowed to defeat Dr de Villiers in the September poll.

Mr Engelbrecht, brother of former Springbok rugby wing Jannie Engelbrecht, said: "I am heading for a win here. It's not just a question of reducing his majority."

Dr de Villiers, who moved to Piketberg after being ousted by the PFP in Gardens in 1981, beat off a Conservative Party challenge in the last election and retained the seat with a majority of 5 314.

Welcoming Mr Engelbrecht's candidacy last night, Democratic Party regional chairman Mr Bill Sewell said: "We are looking forward to a good fight. We are rustling up a team and will give it all we've got."

## Plight of farmers

Mr Engelbrecht, whose father was a member of the Ossewa Brandwag and later stood twice as an NP candidate in the area, blamed President Botha's Rubicon speech for his defection from the NP.

Mr Engelbrecht accused Dr de Villiers of being out of touch with constituency problems and in particular with the economic plight of farmers. Many people were dissatisfied with the government's handling of the economy.

"There are a lot of people struggling here, but he is out of touch with that. He is an outsider."

Mr Engelbrecht has been a farmer in the Piketberg area all his life and has business links with the fruit and vegetable industry.

222121

# FW rules out scrapping key acts

# Apartheid stay laws

Mr. Truitt 30/6/89

30/6/89

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

**PRETORIA.** — National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk last night ruled out the scrapping of key apartheid legislation on the grounds that this would cause "chaos" in South Africa.

Pinned down by persistent questioning at a press conference at the NP federal congress here, Mr De Klerk said the government could not "just scrap" laws like the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act and "create a void".

He would also not say if the NP would be prepared to amend the Separate Amenities Act after the September election or whether blacks would be allowed to vote in the election in five years time. He appeared to back away from scenarios of fundamental change sketched by fellow ministers

PW 'no longer active in politics'



FW de Klerk

Mr. Truitt 30/6/89

From page 1

FW 30/6/89

pensation could result in the scrapping of a central legislature on general affairs, he said: "We are steering absolutely away from specifics and blueprints and defining exactly what the final result is which we would like to see."

"This is a fixed framework, but it is unilaterally developed and stated by us, I do not think we would have the same success if through a process of discussion we can formulate what we want in the final analysis for a legislative process."

Mr De Klerk told the press conference that the government had never looked at a possible fourth chamber of Parliament for blacks as a possible solution to the constitutional problem facing the country.

"We want to have something different," he said, but did not elaborate.

## No blueprints

Western diplomatic observers interviewed by the Cape Times at the congress came away disappointed and unimpressed by the "woolliness" of Mr De Klerk's pronouncements and said he had not provided them with much to sell to their governments.

A cautious Mr De Klerk said he wished to steer "absolutely away" from defining "specifics and blueprints" when it came to the nature of a future legislature, but ruled out a fourth chamber in Parliament for blacks.

Responding to a question on whether the NP would be prepared to scrap the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act, his answer was:

"Our position is that we don't just scrap something and create a void.

"We want to talk about how we must organise in the social sphere and in the ambit of the two acts ... How do we want to organise that — what must take its place.

"We do not intend to just scrap an act which would create a vacuum which in the case of the Population Registration Act would merely cause chaos."

When he was asked whether the Separate Amenities Act would be amended immediately after the election, Mr De Klerk would not commit himself.

He said: "I am the leader of the NP at this moment — I want to win an election.

"It is the head of a government which exactly plans the legislative programme of a particular session.

"Ask that question later, when you know to whom you should ask it."

Asked if blacks would be voting in the next general election in five years' time, Mr De Klerk responded: "In as far as blacks do not have all the opportunities to vote, we would like to reach that situation as soon as possible.

"But first you will have to reach agreement through negotiation on how the governments at various levels should be institutionalised, where they should vote or how they should vote.

"It may take longer than to the next election. I would not like to tie myself down to a time scale."

Asked if NP plans "not to count heads but groups" in a future dis-

To page 2

## Political Correspondent

PRETORIA. — President P W Botha is no longer active in politics, according to Mr F W de Klerk, the leader of the National Party.

Mr De Klerk was speaking at a press conference after the NP's federal congress which the President refused to attend.

Responding to a question about what role Mr Botha would play in the upcoming election, he said: "Mr P W Botha is no longer active in politics."



PW Botha

He added: "He prefers it that way and we respect his wishes."

Mr De Klerk's statement was made in spite of the fact that constitutionally Mr Botha, as State President, is still in ultimate control of the country.

He can shuffle the cabinet, lift the state of emergency or even declare martial law.

He has not yet signed the official proclamation for the September election.

Nationalists have recently expressed nervousness that the former Nat leader may emerge from his sulk before the election and embarrass the party.

● Reports on NP congress — Page 4

# What others think of the 5-year plan

*Sowetan 30/6/81*  
THE National Party's plan of action announced yesterday showed that the danger to the government was from the left and not from the right, the co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, said yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting in his constituency of Randburg, he said the document which was aimed at saving the NP in the coming election, contained the same basic fault it had been making for the past five years.



**Tom Boya.**

The plan would be of no use if the cornerstones of discrimination still remained on the statute book, the president of the United Municipalities of South Africa, Mr Tom Boya, said.

In a statement in reaction to the five-year plan announced at the NP congress yesterday, he said that while Umsa welcomed the plan, the test would be whether the NP voters in the forthcoming elections, also wanted peaceful negotiations.

*304A*  
The biggest union in South Africa said that while the country was sinking deeper into crisis, all De Klerk could offer was "revamped versions of old formulae."

The National Party showed that nothing new could be expected under Mr F W de Klerk's leadership, the Congress of South African Trade Unions said.

304H



SOWETAN, Friday, June 29, 1989

# LUSAKA SURPRISE

A BIG surprise awaits about 120 South African whites who meet with the ANC today.

**SOWETAN Reporter  
and Africa News  
Organisation**

Heinz Grosskopf, a white activist wanted by the police in connection with the death of several people in the Krugersdorp bomb explosion in 1987, will be in the banned organisation's delegation.

The white contingent is the biggest group to leave South Africa for Lusaka.

Grosskopf has played a major role in organising the conference which officially starts this morning, putting him in a totally different role: From a white ANC military commander to an ANC member taking part in a

conference which will discuss negotiations in depth.

According to a Five Freedoms Forum statement issued in Lusaka yesterday, the South African delegation to the three-day conference will include 120 people representing a cross-section of organisations and parties who work in the white community and who share a goal of bringing about an end to apartheid.

The conference — with the theme "the role of whites in a changing

society" will be focused around 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.

One of the central points of the FFF is that of negotiation. "True negotiation with many recognised leaders is not on the Government's agenda," says the statement.

Although there will be intensive debate about the role of negotiation and the "who, how and when" of negotiations, the FFF expects that views on this issue will differ substantially.

It adds: "We attempt to supply a platform for debate to aid the process of change. We recognise that a future South Africa cannot be approached in ignorance of the major political players. We regard the ANC as the political representative of a large portion of South Africans."

The conference will also provide the people from inside South Africa with the opportunity to present their strategies for change and their standpoints on various issues.

The FFF believes that conferences of this nature ease the climate for the Government to move into eventual negotiations with the ANC.

304A

# SA polls may bring change

WASHINGTON — The September elections in South Africa are expected to bring about a change in power that could yield positive results in dismantling apartheid, so that Canada may soon be able

to relax its sanctions against Pretoria, a Canadian official has said. Mr John Small, the official in Canada's external relations department in charge of monitoring Canadian companies operating in

South Africa, has told the Canadian media he believes there will be movement in South Africa after the election. The Canadian and other governments should be ready to reward South Africa when

they saw real progress that benefited black and coloured people, he said. "But don't remove the sanctions until you see something actually happening, and so far nothing has happened," he said.

Mr Small said only six million) last year from Canadian companies still Canadian dollars 257 had operations in South Africa, and their power to press for an end to apartheid was considerably diminished.

Canadian investment in South Africa dropped from 26 000 in 1985 to just more than dollars 70 million (R162 5 000 today.

## Reaction to NP's 5-year plan for SA

# THUMBS DOWN

Sowetan 30/6/89

304A



F W DE KLERK

BLACK leaders yesterday scoffed at the National Party's proposed five-year plan aimed at getting blacks involved in determining the country's future.

By MOKGADI PELA

yesterday, will serve as the party's election manifesto.

Some of the features of the plan included:

- Greater emphasis on freedom of association in group formation.
- The setting-up of institutions in which leaders of all groups can participate in the

• To Page 2

## Plan is a fraud

• From Page 1

creation of a new constitutional future.

- Possible acceptance by the NP of a Bill of Rights as part of the future negotiated constitution.
- Decriminalisation of the Group Areas Act and

- Lowering of personal income tax and company tax.

Reacting to these moves an ANC spokesman said the bottom line was still the same, namely political rights based on groups.

The fact that blacks and whites will vote separately does not meet our demands, the spokesman added.

The PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim, said the National Party's position was an attempt to placate the international community by saying that it was moving towards reform.

Those interviewed said the Government had retained the unwanted group identity concept and had not said anything about scrapping all

discriminatory laws, particularly the Population Registration Act on which apartheid hinges.

The five-year plan, which was being discussed by the federal congress of the party

"We maintain that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be eradicated," he said.

BCMA's publicity and information secretary, Vuyisile Qunta, said his organisation was totally indifferent towards these announcements.

"John Vorster asked to be given six months during which the world would see a changed SA and 12 years later we are being told about a five-year plan," Qunta said.

Cas Coovadia, publicity secretary for Actstop, said the Government's plan was a fraud.

The Government had not spelt out what it meant by black leaders.

"As for the Group Areas Act being decriminalised we feel it is inhuman and consequently cannot be improved. It must be scrapped," Coovadia said.

A spokesman for Steve Biko Foundation, Nkosi Molala, said blacks were no longer looking towards the "illegal" Botha African regime for direction. For blacks the Government has outlived its imposed usefulness.

ler contest - Page 4

**L**ITTLE more than an hour's drive north-west of Johannesburg via picturesque Magaliesburg is the town of Rustenburg.

Rustenburg is some 48km from the gambling resort of Sun City, which is officially in Bophuthatswana. The town is famous for its oranges, its mangoes used for aachaar, and most importantly, for its platinum mines which earn huge revenues for this country.

It is the town where broedertwis in all its glory, or infamy, depending on your view, will be displayed in the next few weeks in the run-up to the September parliamentary elections.

For AWB leader, Eugene TerreBlanche has announced that he too will contest the white seat, which means that he will be doing battle with the Conservative Party and the National Party.

Someone has described this as the war between the white right, the far right and the right-or-else. And behind it is some irony.

But let me go back a generation or so. My father's eldest brother was an imaan at the mosque in the heart of Rustenburg. In his teens, my father worked in the town as a shop assistant.

Long after he moved to Johannesburg, he'd often visit Rustenburg with his family, and I spent many happy childhood holidays there.

As all country towns, the "Indian" community of Rustenburg was extremely hospitable to visitors. Sports teams, whether of adults or schools, would be given red-carpet treatment. With friends, I would go cycling on the quiet country roads, relishing the beautiful fragrance of the citrus blossoms and the variety of colourful plants that grew in the hot climate.

At night, when the boys got together at a cafe, we would often decide to walk around town. But we would not venture too far from the Indian business and residential area. There was always the undercurrent of fear of being beaten up by whites.

# OOM PAUL WAS GOOD FRIEND OF THE BHAYATS

**RUSTENBURG, one of the citadels of Afrikanerdom, is once more in the news with the announcement that Eugene TerreBlanche of the Afrikaanse Weerstandsbeweging, will contest the seat in the September 6 elections. Ameen Akhalwaya, editor of the Lenasia-based Indicator, recently visited the town and looks at a little of its history and the morality of its right wing politics.**

Today, there is no house, no garden, no fish pond. In its place stands a huge grey, soulless concrete structure that belongs to a national chainstore.

There is no trace of the premises occupied by the Bhayat/Saloojee family. The TerreBlanches and other ultrarightists despise people of Indian origin. Some of them claim to be loyalists of Boer leader, Paul Kruger.

Yet they deny their own history. Or at the very least, they show their gratitude in a very strange fashion. And that is why it is all so ironical.

Legend has it that Oom Paul was a good friend of Suliman and Fatima Bhayat, relatives of present Transvaal Indian Congress president, Cassim Saloojee.

At the turn of the century, the Bhayats provided hospitality to Oom Paul whenever he visited Rustenburg. When the Anglo-Boer war broke out, Oom Paul was short of money.

Mr Bhayat gave him what was then the huge sum of 2000 pounds (R4000), which was settled only after the war ended, recalls Mr Saloojee.

When Oom Paul was on the run from the Brits, the Bhayats supplied him the necessary provisions, including food.

Once, Oom Paul took a liking to an Arabian horse owned by Mr



AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche, one of the contestants in the three-cornered fight between the white right, the far right and the right-or-else...

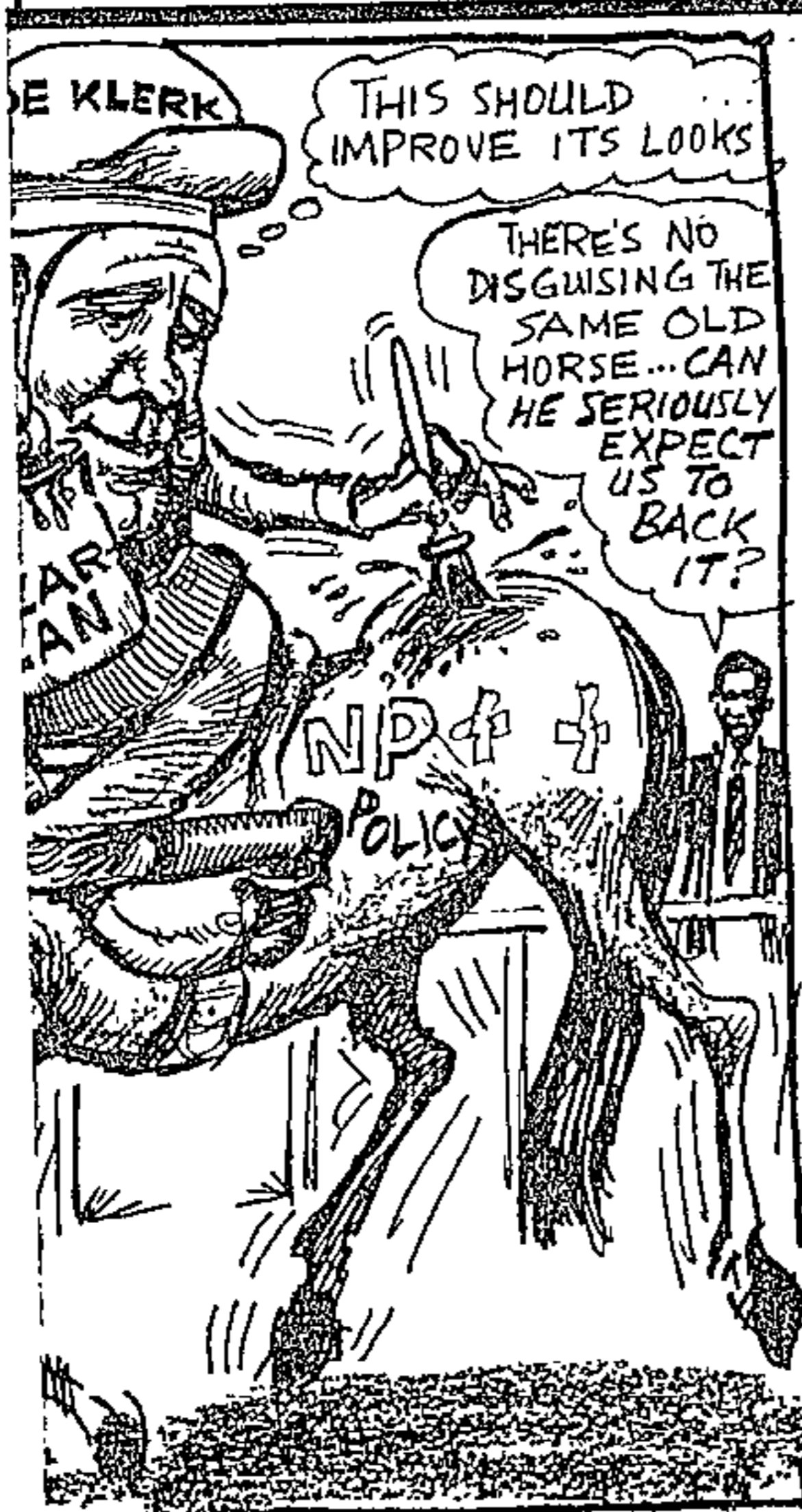
Bhayat. Mr Bhayat presented it to him, and Oom Paul reciprocated by giving him a gold brick.

When the Muslim community wanted to build a mosque, Oom Paul facilitated acquisition of a piece of land in the town centre, and it was because of this, says Mr Saloojee, that it was saved from expropriation under the Group Areas Act.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thloloe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg.

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Today, those supporters of the CP and the AWB are more hostile than the Nats to people of Indian origin. Yet any platteland "Indian" trader will tell you how the rightwingers, over the past century, managed to survive by being able to obtain goods and foodstuff on credit — sometimes never repaid — from "Indian" shops.

And of course, the racists will never acknowledge the sweat, and sometimes blood, of people classified African and coloured that went into building SA — and giving white people here one of the highest standards of living in the world.

Instead, white people have given them group areas and homelands such as Bophuthatswana, but that is another story.

In the meantime, the Nats occupy the parliamentary seat of Rustenburg, which, they say, sticks-out like a sore.

## PERSPECTIVE



**I**T became clear this week that the National Party is incapable of dismantling apartheid.

Since the cornerstone of its policies, complete separation of the races, was proved to be absurd, the party has been lurching from one "solution" to another, surviving on crisis management only.

At least this time the party was honest enough to say it was looking only five years ahead. It has no vision big enough to see South Africa as a truly democratic country.

We are again going through a pattern that has become standard since 1960 when the country went through the crisis caused by the Sharpeville massacre: the international community gets tough as a result of events inside the country; the Government responds with a combination of greater repression and talk of reform; the economy improves and life returns to normal, that is, with the whites still firmly in control, until the next crisis.

After the Sharpeville crisis Dr Hendrik Verwoerd responded by announcing that he was going to give the Bantustans independence.

Also in the aftermath of Sharpeville we got detention without trial, the Sabotage Act and the Terrorism Act. The PAC and the ANC were also banned in this period.

Relations with the international community improved, not because they were convinced that the Bantustan policy was just, but because they were convinced that the South African Govern-

SA going through the same exercise again

ment was not about to be toppled.

It was the greater repression that won support.

We went through the same exercise in 1976, and we are going through it again in the wake of the 1984 crisis.



DR VERWOERD

Each time the basics of apartheid — a horizontal stratification of society in terms of race, with the whites in the top layer, enjoying power and privilege — continue.

The five-year plan does not challenge this structure. It is merely new language to describe old phenomena.

The only people who will be fooled by it will be people who want to be fooled: like the Margaret Thatchers and the Norbert Blums.

## 's market lease extended

Reporter

Market Square is to be for five years to flea-market Mr Bob Hayward and Mr Shields — at a rental of including rates, esca-

ars will also be im- in connection with traffic flow around landscaping of the on the Square.

the council indi- the terms of lease agreed to by Mr Shields, who origi- square as a flea-

a lease of almost essed interest in of Greenmarket

Council said the square could be se on a short-term possibly, and dur- and Cape Festival

This would have to be negotiated from time to time on a separate basis.

Earlier this year, the amenities and health committee decided that because Mr Hayward and Mr Shields had introduced the highly successful flea-market on the square, vendors would not be invited for the lease.

Instead negotiations would be entered into for their continued use of the square.

It was understood that the developers who had been interested in constructing a parking garage beneath the square had abandoned the plan after a feasibility study showed it would not be economically viable.

• Councillor Mr Neil Ross said tables and chairs should not be stacked up and left on the square when not in use.

Mr Louis Kreiner agreed, but said the lessees had recently lacked security of tenure and without this had been unwilling to invest in the equipment needed to take the tables and chairs to storage elsewhere.

## DP to try to resolve seats dilemma

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party will today attempt to resolve the thorny issue of whether it should participate in the elections for the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives in the September 6 elections.

Its decision, which is to be taken by the executive of its national board in Cape Town this morning, has already caused tensions and could lead to a split by some of its black members if the DP decides to restrict itself to only defending the three seats held by its House of Delegate MPs.

The DP MP for Springfield, Mr Mahmoud Rajab, has said that if the party decided not to participate in the elections for the two Houses, this would be tantamount to racism.

Mr Rajab was backed publicly yesterday by the DP MP for Belhar, Mr Archie Poole.

If the DP decide not to put up candidates in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives, its "non-white" members will be second-class members, Mr Poole said.

## DP names two more ex-Nats

THE Democratic Party yesterday named two more ex-Nationalists as candidates for the September 6 election.

Mr Attie Engelbrecht, a Boland farmer and brother of former Springbok rugby wing Jannie Engelbrecht is to contest the Piketberg seat, where Dr Dawie de Villiers is the sitting MP with a safe NP majority. The CP has not yet named a candidate.

Another former Nationalist, Mr Chris du Preez, 33, will stand for the DP in Vereeniging, which is held by the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. The CP has named Mr Barend Keet as its Vereeniging candidate.

# WILLIAM DERRY

## 10% DISCOUNT

ON ALL FRAMING AND FRAMED

POINTS IN JULY

Too late for  
classification  
DEATHS

# Power to be invested in groups

SKW 30/6/89  
POLITICAL STAFF (304A)

The National Party foresees control of central government being removed from the hands of individual voters and placed in the hands of groups.

Speaking at the National Party federal congress yesterday, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Development Aid, said in future "there won't be a counting heads but a counting of groups".

"However each group will count heads to put its point of view."

He said urgent attention now had to be given to methods to prevent one group dominating another.

These methods included a special veto right for groups such as that in the United Nations Security Council, the entrenchment of key elements in the constitution, special loaded rotation of authority.

He gave no definition of the various methods.

A new mechanism would have to be devised to break deadlocks, but he said a system similar to that of the joint standing committees of the tricameral parliament would have to be created to achieve consensus.

Although he repeatedly emphasised that there was no way around the recognition of groups, the NP was prepared to consider different definitions of groups including an open group for which any South Africans could qualify.

Greater freedom of choice could be given to the role of groups in political participation as long as the right remained for some of the groups, such as the whites, to protect their group identity and values.

He confirmed the powers and status of the State President would have to be revised to fit in with a new multigroup system of government.

## Briefing

Pledging the creation of a new South Africa, National Party leader F W de Klerk yesterday scotched rumours and speculation that he may not end up as president of South Africa.

Opening the party's extraordinary federal congress at the city hall in Pretoria yesterday, Mr De Klerk said the NP would work towards a country in which everybody could live in safety, prosperity and dignity "as an individual and within a group".

Singing the praises of President and Mrs Elize Botha, Mr De Klerk expressed sadness at Mr Botha's departure from public life. He also offered thanks and appreciation for Mr Botha's "exceptional leadership".

"We greet them in their absence with warmth and affection," he told a city hall brimming with delegates and observers.

The National Party will always remember

# Out with the old, in with the new

Step 3016189

Mr F W de Klerk pays tribute to the outgoing State President and pledges to work towards the creation of a new South Africa, reports our POLITICAL STAFF

Pieter Willem Botha and Elize Botha as a leading couple who fulfilled their calling with accomplishment, dedication and faith. Their building work is unshakably part of the future," he said.

Mr De Klerk proposed a motion of deep thanks to the couple for their distinguished service.

"The National Party is particularly filled with pride that Mr and Mrs Botha as a Minister's couple,

but especially as presidential couple, could serve the country and all its people for so many years with such distinction," the motion ran.

Passing the motion, the NP congress put paid to recent speculation that Mr Botha may try to make trouble for Mr De Klerk and the NP, and possibly even try to mount a comeback.

Paying tribute to the big NP names of the past — General Hertzog, Dr Malan, Mr Strijdom, Dr Verwoerd, Mr Vorster and Mr Botha — Mr De Klerk said: "I accept the calling to continue their work in humility. In full realisation of my shortcomings, I ask of all Nationalists to help me to be able to do it well."

He said the NP was on the road to a new South Africa. Political parties to the left and right had disappeared over the years. The Herstigte Nasionale Party was on its last legs and had been preceded by numerous far-right splinter groups.

The new hope of the left, the Democratic Party, was nothing more than a gingered-up Progressive Federal Party. One found, on pulling the veneer off, the same party voters rejected in 1987.

The CP's foot was already on the same "road to oblivion" as the HNP. The unworkability of their policy, Professor Caryl Chessell, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Boksburg and Carletonville ensured that "the beginning of their end has dawned".

3044

# Nostalgia plus a few scoldings as Helen steps out

When the *grande dame* of opposition politics stepped down, the occasion was a mixture of nostalgia ... and some gentle scolding.  
By IVOR POWELL

IT was as much a nostalgic farewell party as a parliamentary report-back, when Helen Suzman addressed her constituency for the 36th and last time as local member of parliament at the Houghton Primary School on Monday night.

Though the usual formalities were dutifully observed — Suzman went through the motions of conveying her impressions of the recent parliamentary sitting to her constituents — what the nearly 1 000 people really came for was to watch the *grande dame* of parliamentary politics looking down her 36 years in the house. And they wanted to know about the prospects for the Democratic Party in the forthcoming elections.

The hall was packed well beyond overflowing. In the foyer scores of people jostled one another as they strained to catch that familiar voice; there were faces pressed up against every window, trying to catch a glimpse.

Among the dozens of tributes read out were messages from George Bush, Margaret Thatcher and Nelson Mandela. Among the nearly 1 000 people present were European diplomats, mining magnates, leading lights

in opposition politics — and comedian Pieter-Dirk Uys as PW Botha, glowering from the back of the hall.

In effect, Suzman was handing in her score-card. She said she had been the first MP ever to visit a squatter camp and to take up the issue of the death penalty. She had introduced private motions to oppose the Pass Laws, section 16 of the Immorality Act, the Mixed Marriages Act, the system of detention without trial — all the legal apparatus of the apartheid state.

She was also the first person since 1935 to attempt to impeach a judge.

The point was made. Suzman has implacably opposed apartheid and its machinery almost since it was invented, a proud record in a shameful history.

And it allows her certain liberties. She can be a little crusty with impunity. It is well known that Suzman was

backing Irene Menell as her successor in the recent battle for the Democratic Party candidature in Houghton.

Though she wishes Leon well, there is little warmth in her commendation and it is difficult to see it as anything more than the merest formality.

Nor is she less reserved about the Democratic Party in general. She scolds the party for its setting up of the old PFP as something of a laughing stock.

"I am proud to be a Prog," she said, defiantly adding that the party as a whole had good reason to be proud of the role it had played in opposition politics in South Africa.

Suzman warned that in the coming elections, government propaganda would probably be directed towards stealing potential DP voters, and urged South Africans to avoid being

swayed.

This was Suzman's night, and this is how she was meant to be: slightly cantankerous, certainly sharp of tongue.

And so they applauded until their hands hurt. They couldn't quite bring themselves to sing along when Des and Dawn Lindberg took the stage to lead a singalong in tribute to the old campaigner — but almost all were humming under their breath.



PW Botha (alias P-D Uys) pays grudging tribute to the MP for Houghton at her constituency farewell.

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

## EDIT

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, a publishing house, requires an expanding team in the education sector. The work is demanding and involves management of individual conception to completion.

# FW speaks of the 'final test'

BY PETER FABRICIUS,  
Political Correspondent

History was offering South Africa a "golden opportunity" at the start of the last decade of this century to break out of the cycle of conflict, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk said yesterday.

The 1700 delegates to the NP's extraordinary federal congress yesterday approved the party's plan of action for the September 6 general election with a standing ovation.

But the congress consisted mostly of election speeches and there was no debate about the plan.

NP officials said they were pleased with the congress which had provided the best possible launching pad for the NP's election campaign.

At a press conference afterwards Mr F W de Klerk declined to answer most questions about the plan on the grounds that this would pre-empt negotiations about it.

He would not say if he intended scrapping the Separate Amenities Act after the election.

The Group Areas Act and Separate Amenities Act could not be scrapped without being replaced, as this would cause chaos.

Addressing the congress, he said a number of factors had resulted in a change for the better in the political atmosphere.

"A ray of hope is shining through the clouds of strife, which for so long darkened the skies of southern Africa.

## Reconciliation

"An election process is in swing in South West Africa

"Reconciliation and negotiation in Angola is no longer a dream and this in turn is raising hopes with regard to Mozambique.

"Economic realities are forcing the countries of southern Africa to take a new look at closer co-operation and improved relations in our region.

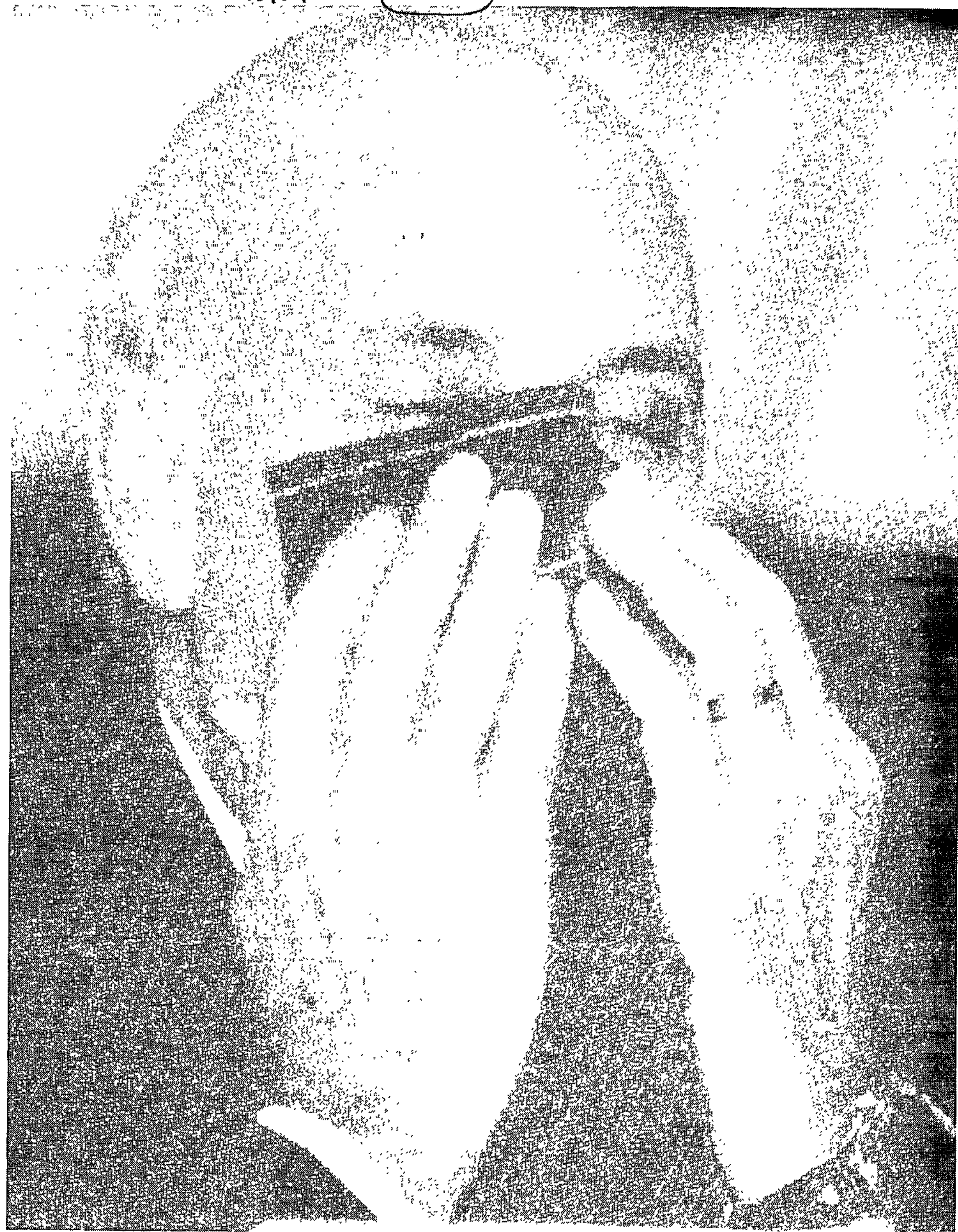
"Inside South Africa I have been heartened by the wide range of discussions with various leaders which I have had."

"The challenge which we face is not to let the opportunity of the moment pass us by

"South Africa and southern Africa can break out of the cycle of conflict which has gripped us for so long.

"A new chapter of history is to be written. It would not be too dramatic to say the heading of the chapter is 'the final test'," Mr de Klerk said

The final test was to find a way of sharing power with blacks without domination of other groups.



F W weeps . . . overcome by emotion at the opening of the National Party congress in Pretoria yesterday. National Party leader Mr

# A new emperor, but same old clothes

W.M. 30/6-6/7/89

and balances to rule out majoritarianism.

The "Plan of Action" lays great stress on the importance of "negotiation with representative leaders", but does not indicate who would fall into this category.

It is also noteworthy that while the 22-page document — which is effectively an election manifesto — is peppered with 14 references to "negotiations", there are no less than 39 mentions of the "group" concept of society.

Basking in the warmth of the welcome he received from the 1 700 delegates, De Klerk said he could "feel the pulse of nationalism" beating in Pretoria's City Hall, and had no doubt that the party was marching toward a decisive electoral victory.

He called on the delegates ("the leadership corps of the party") not just to endorse the plan formally, but to "make it your own, participate, and inspire your followers".

He urged white voters to link arms, and help him follow in the footsteps of the "political giants" of the party who had preceded him.

The NP's was the only viable option for South Africa, said De Klerk, and he lambasted both the Conservative and Democratic Parties for indulging in "dream politics" (*droompolitiek*). "*Droompolitiek bring revolusie*," (Dream politics brings revolution) he said.

One of the Nationalist "giants" to whom De Klerk was referring — still-incumbent State President P.W. Botha — cast only a very small shadow over the congress.

Botha, who had declined to attend a farewell banquet in his honour and

was not present at yesterday's deliberations, was despatched within minutes of the congress' opening.

In a brief speech introducing a motion of tribute to Botha and his wife, De Klerk said a "change of leadership in an established party with a proud record of long service and achievements always involves both sadness and appreciation".

It meant the "end of a chapter", he said, adding that during his 50-year career Botha had made contributions which would irrevocably influence the future. He hoped that the "new phase" of the Bothas' life "outside party politics" would "bring them more fulfilment and depth".

The motion, passed unanimously, was greeted by a standing ovation, but it was markedly more restrained than that given to the new party leader.

Botha's decade-long grip on the ruling party was nowhere reflected in the hall; the only portraits were full-colour studies of De Klerk, bearing the legend "FW: *Man van Aksie/ Man of Action*".

De Klerk's personal dominance of the gathering was underscored by congress chairman Stoffel Botha, the retiring Minister of Home Affairs.

Circumstances had necessitated a "renewal of leadership", he said, and the NP was once again standing at a crucial political crossroads. "Now we stand here deeply confident that we can now move forward under the leadership of FW de Klerk," he said.

Although vague (probably intentionally) in detail about its implemen-

tation, certain pointers toward the NP's future political parameters emerged from De Klerk's address.

"Negotiation" is considered imperative because of a "realisation that a new democratic dispensation cannot be attained by the NP acting unilaterally".

The party accepts that "in the final analysis a secure future can only be built on a broad consensus between representative leaders of the population".

To this is attached the NP's "mainstay of the framework for a new South Africa ... the realistic accommodation of the diversity of our country. Protection of group security is a prerequisite ..."

This involves the right to "own" areas and schools, while provision is made for "greater freedom of choice" for those who do not wish to live as a "group". It is clear, however, that the Group Areas Act will remain for the foreseeable future, but will be "more sensitively" policed.

De Klerk insisted on the need for the retention of strong defence and police forces, but said "discrimination" had to go and educational opportunities had to be improved, as did housing and facilities. These changes rested on the successful development of the economy.

South Africa would be accepted back into the international community, he said.

Concerning the internal strife which has been caused to the party since Botha's decision to separate the executive and party leaderships, the federal congress undertook to reassess the "functions and powers" of the state president.

From PAGE 1

# Not welcome: DP meeting faces hijack

●From PAGE 1

the party for co-operating with collaborators who had been rejected "by the oppressed community".

Speakers told the DP representatives to "go back where you came from and stay out of our areas".

A resolution adopted referred to the DP as "a ruling class party primarily serving the interests of big business and content to work within the racist tri-cameral system, which our people have rejected".

It described parliament as an institution "with no real power but only a cloak to provide legitimacy for presidential dictatorship through the military.

"We therefore reject participation in tri-cameral elections — in all houses. Instead, we call for the unbanning of the people's organisations, the end of the State of Emergency, the release of our leaders and all political prisoners, and end to apartheid hangings and the right to meet."

The resolution concluded: "We pledge to struggle for the fulfillment of the demands set out in the freedom charter as the only solutions to South Africa's problems."

Hirsch told the *Weekly Mail* the three went to Rylands in response to a private invitation from Poovalingam's brother to discuss DP policy.

"We agreed to only after it had been made clear that the forthcoming elections were not under discussion, because the DP in the Western Cape was opposed to participation in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates in this region.

"The informal gathering which we expected turned into a small meeting, which was taken over.

"On a number of occasions leaders of the DP have stated that we wish to communicate with members of other organisations at all levels and both inside and outside parliament across the political spectrum from ultra-conservative to the so-called far left.

"It is therefore regrettable that the opportunity was not taken on Wednesday evening to engage in such dialogue, especially between those who are unequivocally opposed to apartheid and all its evils.

"We still perceive an urgent need to talk with, and listen to, members of the 'mass democratic movement' on the future of our country and all its people," Hirsch said.

Neither Sewell or Hofmeyer were available for comment. They left early yesterday for Lusaka.

30 1989

# 115 fly out to see ANC

Star 30/6/89  
By Esmaré van der Merwe,  
Political Reporter

The largest South African delegation to meet the outlawed African National Congress left from Jan Smuts Airport yesterday for a three-day conference on the role of whites in a changing South Africa.

Organised by the Five Freedoms Forum (FFF), the conference in Lusaka will be attended by about 115 South African and 50 ANC delegates.

FFF chairman Mr Mike Olivier said at a news conference that while SA delegates shared a desire for a non-racial, democratic country, they held widely divergent views on how such a society should be achieved.

"We respect the diversity of the delegation and do not expect delegates to speak with one voice," he said.

Delegates were attending a function at the invitation of

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda last night.

ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo will address the opening session of the conference today.

Among the SA delegates are 23 academics from nine universities, 20 businessmen, 16 journalists including five editors, city councillors, church workers, trade unionists, educationists, students and individuals from the Democratic Party.

# Black unity needed to defeat Boksburg racism SAIRR

304A

Political Reporter

Despite the apparent success of the black consumer boycott in Boksburg, a broad consumer movement and unity between black townships were needed if the Conservative Party's apartheid policies were to be defeated.

This was said yesterday by the South African Institute of Race Relations in a publication, *The Boksburg Boycott*, written by researchers Harry Mashabela and Monty Narsoo.

They pointed out that black protest against the CP-controlled town council's reiteration of municipal apartheid had been led by an alliance of groups previously hostile to each other.

Extra-parliamentary groups and local management committees in neighbouring townships such as Vosloorus and Reiger Park were working together in opposition to the CP's resegregation of Boksburg.

However, problems could strain the alliance: for example conflicting strategies regarding the general election, and friction about the possibility of more militant action by extra-parliamentary groups if the protest did not achieve its aims quickly.

## STRONGER ORGANISATION

The researchers pointed out that stronger organisation and more sustained strategic thinking were needed to "defeat" the CP.

"Some protest leaders see consumer action as a means of directly pressurising the council by reducing its revenue.

"But only a protracted 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."

However, they continued, an attempt by white business to forge an alliance with the black communities had failed.

Other avenues which could be followed by white business were the desegregation of business-controlled amenities and the strengthening of township business by providing it with capital, expertise and goods and services at special rates.

# DP slashes Nat stance on state of economy

(304A)

Political Reporter



The Democratic Party has accused Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis and deputy Mr Org Marais of being "less than honest" in trying to portray the South African economy as relatively healthy.

The co-vice-chairman of the DP's national board, Mr David Gant, said in a statement that the two men were using selected statistics to give the impression that the economy was performing well.

## SERIOUS THREAT

Reacting to a Government document on the economy released this week, Mr Gant said: "To refer to improved white ownership of homes, white ownership of cars, and white attendance at universities is irrelevant. It smacks of electioneering and avoids the fundamental issues."

The real test of a successful economy was its ability to create jobs and avoid inflation. The South African economy was failing dismally in these respects.

He said unemployment had become a serious threat to state security, and the growth rate was not even keeping pace with the population increase.

"It is also less than honest to try and persuade South Africans that their personal economic - tunes are the direct result of sanctions, disinvestment and the lack of foreign capital.

"The economic rot set in long before the Rubicon rand, the falling gold price, and the sjambokking of blacks pictured on the television screens of the world.

"It was caused by reckless Government spending on propping up and enforcing apartheid, creating a grandiose and unproductive bureaucracy, and applying election-oriented fiscal policies."

He said the National Party had no right to ask to be returned to power on September 6. South Africans had the ability to generate substantial wealth, but could not do so under conditions of persistent Government intervention and incompetence.

## P W called a 'concrete head'

MUNICH — West German Labour Minister Mr Norbert Blüm returned home yesterday from his South African tour an embittered man, calling South African President Botha hard-headed and icy. (304A) (AP)

He criticised the approach taken by President Botha in their talks. But he said it was clear from other talks that South Africa's fate didn't rest just with "Botha and other *betonkoepfe*" (concrete heads). 1/2 30/6/84

## Reward SA if real progress is made – Canadian official

304A By David Braun, The Star Bureau

Star 30/6/89  
WASHINGTON — The September elections in South Africa are expected to bring about a change in power that could yield positive results in dismantling apartheid, so that Canada may soon be able to relax its sanctions against Pretoria, a Canadian official has said.

Mr John Small, the official in Canada's External Relations Department in charge of monitoring Canadian companies operating in South Africa, has told the Canadian media he believes there will be movement in South Africa after the election.

The Canadian and other governments should be ready to reward South Africa when they saw real progress that benefited black and coloured people, he said.

"But don't remove the sanctions until you see something actually happening, and so far nothing has happened," he said.

## **I won't stand for Parktown, says MP Marius Barnard**

Star 30/6/89  
The MP for Parktown, Dr Marius Barnard, announced today he would not be standing as a candidate in the upcoming election as he had decided not to join the Democratic Party.

In a statement, he said he believed the principles of the Progressive Federal Party should not be silenced. (30/6/89)

He said he would dearly have wished to state these policies "as opposed to the policies or no policy of the other parties".

"My main consideration for not standing in Parktown is my sincere gratitude and high regard for the many friends, workers and voters who supported me during my nine years as the PFP Member of Parliament for Parktown.

"Many of them would now have found themselves as members of the Democratic Party, not only to vote but to actively work against me. I do not want to put them in this embarrassing position."

Since deciding not to join the DP, he had discovered that there "is life after Parliament". — Sapa.

## Worrall's European itinerary

8/12/30/6/84 (304A)  
CAPE TOWN — The itinerary of Democratic Party co-leader Mr Denis Worrall's European trip was released yesterday, showing that in addition to seeing British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, in London on July 5, he will speak to senior politicians in West Germany, Italy and Portugal.

Dr Worrall will travel to Italy on July 3 where he will meet the secretary-general of the Italian Foreign Ministry.

On July 4, he will meet the chairman of the Foreign Affairs Group in the West German Bundestag, a Dr Stercken, and the State Minister of Foreign Affairs, a Dr Schafer.

This will be followed by a lunch with the Director of the African Department of the Foreign Ministry.

His meeting with Mrs Thatcher will be followed by discussions with Labour Party MPs and trade union official.

On July 11, he will be received in Lisbon by the Portuguese Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs after which he will return to South Africa.

He will be accompanied by his wife and the DP's director of communications, Mr James Seife. — Sapa.

# Boksburg's mayor rejects 'liberal lefty' petition

By Helen Grange

The Mayor of the CP-controlled Boksburg Town Council, Mr Beyers de Klerk, has dismissed a 5 000-signature petition presented to him this week because "blacks, coloureds and people living outside Boksburg municipality" signed it.

The petition, calling on the council to rescind its discriminatory policies, was handed to the council on Wednesday by an organiser and member of the Boksburg Alliance, Mrs Pam Berry.

The petition came a day before the second motion of no confidence was passed in the management committee to oust its chairman, Mrs Glória Bosch. A new management committee will be elected tonight.

"The petition is not even signed by voters. The organisers are trying to pull the wool over our eyes," Mr de Klerk said.

## WHITE VOTES

He added that "against 3 000 liberal lefties, the CP in the Transvaal drew 350 000 white votes in last October's municipal elections.

"We hold 12 out of 20 wards in Boksburg and took control of 95 towns, health committees and farming communities in the East Rand. We are simply practising the wish of our voters," said Mr de Klerk.

He challenged the "liberal lefties to put their money where their mouth is by giving up their luxury homes and buying homes in Reiger Park or Vosloorus", Boksburg's coloured and black townships.

The petition, started in December, was delayed because helpers were allegedly intimidated by members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Mrs Berry said.

The petition objects to the discriminatory signboard and fence at Boksburg Lake; the council's interference in sporting bodies and the decision not to declare the central business district an open area.

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Black leaders today overwhelmingly rejected the National Party's five-year plan of action, and said only scrapping of apartheid would create a climate conducive to negotiation.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said the NP's plan was sugar-coated-apartheid. It proved the NP and leader Mr F W de Klerk were still wedded to white minority rule, white privilege, racism and domination.

The plan was "nothing more than a plan for disaster and yet another slap in the face of the oppressed."

#### NO SOLUTIONS

Cosatu said it hoped the international community, and those who asked Mr de Klerk be given a chance, would realise the NP, regardless of its leader, had no solutions to the conflict.

"If the NP wants to find out what the people of South Africa want, the answer is simple: release our leaders, unban our organisations, take your troops out of our townships. Then create the conditions for free political expression by repealing all laws which inhibit that freedom.

"We will go to our people and find out what they want. They will mandate their organisations

## Black leaders call for end to apartheid laws

304A  
Star 30/11/89  
and leaders to speak on their behalf. This is called the democratic process, something F W and the NP seem to be totally contemptuous of."

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Denmark yesterday the NP's election programme was designed to make apartheid more comfortable.

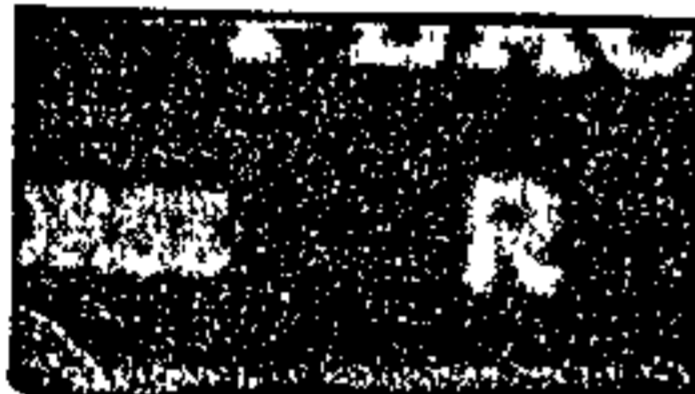
The president of the United Municipalities of South Africa (Umsa), Mr Tom Boya, said the scrapping of all discriminatory laws would prove the NP was sincere about negotiation.

Speaking at the University of Cape Town yesterday, the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations and the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Mogoba, said all South Africans across the entire political spectrum had to be involved in negotiations.

Actstop publicity secretary Mr Cas Coovadia also rejected the plan and called for the immediate scrapping of the Group Areas Act.

The exiled ANC, the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) have also rejected the plan.

## n, on and off the July course



## Big race the highlight of a five-star TV weekend

By Dan Side

# Opponents heap scorn on Nats' 5-year plan

Staff Reporters

The National Party launches into its campaign for the general election today with a briefing session for party candidates, following the approval of its new five-year plan of action at the extraordinary federal congress of the party in Pretoria yesterday.

But the plan continues to meet with strong resistance from groups outside the party.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht hit at the plan, saying it was not a plan of action, but a recipe for abdication.

The NP's acceptance of a federal system was yet another deviation from "the tested policy" of self-determination.

"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 CP's policy of partition in terms of which every nation will govern itself."

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer dismissed the plan as "a typical F W de Klerk recipe — a nice smile, a number of platitudes, and behind it all a continued commitment to government based on race and group".

Black leaders today overwhelmingly rejected the plan. They said nothing short of the total scrapping of apartheid would create a climate conducive to negotiations.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said the NP's plan was a sugar-coating of apartheid, and proved that both the NP and its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, were still wedded to "white minority rule in the form of 'group rights,' a further entrenchment of white privilege, racism and domination over the majority."

Cosatu said the plan was therefore "nothing more than a plan for disaster and yet another slap in the face of the oppressed".

In London, *The Times* said in an editorial that the plan represented a "small movement of the South African glacier", but a leap of the imagination was needed for domestic peace and international recognition.

## SA's image is <sup>ster</sup> changing — Pik

Political Correspondent <sup>30/6/89</sup>

South Africa was busy regaining its place in the international community, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told the National Party's federal congress at the Pretoria City Hall yesterday.

He cited South Africa's role in the present peace process in Namibia to support this. ~~(304A)~~ (304A)

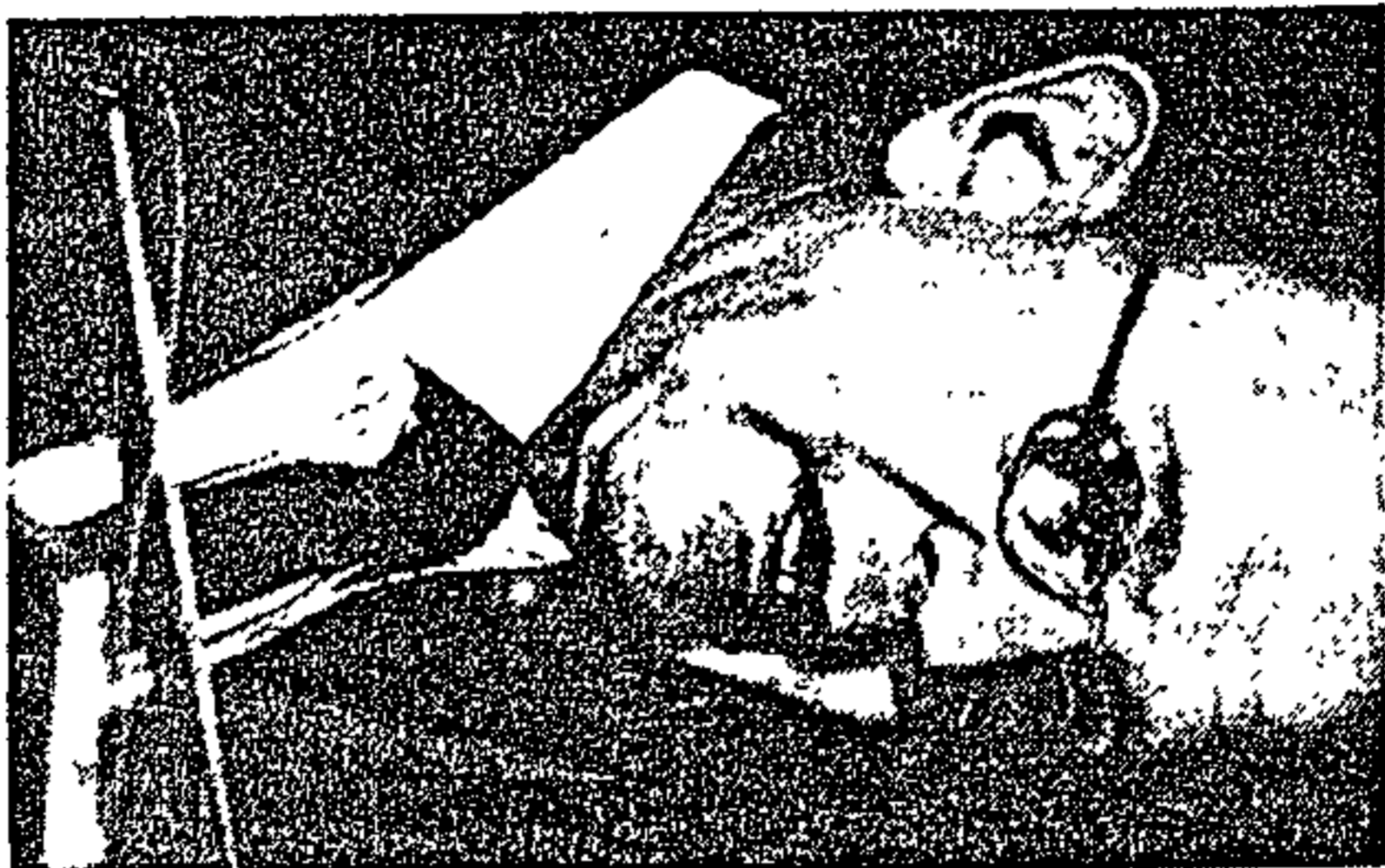
Firing back at right-wing criticism that the Government had sold out Namibia and that Swapo would win the elections, he said the Conservative Party did not realise Namibia had never been part of South Africa.

South Africa had all along merely been a guardian for the territory.

Mr Botha said South Africa was at present altering its image overseas from one of a hoodlum to that of a regional power.

# Business can be engine of reforms in Republic

Star 30/11/51



Mr Murray Hofmeyr . . . sending world's bankers a signal.

If business can create normality with stability, there is no reason why we should not achieve growth rates far in excess of anything we have dared to talk about. Business has so much to offer.

But it all goes back to our willingness to become the agents for change. While recognising the need to change, business has favoured incremental change by piecemeal reform as a safer and less painful process, both in relation to the conduct of its own business and in regard to political and constitutional reform.

It would be foolish to deny the considerable value of incremental change, but it is simply not adequate to reverse generations of discrimination and domination.

Just as economic adjustments are no longer adequate to deal with the future, so too political adjustments and concessions are no longer adequate. In my judgment, the "adequate progress" of change which the

Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr de Kock advocated recently, can be no less than a commitment to a non-racial democracy.

This is precisely where business has a unique responsibility and opportunity, which I cannot stress too much. It would be completely naive to believe that the introduction of a universal franchise would automatically result in foreign capital flooding into South Africa.

However, if business is to be seen to be setting an example by recognising the need for a transformation strategy, both in regard to its own affairs including industrial relations and in regard to political empowerment, the rest of the world, not least

MURRAY HOFMEYR, chairman of JCI and S A Breweries, recently addressed a conference on the role of business in a changing South Africa, organised by the Transvaal Indian Congress. In this edited section of his speech he says business can be one of the forces pressing for political change and, ultimately, greater prosperity for all.

its bankers, would see this as a powerful indication that the changeover to a normal society need not lead to instability or turmoil.

This action would also send a message of hope to the thousands of outstanding young people, who would desperately like to be part of a non-racial South Africa, but are just not prepared to be part of an apartheid society with military service and other commitments to support a system they believe to be immoral and indefensible.

I wonder whether we have any conception of the growth that could be achieved in a normal society? Has anyone attempted to quantify the funds that could be released for training and housing the people of South Africa, if taxation could be applied to these purposes, rather than to defence and to financing the completely non-productive superstructures of apartheid?

Are we really inferior to the Japanese and others, who have achieved fantastic progress for themselves and their neighbours by a proper utilisation of their human resources? And we have the additional advantage of being the richest country in the world as far as minerals are concerned.

## Tutu spurns plan

HILLEROED (Denmark) Archbishop Desmond Tutu yesterday rejected the National Party's election programme, 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," Archbishop Tutu said. "We are not interested in reform. We want to see apartheid abolished."

He was in Denmark to visit a festival of the Danish national church. — Sapa-AP.

Star 30/6/87

# British are not hopeful about plan

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The Star Bureau

LONDON — The British government unofficially regards the National Party's new federal policy as merely "a point of departure", and is unlikely to express much enthusiasm for it in its present form.

Other political analysts here are openly pessimistic about the plan's chances of success.

It is understood Mrs. Thatcher is worried about whether the party 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.

## RESERVATIONS

The Prime Minister is believed to have told National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk of her reservations during his recent visit here.

The Foreign Office said yesterday the government would welcome "any indication of reform", but only if it led to the abolition of apartheid.

But, Whitehall officials are so far understood to regard the plan as part of National Party electioneering, and not as a significant step forward.

304A Fmail 30/6/89

NATIONAL PARTY

# The plan to win votes

It was to be expected. With rising voter dissatisfaction over bread-and-butter issues, the threatening emergence of the so-called Fourth Force illustrated by the Linden result, and uncertainty about the recalcitrance of a sulking outgoing State President, the National Party (NP) had to present still-loyal supporters with some kind of a game-plan this week.

The occasion was the NP Federal Congress, due to be held in Pretoria as the FM went to press. Triumphant after his four-nation European tour, president designate F W de Klerk was set to preside over the announcement of his party's five-year plan for the future.

But it must be said that if De Klerk convinced leaders such as Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl of his government's good intentions, based purely on that plan, he must be a formidable salesman indeed.

At the time of going to press, details were sketchy. But for the immediate future at least, we understand that the Group Areas Act will stay on the statutes. An effort, however, is to be made to decriminalise contraventions by establishing an independent board to investigate complaints. In the end, though, official coercion will remain the ultimate means of its implementation.

The Bill of Rights proposed by the SA Law Commission's Judge Pierre Olivier is, in principle, likely to be accepted by the party — but not to the exclusion of group rights. The NP is not about to abandon the belief that every group should participate as a component in the legislative and executive processes. And all groups should agree before an important decision can be taken.

Because full agreement is not always feasible, the plan is likely to have some mechanism for the creation of institutions geared to

promote consensus and settle disputes; the power of veto, entrenched clauses, prescribed majorities, rotation of authority, and devolution of power are all possible as checks and balances in this process.

There are those who believe that parliamentary democracy as we know it today may not be the ultimate aim. Whether the highest decision-making body will be appointed or elected seems to be an issue for the future. However, our understanding suggests that the trade-off could be ultimately that all South Africans have a vote at national level in five years.

That Nelson Mandela's continued detention poses a dilemma for the Nats is common cause. The Nat demand that he first renounce violence as a precondition for release could be modified into a commitment to the peaceful settlement of political differences. If this be so, the doors to freedom have at last been opened a little wider to the aged ANC leader.

At least some economic measures appear to be part of the plan in response to perceptions of hardship among both white- and blue-collar workers.

So few would be surprised if lower income and company taxes are mooted — together with the phasing out of tax abatements as recommended by the Margo Commission, and the reduction of the deficit before borrowing to attain an acceptable level of around 3% of the GDP to relieve pressure on interest rates.

If that be so, it stands to reason that there will be a commitment to the reduction of inflation, continuing privatisation, and export promotion and import replacement.

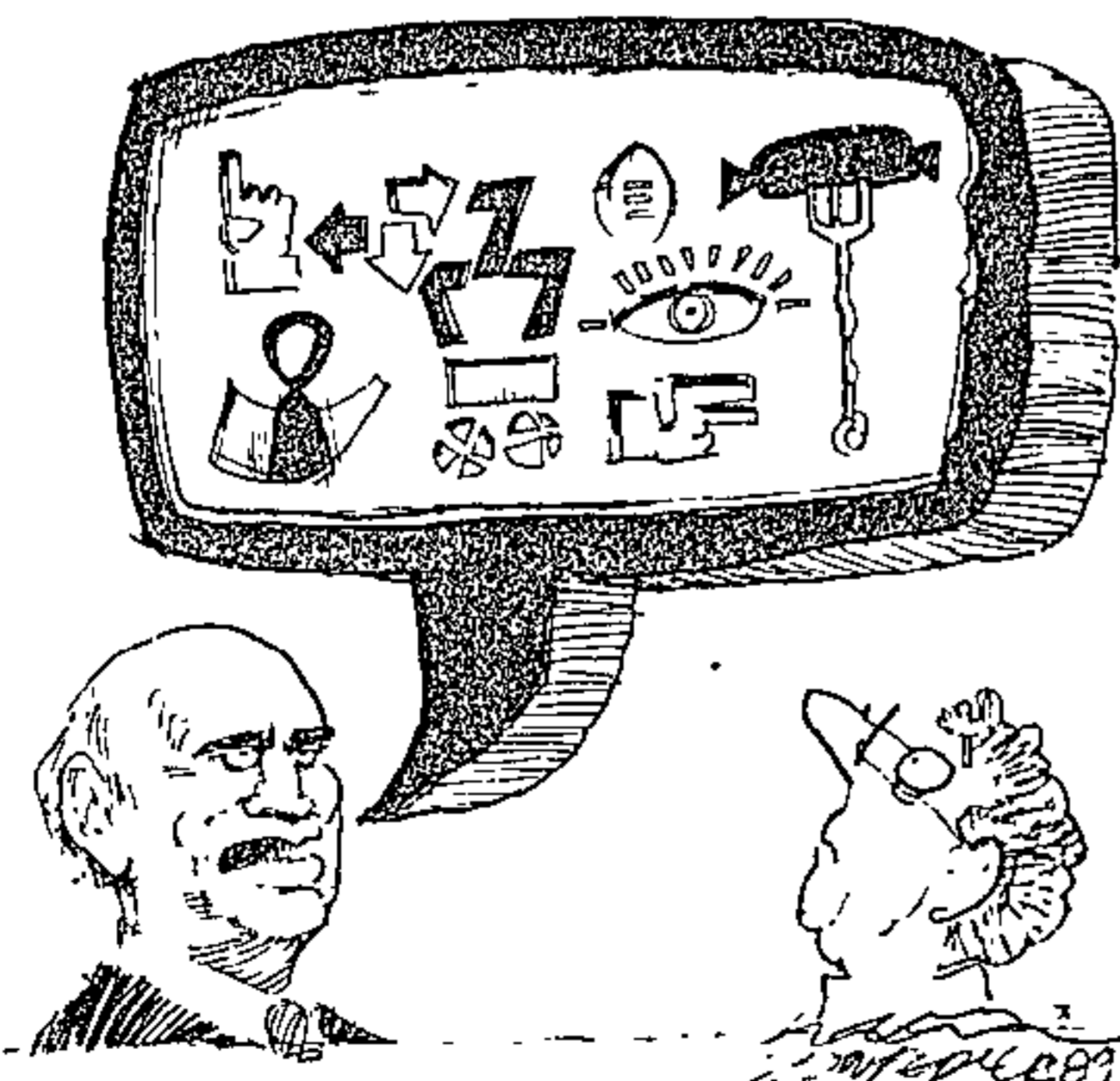
The first objective of the plan will no doubt be to win white electoral support. Thereafter, negotiations will start over specifics with other leaders.

That is the recipe. De Klerk and his party are hoping will send dissenting Nats scurrying back to the fold on September 6.

But what of the mood and intentions of the Great Crocodile? A Home Affairs spokesman confirms that, in theory, the president could still postpone the mooted — but not promulgated — election date. According to the constitution he has the right to rule until March 1990.

Pushed too far, it is not impossible that P W Botha will act less rationally than other statesmen. So the Nat

planners are going to have to tread warily and, we guess, be as vague on specifics as electorally possible.



**Collective relief** *Fraser*

A basis has been struck for fruitfully pursuing the hobbled discussions between employers and unions on the contentious Labour Relations Act. This averts the unions' (always rather impracticable) threat of a national dispute being declared on June 30 if their demands for amendments to the Act failed to elicit positive response.

After a four-hour meeting between the employer body Saccola, Cosatu, Nactu and the independent unions on Tuesday, it was agreed the parties would try to arrange another meeting, targeted for July 7-8.

This meeting is expected to include, at Saccola's request, the National Manpower Commission; and, at the unions' request, the SA Agricultural Union, Sats and the Commission for Administration. The participation of these bodies will be essential because of the wider issues raised by some of the union demands — specifically, that public sector employees, farm labourers and domestic servants be included under the Act.

Saccola chairman Bobby Godsell points out that while it is recognised that all workers are entitled to a fair deal, more appropriate structures for dealing with those categories of employee are needed. He described this week's talks with the unions as constructive and encouraging.

Nactu's general secretary Piroshaw Camay points out, however, that the conflict with Saccola remains. He says the unions will this Thursday (June 29) brief community organisations on developments thus far, and will continue with the rallies planned for the beginning of July. A members' referendum on the Act is also envisaged — followed, possibly, by a workers' summit over the first weekend of August.

Camay says the agenda for next week's meeting with Saccola and others will include all the other union demands related to the Act.

These were first tabled a year ago and reiterated in the unions' joint letter to Saccola on June 1, which also said: "Those sections of the Act which violate these (basic trade union) rights must be scrapped, workers' rights must be entrenched, and the transformed Act must be extended to cover all workers now excluded from protection of labour legislation."

30/6/89