The meeting between FW de Klerk and Kenneth Kaunda has already been subject to some misinterpretation and ire — not least by ex-President PW Botha. It is refreshing that SA's next president should be so willing to step out into the diplomatic world that should most immediately concern him, since "respectability" in Africa is a prerequisite to acceptance where it really matters. But, of course, it was hardly the first of such visits.

What can FW gain from such forays?

Firstly, there is Kaunda's eminence, such as it is, in Africa. His economy may be in tatters (see box), but Kaunda has, over the years, gained a reputation for straight dealing. This is reflected in a letter to Pik Botha before the visit, which set out the limits of what could be achieved: "He (FW de Klerk) will meet me as president of Zambia and not the representative of any other country or organisation. It is a person to person meeting . . . to see how we look at things."

Nonetheless, it was at least expected that Kaunda would present De Klerk with the ANC's position paper on negotiations with Pretoria, recently adopted by the Organisation for African Unity (OAU).

In the event — and Kaunda could not have foreseen this — the Livingstone summit was pre-empted by the hastily convened tente-a-tante talks between Lake Kiva in Zaire between Mobutu Sese Seko and De Klerk last Friday. Then, on Sunday, came top-level discussions between UNITA's Jonas Savimbi and the De Klerk-Pik Botha duo.

In other words, regional peace initiatives forced themselves on to the presidential timetable — and gave a practical focus to the Livingstone meeting. The Glagolite Declaration of June 24 — with Mobutu as host — set out the parameters of this process. While Kaunda was present (as a regional elder statesman of the OAU and chairman of the Frontline States), he appears to have misinterpreted Savimbi's role, post-ceasefire. The UNITA leader would go into exile, Kaunda claimed in Harare afterwards. This viewpoint affected sensitivities.

Kaunda, given his influential position, would clearly like to be seen as fulfilling a major broker's role in peace, including peace within SA. As far as Angola is concerned, the OAU has entrusted Mobutu as mediator between the affected parties. Kaunda's misinterpretation of Savimbi's position was, therefore, something of an infringement on another African leader's political turf.

In his afternoon chat to political journalists last Sunday, Savimbi charged: "President Kaunda has sought to pursue a personal agenda, which his fellow heads of State rejected at Gbadolite." He said he regretted this.

On Monday, Foreign Affairs Director- General Neil van Heerden told the FM that the declaration had left itself wide open for possible divergencies of viewpoint.

This, then, was one message FW took to Livingstone. In other words, SA's president-in-waiting found himself playing a mediatory role — and he came out of the meeting with his standing in Africa considerably elevated because of it.

In fact, the enhanced role De Klerk can play in Angola seems set to continue. As Mike Hough, head of Pretoria's Institute for Strategic Studies, says, the present situation in that war-torn country seems too complex for any one person to resolve. Western diplomats note that Kaunda, while respected, has a history of emotional outbursts.

The Zambian president has not emerged particularly well from all this; indeed, Kaunda's influence as an elder statesman is actually threatened by the emergence of new leaders in Africa. Zimbabwe's Robert Mugabe — who has been elected as chairman of the Non-Aligned Group — is one. Mobutu, with his important role as mediator in the Angolan conflict, notwithstanding questions over his personal probity, is another. And there is Kenya's Daniel arap Moi — requested by Mozambique's Joachim Chissano to try to resolve the continuing war between Frelimo and the Renamo rebels.

Nor should De Klerk be forgotten. There is, therefore, a widespread belief within the diplomatic fraternity that in Monday's meeting with De Klerk, Kaunda may have believed there lay an opportunity to promote at least some of his unfulfilled aspirations. The Africa Institute's Erich Leistner agrees: "Despite their hatred of SA's racial policies, a meeting with the SA head of State enhances the political stature of African leaders. The southern African region is where the action is and there remains respect for SA's economic power."

Given these facts, there was an element of one-upmanship vis-a-vis other African leaders in Kaunda's position.

Leistner believes that in Africa there is a movement towards closer contact with SA. The agreement signed in New York on the ending of the war in Namibia and Angola was a major watershed for southern Africa. And, "if the Namibian independence can be implemented without major hitch, there are some visible gestures on the part of the SA government to promote internal dialogue, it would be more easy for African leaders, and Kaunda in particular, to cooperate with SA," he suggests.

On the SA side, Van Heerden says that despite Kaunda's history of emotionalism, his sincerity is evident: "He is really a person of strong Christian convictions, who genuinely tries to play a conciliatory and peace-making role (and he) has strong humanitarian viewpoints." These "are all things which we should not deny him."

Kaunda has been consistent in his appeal for reconciliation in SA. There may be something a little too pious about this — there are sonic diplomats who doubt whether this characteristic "sincerity" actually qualifies Kaunda for the political role he may feel himself entitled to. But it underlay Kaunda's desire to meet De Klerk. Apart from the practical help that could be extended to his ruined economy, there is also the fact — which Kaunda understands — that internal problems in SA will inevitably have an impact on Zambia. Van Heerden, for one, makes this point. As a sponsor of the ANC, he may be nervous about the consequences of head-on confrontation between SA and the armed exiles.

This raises the all-important point about sanctuary for the ANC. While they have no hard evidence, SA diplomatic
observers think that Kaunda has asked the bulk of the ANC presence to leave Zambia. Kaunda could certainly still state publicly that he would never kick the ANC out — but what remained, if the bulk of the fighters left, would be a notional presence only.

If this is so, the ANC in Zambia is set to endure the fate of the PLO in Jordan. Should Kaunda “deliver” this to De Klerk, in return for unspecified economic aid, it would enable the SA president to negotiate from strength.

Leistner — while reluctant to claim credit for it — has researched and compiled an economic plan for the southern African region in co-operation with the Department of Foreign Affairs.

“I would not call it a Marshall Plan, which presupposes billions of dollars being poured into the region,” Leistner says. “I think there should be an emphasis on trade between the southern African countries which would create appropriate conditions for Western private capital to be invested.

“In recent times, the idea has spread that SA is more stable than Western companies were led to believe. If SA could show that we have the agenda which promises ultimate consensus among its people, the prospect or hope of development in the southern region will vastly increase — something the rest of Africa has not been able to do.”

Kaunda is basically a positive type of person, despite the venom he has poured on SA in the past, Leistner believes. “By his official and unofficial contact with SA, he has come to believe that SA is not the bunch of racists we are made out to be. With his own economy in such a mess, economic co-operation would divert attention from the worsening situation in Zambia.”

As for SA, Pretoria has shown an increasing interest in closer relations with southern African states — especially the Frontline ones — according to South African Update, published by the Inkatha Institute. This could in turn be a step towards closer contact with the OAU — of which Kaunda is a past chairman. This possibility may not be as remote as it once seemed.

Leicester University’s Professor of Politics, Jack Spence, speculated recently, before the Livingstone meeting, that Kaunda would probably place on the agenda the suggestion that Pretoria consider a Namibian-style mechanism, along the lines of UN Resolution 435 (as proposed by the ANC), for an internal settlement. It would involve elections to a constituent assembly for devising an apartheid-free constitution.

However, if the matter was raised, it was not mentioned afterwards. On his way home, De Klerk stressed that SA is a sovereign state: “The implementation of a new dispensation, which will hopefully ... take place will follow the normal constitutional channel.” The idea remains.

Kaunda desperately needs to improve his country’s economic situation. Closer trade co-operation with SA followed by at least some economic success — and hopefully De Klerk’s willingness to reform as a quid pro quo — would entice other southern African states to follow through. If this happens, Kaunda will have made a good start towards re-establishing himself as an African leader of stature.
Redistributing power

Tony Leon is the DP candidate for Houghton, a member of the party’s national board and its leader in the Johannesburg City Council. He lectures in constitutional law at Wits University.

FMs: What is the DP’s constitutional platform?
Leon: We believe that a post-apartheid constitution should have certain essential safeguards to prevent future abuse of political power, indeed to diffuse power to the extent that centralised power as we now know it will be effectively diluted. The DP proposes a universal franchise for all South Africans as the basis of other constitutional rights.

The establishment of a federal form of government would itself impose a limitation on central political power. The constitution itself should be formally entrenched and the constitutionality of any purposed measure should be testable by the Supreme Court. All elections to legislative bodies would be based on proportional representation, which would do away with the manipulation of constituency boundaries for partisan advantage.

Another non-negotiable requirement is a strong Bill of Rights, preventing arbitrary arrest and irrevocably awarding freedom of speech and association to all individuals, but subject to individuals, groups and parties operating within the confines of the constitution. This would exclude, for example, the advocacy of violence and the forcible overthrow of the State or racism.

The Bill of Rights would also protect private property. Therefore, expropriation of private property without full compensation (and proper procedures) would be unconstitutional.

There are many other planks in the DP’s constitutional platform which the party itself would prefer to be included, but which it does not regard as essential in the same way. The possible inclusion of representatives of minority parties in the federal executive (or Cabinet) is an example.

Assuming the DP won the election, how would it go about establishing its new constitution?

We acknowledge that it will probably be a difficult and prolonged process to obtain the necessary measure of consensus about the DP’s minimum constitutional requirements. In the fraught political climate it might well take years rather than months. It took some two years, for example, to hammer out the constitution for the Union of SA after 1908. The Namibian constitution took even longer.

How would the DP handle the interregnum?
We accept the necessity that the DP would operate as an essentially interim government on the basis of the present constitution, with all its imperfections, while the process of negotiation was carried to conclusion. What body or bodies would actually conduct the constitutional negotiations?

There would have to be an assembly elected on a full universal franchise to operate as a constituent assembly. How would your type of constitution operate to restrain radical redistributive forces if a Marxist party won power?

The constitution itself, in its Bill of Rights, would bar nationalisation of property without proper compensation. If the Treasury were flush with funds, or if taxes could be raised to finance nationalisations, then they obviously could proceed, even if they were ill-advised on free market economic principles.

But if — as would often in practice be the case — it were necessary to resort to deficit financing to fund a nationalisation, then an autonomous Reserve Bank reluctant to approve such measures could well be a real obstacle to wholesale nationalisation.

The DP also obviously hopes that any government that might come to power in a post-apartheid SA would value the effectiveness of the private sector as an engine for economic growth and job creation above the ideological gratification of nationalisation. And swinging levels of taxation a Marxist government might impose to fund social expenditures?

A government that moved in this direction, if unable to obtain inflationary credit creation from a constitutionally autonomous central bank, would soon run up against ceilings of reality in imposing additional taxation. It is also possible that a post-apartheid constitution would incorporate “consociational” ideas for concurrent majorities in the legislature, which would tend to block radical measures. Admittedly, it is difficult to see how consociation could be applied to money bills.

But the DP also challenges the idea that there is an assured majority in SA for radical redistributive measures of this sort. If such a party came to power, we believe that the electorate would soon come to see the economic folly of this type of programme, which discourages the creation of wealth the process we all want to see.

What about the risk of a military coup that would upset all these arrangements?

The finest constitution in the world cannot guarantee absolutely against a coup. But there are certain mechanisms which can minimise the risk. For instance, appointments to high-ranking military positions must be made with a great deal of sensitivity and, probably too, in ways which reflect the diversity of the SA population. The DP also strongly believes in decentralising the police force and a strong Bill of Rights.
Anything can happen

Why the Nats are keeping their heads down

Could this election produce a hung parliament? Or more accurately, a House of Assembly in which no party has an overall majority? The NP seems to think so (whatever it says) and it is taking no chances.

A glance at the potential “swings” (see box) shows that the NP is right to be cautious. If its 1987 level of electoral support is eroded by around 7% on both flanks by the DP and CP, there is likely to be a hung parliament. The magic number for overall control is 84 seats (see table P38).

Nat strategists have doubtless been acutely aware of the swings to the Right produced in three parliamentary by-elections since 1987: Schweizer-Reneke (2%), Standerton (4%) and Randfontein (7%). Indeed, if the Randfontein result were to be extrapolated to this general election, the CP would win between 48 and 56 seats but this would not produce a hung parliament, unless there was also a swing of at least 6% to the DP.

The NP must regard this combination as a distinct possibility. In the Linden municipal by-election this year, the DP increased the share of the vote achieved by the old PFP by a whopping 19%. If that were extrapolated nationally, the DP could exceed its wildest dreams, winning more than 52 seats. To expect a national election to reflect the mood of a municipal ward would be foolish — but the lesson of Linden was that the DP had to be taken seriously.

However, there is comfort for the NP in the performance of the Right in by-elections since 1982, when the CP was formed. In the first electoral test (Parys in 1982), rightwing support grew by 16% on 1981; five years later, in the 1987 general election, with the CP accepted as the standard-bearer, right-wing support in Parys improved by only another 2%.

Six other by-elections between 1983 and 1986 produced similar swings to the Right since 1981: Waterberg (24%), Primrose...
WHAT IS SWING?

We have defined "swing" as the percentage increase in a party's share of the total votes cast in a particular constituency. For instance, the DP got 64% of the vote in Berea in 1987 to the NP's 36%. So the NP needed a swing of 18% to win Berea in 1989. And if it wins Berea, it will probably win Constantia (see Table 1).

The swing method is most reliable in straight-fight contests where all elements have remained constant from the previous election (two candidates, same parties, same voter profile).

Where these elements have changed, or there are special local conditions or personalities, swing may be unreliable.

Though it is possible to calculate an average national swing, swings are usually duplicated only in seats with similar class, language and geographic profiles.

this election. The DP has star candidates who could well score dramatic victories in Nat seats — former SADF generals Bob Rogers and Wally Black, and Carole Charlewood, for instance. But even major swings to the Left would deliver relatively few seats to the DP. Nevertheless, a swing of only 5% or 6% could give the DP more than 30 seats, which is more than the old PFP ever reached.

It is impossible to assess how the election campaign itself — including the new TV debates, the overthrow of P W Botha, the MDM's defiance campaign and FW de Klerk's African visits — has influenced voters. Opinion polls have been banned for weeks and a single event or speech before polling day could be decisive; the claims by the various parties about their support levels must be taken with some salt.

With all the talk of swings to both sides, it has been largely forgotten that the NP could conceivably emerge from the election stronger than before — particularly at the expense of the CP (see P36). Such swings back to the NP are possible if, say, a couple of thousand CP voters are disillusioned with Boksburg and Carltonville; or if nervous DP supporters turn back to the Nats because of the MDM's behaviour. (Or if some voters on both sides decide they like FW de Klerk.)

So, while a hung parliament remains possible, it seems unlikely precisely because the NP is watching its Right flank very carefully. The DP could conceivably become the official opposition; it could also lose ground. The CP could come to the brink of power — or slide back to a minor position in history. The NP could increase its overall majority — or cling to it.

The statistics show that none of these scenarios can be safely predicted; but that none can be ruled out. The fluidity in white party politics is unprecedented.
Ball is in ANC's court — F W's reply to DP letter

WELKOM — The door was open to all organisations, including the ANC, the PAC and the MDM, to take part in negotiations towards a peaceful solution for South Africa, but as long as they persisted with a policy of violence they automatically excluded themselves from the process, acting President F W de Klerk said.

Mr de Klerk was responding to an open letter sent to him by the three leaders of the DP asking him to publicly state his policy on negotiations with the ANC and other organisations.

"The ball is squarely in the court of the ANC and not with the NP government. We cannot be expected to run after the ANC. It remains our firm point of view that we will not negotiate with perpetrators of violence and terrorists."

"There can be no compromise on the security of the country. The door is open, they must just say they will abandon violence and they can come and talk."

He said the NP wanted a broader base for negotiation towards a peaceful solution for South Africa.

"We don't only want to talk to people who agree with NP policy — we will talk to anyone who does not embrace violence."

Mr de Klerk said the NP had at least shown one thing, that it was now admitting that it had held talks with organisations which were not prepared to renounce violence.

"It is an admission that the NP was right when it said the DP were talking to the ANC and its fellow-travellers who uphold a policy of violence."

It was clear that the DP was now trying to justify its attitude towards the ANC and the MDM. It had painted itself into a corner by playing "footie-footsie" with the MDM and was now trying to find a way out of it.

"Whatever the DP says, the MDM will not listen to it in spite of recent attempts by DP leaders to reprimand it. It is continuing with its defiance campaign which includes breaking laws." — Sapa.

(Report by K Daniel, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Bid to have candidate's nomination nullified

By LINDA GALLOWAY
Supreme Court Reporter

THE Minister of Environment Affairs and MP for Malmesbury, Mr Gert Kotzé, is to make an urgent application to the Supreme Court today to have the nomination of one of his opposition candidates nullified — 28 days after voting started.

Papers were filed for the application, which was set down on yesterday's roll but postponed to today.

According to papers, Mr Gert Jeremias Kotzé wants Mr Willem Jacobus Botha's nomination to be declared null and void because he alleges he is an unrepudiated insolvent who may not stand for parliament.

Mr Kotzé is also asking that the curator of Mr Botha's estate, Mr Solomon Gutman, the Democratic Party candidate in Malmesbury, Mr Jan van Gend, and the nominations officer, magistrate W A de Klerk, share the costs of the application.

Attorney Mr Jacob John Niemand said in an affidavit he had established that the estate of Mr Botha was sequestrated in May 1985 and that there had not been any application for rehabilitation.

In his affidavit, Mr Kotzé said that, according to Article 54 (6) of the constitution of South Africa No 110 of 1983, a person who is an unrepudiated insolvent is not eligible to stand as a candidate or be elected.

Because voting had started in Malmesbury on August 3, it was in his and Mr Van Gend's interests that the court take a decision soon.
Reformers’ dilemma

Desmond Colborne is the SA Foundation’s director for France and southern Europe.

“Don’t expect me to reform myself out of power,” F W de Klerk is reported as having told Western diplomats. His dilemma, it has been pointed out, is similar to that of reformers in Eastern Europe, particularly Mikhail Gorbachev.

Can Gorbachev use the Soviet Communist Party as a vehicle for reforming the very system to which it gave birth? And can De Klerk do something similar in SA?

The two men are of similar age and share a past in rural and provincial backgrounds. Both have been toppled off by legal studies and a steady climb up the apparatchik ladder. They are treading similar tightrope, spanned between continuity and reform, trying to reconcile loyalty to their past with the growing challenges to their countries’ future. Can they open up their societies and achieve wider political participation without either chaotically losing control or provoking a hardline backlash?

This parallel between De Klerk and Gorbachev would probably be offensive to both communists and Afrikaner nationalists. The former would claim that apartheid is perceived as one of the greatest contemporary crimes against humanity: the latter would point out that, however wide and deep the injustices caused by apartheid, they pale into insignificance compared to the millions of victims of Stalinist purges.

August has seen turning points in SA as well as in Eastern Europe. De Klerk’s accession to power has been greeted by some as that of the last white SA president. Meanwhile, there are renewed hopes, centred on Namibia, Mozambique and the De Klerk-Kaunda meeting, of regional rapprochement and achieving a better mix of political and economic liberation in the region.

In Eastern Europe too, amid alarm about economic ruin, there is a revised search for new adjustments between political and economic liberation. Apathy and cynicism remain widespread. August 21 saw the 21st anniversary of the Soviet invasion of Prague, which put an end to an earlier period of hope and rebirth in Eastern Europe. But that, and the chilling reminder from China that a “great leap backwards” is always possible, is balanced by the more dramatic and more hopeful developments in Poland, Hungary and the Soviet Union itself.

The Poles are trying to set up the first government in the Eastern Bloc with communists in the back seat. Previously, the communists had said they would give up 40% of power to hold on to the other 60%. Now the percentages are changing—but through negotiation, not force. Meanwhile, Eastern Bloc peoples, from Rumania and, particularly, East Germany, are “voting with their feet” and causing severe strains in relationships in central Europe. In Hungary, the Iron Curtain has been physically dismantled—one can buy bits of it as souvenirs. There are plans for elections next year and even talk of joining the European Community.

In building bridges between the two Europe, the European Community’s role was reaffirmed at the recent Paris summit. The European Commission is now standing taller on the stage of international diplomacy and, in Brussels, a 24-member team is supervising US $200m in food aid for Poland. Economic agreements are being negotiated by the EC with the different Eastern bloc countries. “The world is knocking on our door,” says Jacques Delors, president of the commission, “United and bold, the Europeans can forge that which they miss most—an identity and above all, a soul.”

In the West, there is a widespread feeling that Eastern Bloc sensitivities have to be respected. Changes can’t be rushed or crowded about too much. Gorbachev has warned against “destabilisation” of Eastern Europe, attempts to “roll back” the ideological frontiers. A few weeks ago, he again spoke of the “permanence” of socialism in Eastern Europe. Yet, in recent days, he has allowed communists to surrender power in Poland. The plot thickens, while George Bush talks about not upsetting the applecart.

Europe was broken assunder after World War 2 by the Yalta agreements. A world came into being where “East is East, and West is West and never the twain shall meet.” All this now seems to be changing. There are still many in the West who resist what is called Gorbymania. The West, they warn, is being charmed by expert media manipulation into dropping its guard. They fear that Europe and, particularly, a neutralised Germany, is being set up as a fat economic cow ready for milking, with the US far away across the Atlantic, disengaged from Europe and disarmed by the Soviet Union. So say the pessimists. But their suspicions are steadily being stilled as Gorbachev’s reformism gains momentum and a changed mentality in the Soviet Union looks more and more irreversible.

And even if there are zig-zags and some reforms are reversed, things in Europe, say the optimists, will never be the same again. Throughout the Eastern Bloc, even if camouflaged as a socialist renewal, capitalism is slowly being reinvented. The 20th Century has a chance of trading on a high note.
NEW YORK — University of Wisconsin (UW) officials in Madison say tests failed to find the cause of an illness that struck the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches.

Mr Chikane, who was in the United States visiting his wife — a UW graduate student — collapsed a few weeks ago during a reception at a Madison restaurant. He was in and out of several hospitals over the next week, and doctors said the symptoms resembled those of pesticide poisoning.

Officials had speculated that toxic chemicals had been planted on Mr Chikane's clothing or luggage in South Africa or Namibia.

In Johannesburg this week, Mr Chikane said tests had found traces of a toxic phosphate compound on samples of his clothing, but UW officials said on Wednesday that the tests were inconclusive.

Mr Ralph Hanson, the university police chief, said the tests showed no traces of toxic chemicals. — Sapa-AFP.
Deeper aspect

Don't blame voters really

Fathers, sons for their induced pain

Feeling NP 304a

BY ZACH ERBE
EY's promises, totally meaningless

No point giving De Klerk a chance, Suzman tells meeting

The Star, Friday September 1, 1989
CP may contest Pretoria Supreme Court decision

Political Staff

The Conservative Party is likely to contest the Supreme Court decision, handed down in Pretoria yesterday, outlawing petty apartheid in Carletonville.

This was made clear by Mr Koos van der Merwe, CP information officer.

He said it appeared as if the court had challenged the validity of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act. This view was shared by Democratic Party judicial spokesman Mr Dave Dalling.

Mr van der Merwe said the CP would study the judgment and was likely to take it on appeal. The judgment appeared to mean that wherever amenities had been reserved for different groups — including those in National Party-controlled towns — this could be successfully challenged.

"It also seems on face value as if the judiciary has come into conflict with democracy. All the council in Carletonville did was to carry out the mandate of the electorate.

"On the face of it, it appears this was not a legal decision, but a political one.

"The judge may have used his discretion. If that is true, it would spell out a dramatic new phenomenon in law.

"This means a different judge could use a different discretion and a conservative judge could decide to uphold separate facilities." Welcomeing the judgment, Democratic Party Justice spokesman Mr Dave Dalling agreed with the CP that the Supreme Court had come "pretty close" to challenging the validity of the Act.

Its "historic" decision had wide-ranging implications for separate amenities in other NP-controlled towns.

Pretoria Supreme Court judge Mr Justice C P Eloff said in his judgment that the Carletonville Town Council acted with "improper motives" and had not "exercised discretion" when it re-segregated the park last year.

Mr Jacobus Nel, chairman of the town council, said officials decided to ban blacks from the park because of complaints that they were littering and urinating in public.

However, the judge said: "I find that the town council was not motivated to make the decision on account of a nuisance of black people."

Three Carletonville businessmen filed the suit, saying the re-segregation of the park triggered a black consumer boycott in Carletonville.

Mr Piet Coetzer, the National Party MP from Springs and NP Transvaal information officer, said he would be studying the judgment very closely.

The Government was today challenged in the wake of the court judgment to have the courage to scrap the law.

And on the basis of the court ruling, the Government cannot under fire from parliamentary political leaders for its handling of the Mass Democratic Movement's campaign of defiance against the application of the law on beaches.

The Pretoria Supreme Court effectively ruled yesterday that the Conservative Party-controlled Carletonville town council could not apply the Separate Amenities Act if it was to the detriment of any of the town's residents.

(News by P Fahrenstock, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria, and S Cameron 09 Field Street Durban)
Organisations must abandon violence – FW

Political Staff and Sapa

National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk has defiantly restated the Government's terms for negotiating with banned and restricted organisations such as the ANC, PAC and MDM.

Mr de Klerk used a speech in Welkom last night to answer a public challenge posed by Democratic Party co-leaders in a joint statement.

He said the Government's stand was:

- As long as these organisations persisted with a policy of violence, they automatically excluded themselves from the process negotiation.
- But the door was open to all organisations — including the ANC, the PAC and the MDM — to take part in negotiations towards a peaceful solution for South Africa.

The DP leaders — Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan — asked Mr de Klerk to state publicly his policy as to negotiations with the ANC and other organisations.

Mr de Klerk said: "The ball is squarely in the court of the ANC and not with the NP government. We cannot be expected to run after the ANC.

"It remains our firm point of view that we will not negotiate with perpetrators of violence and terrorists.

"There can be no compromise on the security of the country. The door is open, they must just say they will abandon violence and they can come and talk."

He said the NP wanted a broader base for negotiation towards a peaceful solution.

"We don't only want to talk to people who agree with NP policy — we will talk to anyone who does not embrace violence."

Said Mr de Klerk: "Whatever the DP says, the MDM will not listen to it in spite of recent attempts by DP leaders to reprimand it. It is continuing with its defiance campaign, which includes breaking laws."

Besmirching DP

The DP's letter accused Mr de Klerk and the NP of besmirching the DP because it had, in the best interests of the country, had exploratory talks with leaders of such organisations.

The letter said Mr de Klerk's condition excluded the ANC and the PAC from negotiations and, in accordance with the accusations of Mr Adriaan Vlok, also the MDM.

Mr de Klerk should know that the leaders of virtually all significant political movements in the black, coloured and Indian communities, inside and outside the parliamentary system, were also saying that they would not take part in constitutional negotiations unless certain conditions were met.

Mr de Klerk said once he had studied the DP's letter, he would reply more fully at his meeting in Johannesburg on September 4.

(Report by T Westlox, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and X Daniels, 14 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)
Court stops Carletonville council

Ditch 'whites only' signs, judge orders

PRETORIA. — Carletonville Town Council was ordered yesterday by a Supreme Court judge here to remove "whites only" signs from public parks in the town.

The deputy Judge President, Mr Justice Eloff, made the ruling which annulled a decision by the Conservative Party-controlled Carletonville Town Council to introduce petty apartheid.

He said the controversial decision of the town council was "challengeable".

He added that the decision was so harsh and unfair that he had to conclude that the town council had not acted in good faith, or had not devoted full attention to the matter.

Mr Justice Eloff ruled that the council was not entitled to conclude that the removal of the signs was unreasonable.

Mr Justice Eloff declared null and void the decision of the council taken on November 29, 1988, and March 20, 1988, to reserve public parks solely for whites in terms of the regulations of the law on separate amenities.

He ordered the council to pay the costs of the application for the order.

The action was brought on August 23 by three Carletonville businessmen — Messrs S G Wats, J B Motsau and A R Bhamjee.

Mr Justice Eloff said that court intervention in such a matter had been lawfully established a number of times.

"Interference would be possible and right if a person had acted mala fide or with ulterior and improper motives, if he had not applied his mind to the matter or exercised his discretion at all."

Mr Wats, the owner of Blyvoor Timber and Hardware in Carletonville, told the court during earlier proceedings that 20% of his turnover was due to black buying power.

He said the withdrawal of black buying power in Carletonville had a noticeable effect on his business, and he expected the effect would increase.

He also said his black employees often used parks during their lunch breaks but since the decision to allow only whites they had no alternative facilities, and were forced to sit on sidewalks and traffic islands.
Among the voters, no-vote trends, the
\[\text{unreads text} \]
Everyone’s chasing the Hiblows Gay vote

SHAKEN BY MAIL REPORTS ON

"NEW DRIVE: National Party Bosissing Candidate Baseles Omenyse the New Style"

Not much ecology care about candidates? What do they care for?

Mortgage broker in Hungary.

Nat machine
The Ghost of Verwood

Stepping out of the train station, I felt the chill of the early morning air. The town was quiet, the lights of the shops still dim. I couldn’t help but think of the story that had brought me here. The story of Verwood, a town with a dark past. A place where the past haunts the present.

Legend has it that the town was once a thriving place, but a tragic event caused its downfall. The story goes that a young woman named Emily was betrayed by her husband, who then took his own life. The town was deserted, and the only thing that remained was the ghostly figure of a woman in white, wandering the streets.

I walked through the town, feeling the weight of the stories that it carried. The houses seemed to whisper of the past, their windows reflecting the November sky. I couldn’t shake the feeling that I was being watched, and I knew that I wasn’t alone.

As I reached the old Verwood Hotel, I could see the figure of a woman in white standing at the window. She was beautiful, wearing a long white dress that seemed to glow in the moonlight. I couldn’t help but think that she was the ghost of Emily, the town’s dark secret.

I turned to leave, feeling the weight of the past pressing down on me. But as I did, I heard a voice call out to me. "Don’t be afraid," it said, "I am not a ghost."

I turned around, but there was no one there. I knew then that I wasn’t alone, that there was something more to the story of Verwood than I ever imagined.
Ulundí revives a harsh law Pretoria’s scrapped

ONE of the most controversial laws ever on the South African statute books, recently scrapped after decades of protest, has been re-enacted by kwaZulu, and now forms part of Ulundí’s own legislation.

Section 5 (1)(b) of the Black Administration Act of 1927, was used by Pretoria to banish individuals and groups of people to any part of the country on the say-so of the state president referred to in the legislation as the Supreme Chief.

"Black spot" removals and the banishment of troublesome individuals were both carried out under this Act, which sparked strong opposition from 1927 when it was introduced until 1986 when it was scrapped.

The Act provided that the Supreme Chief could, if he "deemed it expedient in the public interest", order any tribe, portion of a tribe, black community or black to "withdraw from any place to any other place". The order lasted indefinitely and could be implemented "without prior notice to any person concerned".

This section, scrapped along with the Influx Control Act three years ago, has now been re-enacted by kwaZulu. The minister of justice, in consultation with the chief minister and the cabinet, has been given those banishment powers vested in the "supreme chief" of Pretoria’s legislation.

The new kwaZulu law has the additional proviso that it is effective from March 27 1987.

In a paper written over 20 years ago, David Welsh, then senior lecturer, now professor of law at the University of Cape Town, traced the history of this much hated section.

By CARMEL RICKARD, Durban

At the time the Act was introduced the then South African Minister of Justice, Tielman Roos, spoke openly about how useful the law would be.

"The Supreme Chief gets the power in the fullest sense of the word that a chief would have if there was one chief for the whole of the natives. I regard it as one of the very greatest importance that those powers should be conferred upon the governor-general, not only in respect of natives who are living under the tribal system, but also over tribalised and exempted natives ... who, in many cases, are the principal agitators in South Africa today. If you have the power to remove them from one place where they do mischief to a place where they do not do mischief, what a useful provision that would be.

He gave a clue as to the circumstances under which the law would be used when he urged MPs not to be "too squeamish" in approving the wide powers of the bill. These powers, said Roos, would be used in a quasi-punitive way in "cases that verge on sedition, but which cannot be proved in a court of law".

Commenting on its re-introduction onto the kwaZulu statute books, Welsh said this week it was "disgraceful" that it should be resurrected.

"How does this square with (KwaZulu’s) support for the Indaba bill of rights? It is a glaring inconsistency."

KwaZulu’s Justice Department was asked for comment on the re-introduction of the law, but had not replied at the time of going to press.
ROLL up folks! It's the first all-singing, all-dancing, all-American show in South Africa's political history! Now we have party commercials at the cinemas. Now we have television. Now we have bosile debates between party functionaries in our very living rooms. Now we have the various parties openly sniping and another on billboards around the country and its cities — "De Plesio, De Beer, De Fernt, De Nats. Vote DP". The notorious "Three Blind Mice" representation of the DP leadership by the NP; the DP's "Send your son to parliament not to kill" bill; the NP's "Vote with the NSA" billboard. In it, as media watchers Clark McCorriston noted on radio, the first time a compliant ad appeared in this country, and may have been a precedent in the industry which will be hard to overtake.

But we still have the SABC. And though its approach has been somewhat less banal, this election does, as in previous ones, leave one to wonder whether the government is still paying its bills.

The SABC approach to the 1989 elections has been both simple and effective, allowing the various parties more or less equal time on the network. In this, some kind of impression of fairness and impartiality seems to have been achieved — the publicity around the elections on radio and television has been substantial and the single-channel framework from their rented homes — owned by CP MP for Johannesburg, Frank von Groote. Their evolution was a matter of much national importance.

An example of NP electioneering under the guise of a service station in the enormous hullabaloo surrounding the theft of the colo of a single banana republic in this election, there is little to make one doubt that the government is still paying its bills.

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PW would continue to be the fringe gun, shouting off about democracy and negotiation, but test anybody thought the NP was going to go, or though they no longer needed "NP security, there would be PW and Defence Minister Minister Magose Mathe standing right behind him. In the old days, the NP would have been locked in the single person of the old crocodile...

Over the first few weeks (generally quoted addressing their constituents at election meetings, though shown the next day in the news), the two xenophobes ministers have spoken of their anti-communist, anti-black, mass arrests, South African Communist Party control of the labour movement.

But there has also been a certain xenophobic novelty. As Van Zyl has said on his own workers point out (spicily referring to the July election round) that the SABC is a "sellout" and part of "mass media control". No representatives for the MDM or Namib (National and Medical and Dental Associations) were accessible, though rejection of the MDM violence by Mathe (National and African Associations) was excised.

The news about the proposed libel suit was linked to the explosive of three bombs in Johannesburg to that they appeared to be of the same movement.

The repeated appearances of Van Zyl commenting on the violence of the SABC scribes was more than to merely taint the network by being shown the perpetrators on the television screen. The "new leader, new vision" image of the NP was carefully nurtured with De Klerk being shaped as an international statesman capable of reuniting South Africa into the African and international community.

More recently though, a refinement has been introduced. The references to the NP's identity since PW first took office, a political stance something like the sinister game of "good for murder has been played by the opposition to the NP's identity. PW would continue to be the fringe gun, shouting off about democracy and negotiation, but test anybody thought the NP was going to go, or though they no longer needed "NP security, there would be PW and Defence Minister Minister Magose Mathe standing right behind him. In the old days, the NP would have been locked in the single person of the old crocodile...

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How the contenders weigh up

Voters options

Look back in anger and know how to vote for the future - Suzman

ELECTION FOCUS
The fallen leader may have had more than one stroke

PAT DEVEREUX

THERE was just no escaping it in the streets of the 23rd edition of Old Moors' mighty alliance had hit the right.

It may not have mentioned former President P W Botha by name, but the words published in the Star on January 1, this year, in retrospect have an eerie sound.

For South Africa, the "summer quarter" of 1989 - the period June 21 to September 21 - would be particularly significant, according to the "Tsunami's" analysts. The report, strongly hinting at the retirement of ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela in that period, was 1989 is a "year of dissolution" when old and tired institutions will vanish.

Governments and business organisations that refuse to adapt will be "swallowed alive".

But even before Mr. Botha's January 11 stroke, in what he called the "Year of the Sleeping Woman and Running Man", Credo Mutwa, the historian, traditional doctor and seer in Bophuthatswana, prophesied that the former State President would resign.

"Throwing down the bones for the Hop terrorist, the Mall, Mutwa predicted the Nationalist Party would lose much authority" in April, "It will stagger along but it will never be strong at all."

The President, who was named in the letterhead of his office, was 73 years old and his pension will now be paid to his Widow.

Democratic Party candidate Dr. Marius Bernard said that at least two years ago, he had noticed a "slight weakness of the facial muscles of the President indicating that he could have had a stroke."

Some maintained that considering the President's age and high-pressure job, he should have retired immediately after the stroke.

A Professor of Neurology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Dr. Vinitzh, said minor strokes could often go unnoticed. A stroke, she said, was caused by any abnormality in the brain's ability to send messages to the muscles and thinking. The effect of strokes was those being deprived of sustenance.

A GP travelling to the United Kingdom, to repair or lesion of the brain caused by a stroke, could result in a stroke or a brain vessel could burst because of high blood pressure, she said.

"The damage caused by a stroke depends on which blood vessels is damaged and the extent of damage depends on what part of the brain has sustained the damage in the brain."

"This can result in multiple impairments, including emotional and psychosocial impairments such as memory loss, she said.

She compared the brain's blood vessels to a tree and said "having a clipping off a limb or branches of a tree could be a minor twist or it could be the whole tree."

"People can have strokes that are unawear that they have happened, she said. "A mild stroke, if not noticed, is often felt differently by other more severe strokes."

Farwell in arms, former Minister of Defence and then State President Mr. P W Botha at the official farewell he would attend, given by the SA Defence Force in Cape Town.
With the possibility of the Linden spill-over effect, popular vote can't be certain of his seat.
Agony behind the
NP posturing may win election battle but lose crucial head

PATRICK LAURENCE

Acting President P W de Klerk is deploying a strategy which may win him over the coming months and years. As political manoeuvring for next week's general election campaign phase, negotiations to end South Africa's intensifying conflict have entered, instead of as the major issue of the election.

But Mr de Klerk has embarked on a campaign calculated to limit electoral losses for his ruling National Party at the price of continuing the already difficult task of securing a post-election settlement.

All three major parties contesting the election for the dominant white chamber - Mr de Klerk's governing NP, the Democratic Party and the Congress Party - agree that a negotiated settlement is vital to the future of the country.

They are, however, divided on the purpose of negotiations, and there are further differences on the question of what to negotiate, and under what conditions.

The NP and DP want to negotiate an agreement with black leaders to include the black majority in a future coalition. The manner of inclusion will, however, differ greatly, with the NP an equal partner to the inclusion of blacks as a group or series of groups and the DP emphasizing the participation of black as equal citizens. The DP, in contrast, hopes to negotiate the partition of South Africa into a white, black and colour South Africa - but much smaller, with states for the black, coloured and Indian people.

The central importance attached to negotiations by the NP is encapsulated in its election propaganda.

To cite two examples. An NP poster depicts the DP as a party of capitulation, the NP as a party of confrontation and the NP as the party of negotiation.

An NP advertisement proclaims: "Dialogue and negotiation are the keys to the future. We are going to turn the key to democracy to the white man."

Most whites know in their hearts that their historic mission of an all-white state is now a ques qua non for an enduring settlement.

Mr de Klerk's electoral strategy consists of two central planks: to present himself as a regional statesman and "dynamic new leader" and to demonstrate the Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC.

But while his lieutenants have concentrated on these objectives, the ANC has moved decisively to win international acceptance of its carefully planned pre-negotiating position.

Consequently, when Mr de Klerk, under the exigencies of international and local pressure, gets around to the inevitable talks about talks, he will find the ANC entrenched in a well-fortified position.

The ANC has already got acceptance by the Organisation of African Unity of its negotiating position. But that is merely the first step in an orchestrated campaign to secure worldwide endorsement. Next on the list, in a fairly rapid succession, are the Non-Aligned States, the Commonwealth and the United Nations.

It is worth examining the ANC's position briefly, if only to highlight the difficulties which lie ahead for Mr de Klerk should he be elected as South Africa's new President.

Three points are particularly pertinent.

First, the "present regime" should release all political prisoners and detainees, unilaterally and unconditionally.

Second, the immediate purpose of talks between the regimes and the "liberation movement" should be the negotiation of hostilities on both sides through an agreed and mutually binding ceasefire.

Third, the aim of the negotiations should be the transformation of South Africa into a "non-racial democracy" rather than an "amended apartheid system."

Mr de Klerk, former leader of the Progressvie Federal Party and now an unlikely protagonist of a negotiated settlement, labels the pre-conditions listed in the first point the "manifesto of anti-apartheid forces throughout the world. It is an apt description."

It depicts the fervour with which they are held.

The second point, however, is as important. The conflict in South Africa is not seen from the capitals of the world as a terrorist war waged by unrecorded zealots. Rather it is perceived as a civil war or even a war of national liberation.

So is it in that context that the objective of achieving a lasting binding ceasefire can be seen. From that perspective, ANC aims are as both and reasonable: conversely, de Klerk's reiteration of the stand the - laying down of arms by ANC appears both sterile and unreasonable.

These perceptions are to be heavily reinforced by ANC campaign for world acceptance of its negotiating "gathered momentum."

As the DP points out in open letter to Mr de Klerk, "Mantra of pre-condition not confined to the outlawed organizations and their allies - the accepted axiom of "not all meaningful political actions in the black and Indian communities in outside the parliamentary term."

Mr de Klerk, however,
behind the ecstasy

1 election battle but lose crucial hearts and minds

Against segregation and injustice. The implication is that violence is an item on the MDM's hidden agenda. The MDM has repeatedly stressed that its campaign is non-violent.

Mr de Klerk must appreciate that little or no recognition is given by Mr de Klerk or the NP to political factors which promoted the MDM campaign: exclusion of Blacks from the framing chamber and closure to them of normal channels of protest.

But in his eagerness to demonize the MDM, Mr Voortrekker overstepped the mark. Far from demands from lawyers representing the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Mr Voortrekker retracted accusations that Cosatu — a major component of the ANC — was planning violence.

Problems lie ahead for Mr de Klerk as the election, he will have to fulfill promises to "launch a great Inland" and "remove obstacles to the need to peace.

If he excludes the ANC and MDM, the settlement will be unsatisfactory. The conflict will continue and the impoverishment of South Africa will gather pace. Moreover, several observers know that, so, one suspects, does Mr de Klerk.

Having denounced the ANC and having insisted that ANC will not remove violence, he will have to do a volte-face. It may fatally damage his credibility with his own constituents.

It may also arouse opposition in the powerful security establishments.

It is not coincidental that the leading demagogues of the ANC-MDM axis have been Mr Voortrekker and General Malan.

Ex-President Botha built up the "security" image in the middle men. They may — probably will — predict some analysts — be able to define a new way of doing business.

The last three political supremos in South Africa — Hendrik Verwoerd, John Vorster and Mr Botha — had sold power bases. Verwoerd had the Department of Justice Administration, Vorster the SAP and the old Bureau for State Security and Mr Botha the Defence Force.

Mr de Klerk has nothing comparable. It is true that he used the NP skilfully to pry Botha out of the saddle, but even the NP anticipates that it will lose power on September 6.

A weakened NP is a weak instrument against the secure hands of the essentially cautious Botha-Klerk.

A consensus man anxious to include all factions in his administration. Mr de Klerk may awkward, rather than the continuance of the powerful security forces.

WORLDWIDE... Mr de Klerk before a battery of microphones at a political meeting in the coal-mining town this week. He went far beyond the whites-only hall, to be digested and analysed by friend and foe alike, sitting for clues to how he will tackle the violent black majority, his country's future.

Picture by John Hoste
Storm before the War

Initiate marked SA venture into 1939 conflict
Afrikaner yuppies go DP

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Reporter
SOUTH Africa's future looks Democratic with a capital D if several mock elections at local schools are anything to go by.
They seem to reflect what has also become evident in the hustings...youngsters like the DP.
In the traditionally National Party Afrikaans community it is the young who have been singled out as the most likely source of en-bloc support for the DP.
National Party candidates in Peninsula seats have observed peevishly that young Afrikaner yuppies are solidly behind the DP..."because it's fashionable," as one said.
Campaigners in towns like Stellenbosch report a big swing to the left among the youth.
A further reflection of this is the resounding support that has emerged for the DP in some local school "elections" among those not yet eligible to vote.
In one 92 percent poll at Herzlia High School 331 pupils supported the DP, 71 the NP and eight the CP.
At Rondebosch Boys' High 92 matricies voted for the DP, seven for the NP and five for the CP.
However, an inkling of the "voting pattern" in a neighbouring Maitland school's mock election was given recently by the local DP candidate, Dr Esther Lategan. The principal of the school had told her about their mock election.
While she didn't give the tallies, she recounted his remark that "the clever ones supported the DP".
(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape-Town)
LONDON. — Something new is happening in South Africa. For the first time since it came to power in 1948 the National Party is trying to win support by appealing to flexible, rather than inflexible, white voters, and is basing its appeal on the promise of talking to blacks, not yelling at them. In this unusual campaign lies the possibility of change for the better and also the possibility of dashed hopes.

All general elections in South Africa are peculiar, if only because they involve all the paraphernalia of democratic elections yet exclude the majority of the country's citizens.

The election on September 6 is more peculiar than usual in that the National Party's leader, Mr F W de Klerk, is going his most conspicuous campaigning outside the country, courting it would seem, the support of people who are not South Africans and would not be allowed to vote if they were.

Over the past six weeks, Mr de Klerk has met the black leaders of Mozambique, Zaire, Zambia and Lesotho, who have greeted him not with the vitriol and denunciation usually meted out to the officers of apartheid but with tolerance and even restrained approval.

Thus fortified, Mr de Klerk is going before the voters as the man who can negotiate South Africa out of its difficulties. Such a tactic is not just a departure for a nationalist, but a risky one.

Time and again his predecessors, faced with rightwing threats much less formidable than that now posed by the Conservative Party, have chosen to assemble the ox-wagons in the traditional circle and gather Afrikanerdom inside.

From there they have thumbed their noses not only at blacks, Indians, mixed-race coloureds and the world, none of whose votes count in the whites-only house of Parliament that dominates South Africa, but at ballot-casting English-speakers too. They have generally been rewarded with increased majorities.

Mr de Klerk, by contrast, appears to be writing off the ultra-racist right. Those protestors smarting under the sting of policemen's whips, rubbing teargas from their eyes or picking shotgun pellets from their sides, may not believe that Mr de Klerk stands for anything but a variation of a familiar theme.

Yet Mr de Klerk's Nghamba jólwelele may be more significant than De Klerk the-acting-president, whose job it is for the moment to uphold apartheid. By turning his back on the ideological racists, he is wooing the English-speaking vote and thus changing the nature of the National Party, albeit from a tribal redoubt (of Afrikaners) into a racial one (of whites in general) — but any broadening must be welcomed. By casting himself as a negotiator, he is evidently prepared to be more conciliatory than was his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, at least towards the end of the Botha presidency.

Mr de Klerk's sincerity should not be in doubt: if he did not mean to carry through his pledge to negotiate, there would be no point in making it, for the pledge alone brings with it the risk of losing his job.

But it is still not clear that Mr de Klerk appreciates whom he must negotiate with. Talks with neighbouring leaders are all very well indeed, they may play a vital part in ending regional wars, such as Angola's, which now threatens to get going again.

But the only talks that can end South Africa's internal war, and thus its isolation in the world, are with the leaders of its own black majority. In this sense Mr Botha was right when he declared in his resignation speech on August 14 that Mr de Klerk's talks with Zambia's President Kaunda would be tantamount to talks with the banned African National Congress.

Logic was with Mr Botha, foresight may not have been. It is possible that if his nationalists win the election Mr de Klerk will interpret his victory more as a mandate for diplomacy abroad than for reform at home.

And Mr de Klerk may well prove to be a skilful diplomat. In appearance and manner he is benign, certainly more benign than Mr Botha could ever manage to be. In argument and conduct, he is adroit; he owes his position as party leader to his skills as a tactician.

Nothing in his career suggests that he is a man of strong convictions, everything suggests he is one of instinct and calculation. The hope must be that, if his instincts do not lead him to talk to South Africa's disfranchised black leader, then his calculations will. Otherwise South Africa's next election will revert to type, amid fear, bloodshed and rightwing bogey.

■ The Economist, London.
LONDON.—For a man with an election on his hands, South Africa's provisional President, Mr F W de Klerk, has spent an awful lot of time talking to foreigners.

On August 25 he went to Zaire to see President Mobutu Sese Seko. Within a week he had chatted with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and General Patrick Lekhanya of Lesotho. In July, as leader the National Party, but before he took over the presidency, he had met Mr Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique. Last week he held a meeting in Pretoria with Mr Jonas Savimbi, Angola's leading anti-Marxist rebel.

So what is Mr De Klerk up to?

First, no doubt, he wishes to put his own mark on the country whose government he took over on August 15, and which he hopes to be elected to rule on September 6.

Second, he wants peace for the region. Third, he wants to establish himself as a man for negotiation, not confrontation.

He seems to realise that, if South Africa goes on bashing both its domestic critics and its black-ruled neighbours, it will lose the vestiges of Western sympathy that it will need in the hard economic times ahead.

Taking charge is important for Mr De Klerk, if only because he succeeds the bullying Mr P W Botha, who resigned in a fury because Mr De Klerk announced his appointment with Mr Kaunda without the old chief's leave.

Regional peace, or at least outside intervention in the region's internal wars, has been coming since the Americans, with Soviet agreement, arranged for the Cubans to get out of Angola. The South Africans have wanted weak neighbours, and have helped weaken them by stirring up home-grown antagonisms.

Mr De Klerk now seems to want to stop subverting the region. That is easier said than done. The American-sponsored peace deal omitted to provide for the main rebel organisation, Unita, whose leader, Mr Savimbi, benefits from popular support in his own tribal areas. He has private backers (and diamond mines) as well as the South African and American paymasters who have helped run his show.

He now complains he is being left out of the peace deal, and threatens to start fighting again. His supplies arrive through Zaire, so Mr Mobutu holds the key to Mr Savimbi's future.

Negotiation abroad should logically be followed by negotiation at home. The Organisation of African Unity wants Mr De Klerk to negotiate with the African National Congress. Mr De Klerk declines to talk to the ANC until it renounces violence.

By talking to foreign blacks, Mr De Klerk hopes to encourage these people. By sending his police dogs against domestic blacks, he hopes to reassure them. That may be enough to get him the outright majority he sorely needs.

Then his choice will be plain: to talk to the people he refuses to talk to, or to slump back into the dead end that Mr Botha's signposts led to.

Talking to the ANC would mean breaking his election pledge. He would not be the first ambitious politician to do that, for the good of his country.

■ The Economist, London.
It's still a long road to peace in our time

by John Barratt

Director-General, SA Institute of International Affairs

THE current peace moves in Southern Africa are not an isolated occurrence in today's changing world. In many regions there are discussions to resolve long-standing conflicts. There has even been talk of a global "outbreak of peace". Behind this hopeful new mood is the burgeoning rapprochement between the two superpowers, a product of the "new thinking" of the Soviet Union since the advent of Gorbachev in 1985.

In our own region we have seen a remarkable change of direction, including the agreement on Namibian independence, the Cuban and South African withdrawals from Angola, the beginning of talks between Unita and the MPLA, exploratory talks on a reconciliation between Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique, efforts of the Frontline States, the ANC and the OAU to formulate an initial negotiation position for South Africa's domestic conflict, and now the surprising visit of acting South African President FW de Klerk to Presidents Mobutu and Rais

However, a serious note of caution is required. In spite of the new and hopeful international mood, including in our region of Africa, one has to recognise that not one of the regional conflicts in different parts of the world has yet been resolved. Euphoria is therefore premature.

In southern Africa, too, nothing is yet settled, although in Namibia at least the road ahead for this independence process looks reasonably good, even if the post-independence outlook is less clear.

In Angola the two contesting parties are still far apart, the ceasefire agreed at Ghadhali is proving very fragile, the "Savimbi factor" has not yet been resolved, and the Soviets are still supporting the MPLA and the Americans Unita.

Essential

Prospects for Namibia after independence depend largely on peace in Angola, and the independence process itself could even be delayed if the civil war resumes in earnest and the Cubans halt their withdrawal.

Mr de Klerk's hurried visits to Zaire and Zambia in the midst of the election campaign were therefore essential to prevent the Angolan talks from collapsing completely, and to gain time to find a way to deal with South Africa's problem of how to persuade Mr Savimbi to come to terms with the new reality of the region.

For this problem has by no means yet been resolved, and Savimbi may find after our elections - if he has not done so already - that Pretoria's "new thinking" on its regional relations no longer includes even the political, let alone military, commitment to him and Unita which it saw fit to make in the past.

Presidents Mobutu and Kaunda apparently chose not to do or say anything to embarrass Mr de Klerk before the election, either over Southern Africa's relations with Unita or on apartheid and the issue of negotiations with the ANC.

This was in spite of the current domestic unrest. They know they will have to deal with him in the future, and for the time being they, like the major Western leaders, seem prepared to "give FW a chance". Who would have expected that these two African leaders and Dr Chissano of Mozambique would combine with Mrs Thatcher and Mr Kohl of West Germany in giving Mr de Klerk and his party such a boost in the election campaign by their meetings with him?

He has thus been able to don the mantle of international statesman more quickly than his predecessors.

But he must know that these high-level meetings in Europe and Southern Africa - important as they may have been in opening lines of communication - have not resolved any substantive issues.

These issues remain to be dealt with after Wednesday's vote has been counted, when the new State President and his government will come under a harsh international spotlight, and he will be judged very soon by his actions rather than his words. Apart from the unsettled Angolan conflict and the related question of ensuring that Namibia is successfully launched into independence, there is the equally vital issue for southern Africa of bringing peace and development to Mozambique. If this conflict - for which South Africa bears a heavy responsibility - is not resolved, and the present exploratory talks do not soon show more progress, the chances with Mozambique will again deteriorate.

Our relations with Zimbabwwe, which have been directly affected for most of the '80s from the chaos in Mozambique, will also stand little chance of improvement, and Malawi will continue to suffer from being cut off from its natural routes to the sea and from the influx of hundreds of thousands of refugees.

Credibility

A high level of priority has already been given to Mozambique in Pretoria, and much has been done in the past year to repair the damage of earlier actions. This has been recognised internationally and in the region, but it remains an unresolved issue.

Above all, if the momentum of the peace process in Southern Africa and the Government's credibility in this process are to be maintained, the issue of a negotiated settlement within South Africa will have to be realistically faced.

All the major external powers, including the United States, Soviet Union, Britain, Germany, France and Japan are now pressing the concept of negotiation for a political settlement. As vague and unspecified as this concept may still be, it is still seen as an alternative to escalating violence and to ideas of a revolutionary change. Within southern Africa this approach is also receiving growing support, and the ANC has been persuaded to produce a declaration on its negotiating position.

The negotiation has been endorsed by an OAU committee, including the Frontline States, and it will no doubt be approved by the OAU as a whole.

Although Mr de Klerk and the National Party are open to negotiations for a new constitution, the ANC has, in the international context, stolen a march on them.

Its declaration may make some demands which no white government could realistically be expected to consider seriously, but the ANC has at least placed its initial position on the table. Pretoria will be expected to respond and to acknowledge that the ANC is one of the parties which will have to be involved in any realistic negotiations in the future.

This issue cannot be put off until all other regional issues are resolved, because Western governments, as much as those in Southern Africa, will now be looking for a new government to provide substance to the expectations which Mr de Klerk has aroused.

Unless he has hidden plans, to be divulged after Wednesday, they may have to learn that, as with other regional conflicts, there is still a long way to go before Southern African peace is assured.

However, for the time being the region appears to at least be going in the right direction.
The road to hell on earth

by David Carte

Clemm Santner and his colleagues are the temperamental prophets of our age. They analyse present trends, project them and seem to be an exciting us into action.

This book presents the evidence in which they are so learned and compelling. In this book, Clemm Santner, chairman of the South African Environment Foundation, makes powerful predictions on the environment, which he, together with thousands of other writers, have long foreseen for decades.

A dry year is an interesting one. As we approach the turning of the year, the environment is becoming the hottest topic of all. Although the situation is not as dire as it once was, the need to concern ourselves about the environment remains. We must act on the environment, which sustains us.

Options

Mr Santner's first book, On the World, was an important and timely work. The high road was described in glory as a way to an environment in which we can live in peace. The book is an attempt to describe a high road to a world in which we can live in harmony with the Earth. The book is a description of the world we can live in.

Clemm Santner is one of the few writers to draw attention to the possible benefits of a high road. In this book he gives a passionate argument that a "green" world is a "great green world".

Roots

It is surprising, given his background, that Mr Santner does not directly address the problem of population and its consequences. They could have a greater bearing on SA's long-term future than anything else.

Mr Santner has collaborated in this book with Roy Stigefried, co-founder of the University of Cape Town, and Craig Mutton, manager of the Institute for Social Change and Development.

The scientists have provided the information and Mr Santner has structured the material and organized it into the style in which he is accustomed.

A curious fact: Mr Santner's first book, a self-published little book that he considered little but that was well-received, was not reviewed. But this was to change with the publication of his first book, "The World, Living in Harmony with the Earth". In the introduction he wrote:

The book also contains much that we are not yet aware of. It is interesting how many readers will know it.

Disasters

Closer to home, a few days ago, in a different context, the Democratic Party in South Africa announced that it will implement a program to reduce the country's greenhouse gas emissions by 2030. The party plans to achieve this through a combination of renewable energy and energy efficiency measures.

The Democratic Party has also proposed a moratorium on new coal-fired power plants and a ban on new oil or gas exploration. In addition, the party has called for a carbon tax and the phase-out of existing coal plants by 2030.

These proposals are not without their critics. Some argue that they will be too expensive and will not be effective in reducing emissions. Others suggest that they will lead to job losses in the energy sector.

Despite these concerns, the Democratic Party remains committed to its goals and is determined to take action to address climate change.

Treasure

The high road requires resources. SA's mineral wealth can be used to ensure a sustainable and balanced economy. In the meantime, SA's economic prospects remain uncertain.

Although SA has made progress in reducing its greenhouse gas emissions, it still has a long way to go. The country is committed to achieving a 40% reduction in emissions by 2030, but it will need international cooperation and support to reach this goal.

In conclusion, the high road is a necessary path for SA's future. Building a sustainable and prosperous society requires the cooperation of all stakeholders. It is up to us to ensure that the high road is a reality.
It's lucky for strikes.

Hepden

Popeye SA

REAL VISION
been underplayed.

Instead, there has been an incoherent attack focusing on the CP's follies and invoking latter-day "swart gevaar" tactics against the DP. And then FW, freed from the incubus for the last three weeks, could be projected as the man to lead South Africa out of the mess into which his party led us in the first place.

But still no close attention to the Five-Year Plan — perhaps understandably so. It is a disastrous mishmash which aptly illustrates the NP's inability to jettison much of the apartheid encumbrance that has ensured it power for so long.

It is also apparent that the NP's "cognised" leaders of all groups but refuse to negotiate with movements that represent 66 percent of the black population?

On the face of it, it is legitimate to demand those movements abandon violence as a precondition for negotiation, but it is quite wrong to suppose that violence emanates solely from them. Apartheid itself has rested on coercive violence and a denial of common humanity that does serious violence to its victims' psyches.

Assuming Mr De Klerk becomes State President some time after September 6, he — and white South Africa — will face the real Rubicon fairly soon. He must have to allay considerable black suspicions about their bona fides.

*Tyrranical*

Conversely, the principal black movements will have to recognise that the white power structure is not about to collapse like a house of cards. A capacity for pragmatic compromise will be vital, because no single antagonist in the South African conflict is likely to be able to impose its own constitution.

I have been reading Leoch Walshe's autobiography, *A Path of Hope*, as well as material on China's pro-democracy movement, and have been struck by the similarities between Solidarity, the
Three roads
THE MAJOR PARTIES EXPLAIN WHY

into the future
YOUR CROSS WILL COUNT ON WEDNESDAY
Press on with fighting bravely, Dear Sir.

White must fight on bravely, then, and not with a view of fighting to the bitter end. If the enemy attacks, he must resist with all his might. If he is driven back, he must follow closely behind. If he is stopped in his tracks, he must try to outflank him and rear up against him with all his force. If he is forced to retreat, he must make desperate efforts to hold his ground and keep the enemy at bay. If he is captured, he must resist with all his might and continue to fight until the last moment.

As for the peace talks, they are not likely to cease. The enemy will not rest until he has achieved his目的. We must therefore prepare ourselves for a long and bitter struggle. Only by fighting to the bitter end can we hope to achieve victory.

We, the Chinese people, will not yield an inch of our territory to the enemy. We will fight on bravely, and we will not rest until we have driven the enemy out of our land.
Terminally ill are paid out before death

AN acceleration of a death claim in the event of the policyholder's being diagnosed as having a terminal illness is offered in South Africa by AA Life.

It means that once an individual is considered to be terminally ill, the time period in which the death benefit is paid is greatly reduced, allowing the funds to be claimed before death.

AA Life policyholders given a year or less to live, can receive up to 75% of their death benefit immediately. The remaining 25% will be paid to the beneficiary's estate on death in the usual way, but minus the interest on the 75% based on the prime overdraft and an administrative charge.

Strain

Apart from the dis ease diseases such as cancer can cause extreme financial hardship, especially if the breadwinner has to stop work. The bills which need to be paid include the life assurance premium and high medical costs.

With accelerated death benefits, stopping work does not cause financial strain, as the premiums cease, special nursing care can be considered, a wheelchair, special beds and surgical equipment can be afforded and even a dream holiday with the family is possible.

Financial arrangements for the survivors can be arranged — the housing bond can be paid off, debts can be settled, trusts established for the children and all the loose ends tied up so that the person can die with financial peace of mind.

It has been suggested that insurers have reined in their laus on the introduction of the universal life policy, their funds, are unable to match assured returns.

The key reason for the industry moving into the investment market is because the companies employ sales forces effectively marketing day to day.

Dr Benfield says: "However, because of inflation few people have money to save. A lot of dissaving is taking place — the term used for spending savings and buying on credit.

"It is often cheaper to buy now at 25% rate of interest than for cash in 12 months' time when the rate of price increases could have been 33%.

Direct

About 25% of AA Life's new business is the result of direct mail, but many people are averse to reading, preferring to ask questions. An even newer medium is telesales which could well develop into a fourth method for life companies. But this does not mean it will ever supersede agents or brokers.

A large proportion of the population feel a need to be advised. Few people have Batels. Only a few of those who do are interested in looking up life assurance, finding out the details and making out an order.

AA Life is the only office to make this facility available, but Dr Benfield says it has generated few new policies.

AIDS, which looked as though it could seriously affect the life-assurance industry, might be less threatening than previously feared.

Dr Benfield has returned from visiting the Mercantile & General Reinsurance Company in London, where he was told that AIDS worldwide is nothing like the problem it was thought to be.
More than a pension is needed

MANY individuals believe — or hope — that their pension will provide for their future needs.

The graph indicates the shortfall that may be expected between pension and required income to maintain lifestyle standards after retirement.

Others, inhibited by lack of personal knowledge, feel vulnerable to the persuasions of those with specific investment products to market. Their decisions may have caused an imbalance in their portfolio.

Tailored

There is a real need for an impartial and personalized service that identifies the individual's needs and aspirations, tailoring them to a planned programme linked to current and projected earnings.

The emphasis must be on individuality — as done by the computer-based programme we have developed — to enable a variety of assumptions to be made with the client, analysing current assets and liabilities, earnings projections and the effect of inflation, investment performances and risk exposure.

This analysis helps to determine the individual's financial objectives and how they may be achieved, so that he and his family will be adequately provided for.

In developing a financial plan, it is important to take into consideration the individual's preferences in terms of type of investment and risk exposure, while ensuring a balanced portfolio that will deliver the results aimed for, within the personal comfort zone.

Property

Elements in such a portfolio will embrace tax, retirement and estate planning, the co-ordination of investment portfolio management — insurance, shares, unit trusts, property syndication etc. A personal portfolio must be updated regularly and revised according to both personal and market circumstances.

Frightening

In today's volatile environment, these reviews are vital to ensure performance levels are maximized, ensuring that the individuals and their families can maintain the lifestyle they have earned and deserve to enjoy for the rest of their lives.

It is a frightening thought that many readers of this article may not be in this position — unless they take action now.
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Egg on Nat faces in letters debacle

By DRIES van HEERDEN

AN organised letter-writing campaign backfired badly on National Party candidate Glenn Babb's political roadshow in Randburg this week when two identical letters appeared in two different newspapers on the same day, but signed by two different people.

And NP efforts to discredit Democratic Party co-leader and MP for Randburg Wynand Malan also fizzled out when the Sunday Times established that one of the so-called "defectors" from the DP, announced by Mr Babb, recently applied unsuccessfully for the post of chief secretary of the DP.

"Another "defector", Gert van der Linde, who was Mr Malan's campaign chairman in 1987, was the man in the middle of the letter mystery."

A letter in the name of Mr van der Linde, attacking Mr Malan and singling the praises of Mr Babb, appeared in the latest edition of the Randburg Sun.

On that same day, August 31, an identical letter was published in the Citizen.

This letter was signed by Mr P J du Toit of Ellise Road in Fountainsーム. A thorough search of both the Johannesburg telephone directory and the Randburg voters' roll could find no trace of the mysterious Mr Du Toit. A Mr D du Toit living at 5 Ellise Road denied having written the letter or ever having heard of a P J du Toit in his street.

Mr van der Linde, now active in Mr Babb's campaign, acknowledged that he wrote the letter to the Randburg Sun. How it found its way to the Citizen under another name he did not know.

A spokesman for the Babb campaign, Francois Baird, told the Sunday Times he was "completely mystified" by the turn of events.

"It is true that we decided to write letters supporting Mr Babb to newspapers on an organised basis. There is, however, no question of us duplicating the same letter and sending it to different newspapers."

Randburg Sun news editor Elmarie van Rensburg confirmed she recently received "a whole stack of similar letters" from an NP organiser.

"The letters were all similar in content — and most of them typed on the same typewriter," she said.

Mr Malan said yesterday the revelation about the letters was "a confirmation of what we have been suspecting for a long time."

"It shows the level to which the Babb campaign is prepared to stoop in its efforts to make short-term gains," he said.

Meanwhile the other so-called "defector" from Mr Malan to Mr Babb, Koos Badenhorst, confirmed that he very recently applied for the post of chief secretary of the DP. His application failed.

Announcing his return to the NP earlier this week, Mr Badenhorst said he rejoined the party to fight the way in which the members and policies of the old Progressive Federal Party dominated the DP.

Asked why he bothered to apply for the secretaryship when he knew the DP would be a merger of the PPP, independents and Mr Malan's former National Democratic Movement, Mr Badenhorst said he believed ex-NDM members would have gained positions of power in the new party.

Report by A J van Heerden. 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Ex-aide claims FW was not always a reformist

Political Correspondent

THE Government's former top constitutional planner and now Democratic Party candidate Kobus Jordaan says the reformist image of National Party leader F W de Klerk is contradicted by his record.

Speaking in Durban this week, Mr Jordaan, who has worked closely in government bodies with Mr De Klerk on constitutional matters, said the NP leader was trapped in "classical apartheid dogma" and "neo-Verwoerdism."

In two of the most reported issues during his tenure in the National Education portfolio, Mr De Klerk tried to force the closure of private schools that took in black students and tried to restrict the quotas of black students at white universities.

In both of these Mr De Klerk failed, said Mr Jordaan, the DP candidate for Umbhlanga.

Mr De Klerk continues to refuse "reasonable and moderate" requests to ease the pressure on black schools by allowing black pupils entry to white schools, he added.

"One cannot expect a genuine reformer to have a consistent record of moderating or replacing outdated policies and, although not his own man, at least moving fearlessly in the direction of desired change."

"This is not true of Mr De Klerk."

Report by J. Victor. 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.
'Wit Wolwe don't exist'

Rightwing terror on increase, no arrests

Despite a new wave of rightwing violence in the name of the Wit Wolwe, the police insist there is no scrap of evidence that such an organisation exists.

Police said however all pamphlets and death threats had been investigated, reports Vrye Weekblad.

This week there were three terror attacks and several death threats attributed to the Wit Wolwe.

In some circles it is believed the Wit Wolwe are rightwing policemen operating unofficially.

Not a single attacker or pamphlet writer has been arrested so far.

The victim of one of the attacks, Pretoria activist Louis Bredenkamp, confirmed he had obtained the registration number of the car of two white men who had fired shots at his home. The car was registered in Swartkop near Rustenburg.

It was also learnt that a family Schoon of Pretoria, whose motor car was set alight last weekend, was being guarded by two policemen. One of the family, Alette Schoon is a member of Students for a Democratic Society.

Bredenkamp said he did not want police protection, "I wouldn't feel safe."

Shots were also fired at the home of Rev Ivor Jenkins, organiser of the campaign against apartheid buses.

Bredenkamp, Jenkins, the Schoon family and other leaders of the resistance movement, received death threats in the name of the Wit Wolwe.

In most cases they were told the Wit Wolwe knew where they and their family worked and also knew their movements.

The Wit Wolwe have sophisticated weapons, explosives and good information about activists against whom they plan their deeds of terror.

Since the court case of the mass killer Barend Strydom where he described himself as the leader of a Wit Wolwe cell, assassination attempts on individuals, attacks on anti-apartheid groups and death threats in the name of the Wit Wolwe escalated.

Dozens of rightwing attacks, for which the Wit Wolwe accepted responsibility, have taken place since the Strydom murders.

They include the murder of David Webster, bomb explosions at the home of NP candidate Boy Geldenhuyse, the murder of SWAPO members in Namibia, pig heads at mosques, and an assassination attempt on Stellenbosch student Mark Behr earlier this month.

Every threatening letter sent to newspapers and activists ends with the words: "Long live Barend Strydom! Long live the Wit Wolwe!"

Col Vic Haynes of the police directorate of public relations said: "Not a single scrap of evidence for the existence of a Wit Wolwe organisation has been found so far, although all cases are investigated."

Asked why police investigations of rightwing terror had brought no results, Haynes said crimes were difficult to solve when no clues were found.

"In many cases there is a lack of co-operation. The investigating officers try their best, but without information it is a difficult task. The investigations however continue," Haynes said.

He said police had received no information that policemen were involved in rightwing terror.

They also have no idea which people were responsible for it or if it could be linked to rightwing organisations like the AWB or BBB.

The secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, Rev Frank Chikane, this week condemned the government for failing to condemn rightwing terror.
Hunt for ‘genuine’ black leaders

Elections for black leaders — destined to become negotiating partners — are being planned by the Government.

The elections are central to the Government’s plan to launch negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation. It has been assured from senior Government sources.

The Government is looking for “legitimate” leaders and believes elections are the only way to identify them.

It also recognises, according to one source, that the elections must be seen as legitimate.

To achieve this, the Government plans “talks about talks” with a wide range of SA black leaders — the names of United Democratic Front patrons Dr Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu have been mentioned.

It seems almost certain, however, that such leaders would not have anything to do with such a process, sponsored one-sidedly by the Government.

However, the Government feels it would be strategically entitled to go ahead once all leaders had been given the opportunity of participating in talks — and had been seen to refuse.

Jailed African National Congress patriarch Mr Nelson Mandela would be released before or during the talks.

The process would then be nominally open to the ANC — although the precondition of a renunciation of violence would remain.

This could result in the “internal” process going on without the ANC.

Report by L. Véster, 31 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg
in tizzy

WON'T ADMIT IT
THE SCORE, BUT
ALLEGIANCCH BY
VOTERS SWITCH

Jumblies

Lie factor has partie

SOUTH AFRICA: Voters have never in a more spectacular
number simply refusing to do party workers with a party they
support.

They are simply refusing to do party workers with a party they
support.
Party heavyweights to dominate TLP

of any party since 1910 will suffer heaviest losses. Nats will win—but they

just in many elections before if this reign in

How much election

by Esther Witter Police Correspondent

knife-edge seats
Veterans gear up to settle scores with old enemies

By DRIES van HEERDEN.

OLD politicians seldom retire — they merely take time out to plan their comebacks. And election '98 saw the return of many long-missing items.

In 1987 the DP candidate in Edenvale, Mr Brian Goodall, was defeated by a mere 11 votes by Mrs Joan Hunter of the NP. But he lost more than an election — he needed just one more day as a Member of Parliament to qualify for a full pension.

Wednesday saw Mr Goodall and Mrs Hunter in a revenge match. Two high-profile former Deputy Ministers are attempting comebacks to the front benches of Parliament.

Clash

Mr Louis Nel is taking on Mr CP's Mr Charles Pauluis in his stronghold, Carroofontein. Mr Nel, who won his seat in 1974, faces Mr Pauluis, a former member of the DP for over two decades now.

Mr Nel, who was a former member of the Carroofontein Farmers' Association, is well known in the area and is expected to win comfortably.

Mr Pauluis, on the other hand, is a former member of the DP and has been actively involved in local politics for many years. He is expected to put up a strong challenge.

In an unusual move, the two candidates have agreed to a televised debate before the election, which will be broadcast live on national television.

Events

The main event of the election campaign is the clash between Mr Nel and Mr Pauluis, which promises to be one of the most intense in the country.

Both candidates are expected to campaign hard in their respective constituencies, with a strong focus on local issues such as unemployment, education, and health care.

The election is expected to be closely fought, with both candidates putting in a strong effort to win.

Solid

If, for example, the DP fails to win Woodstock, Edenvale, Simon's Town or Windhoek, it will be up with fewer than 30 seats. If the CP wins Kimberley, Krugerstad, Nylstroom, and Windhoek, there is a possibility of a major upset.

In a surprising turn of events, the CF has announced that it will contest the election, with a strong showing expected in its traditional strongholds.

The election is expected to be a tight race, with both major parties working hard to secure the necessary votes to win.

Dead man told he can vote!

By PETER VUYEER.

A MAN "deemed dead" seven years ago is to be allowed to vote in Wednesday's election.

Mr Kobus van Zyl, 41, from Kempton Park was declared dead by the Department of Home Affairs in 1983 after he had "died of policy".

Mr van Zyl, who was a naturalized German, had been living in South Africa for several years when he was declared dead.

The two men were born on the same date.
Vote for right ‘will burn SA’

SOUTH Africa would be racked by scorched-earth violence if many white voters moved to the right in Wednesday’s election, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told American decision-makers yesterday.

However, it was unlikely the far right would be able to form a government, he told Alabama legislators, businessmen and educators.

In all probability the National Party would regain power and it would be “all systems go” in raising the challenges FW de Klerk would face as the new State President.

These challenges would be to get negotiations going and head the country towards a new, non-racist constitution embodying a multiracial rejection of apartheid, he said.

But, whatever else it was, the constitution would have to be one for a sovereign country, with one sovereign parliament resting on universal adult franchise.

“There can be no other destiny for South Africa,” Chief Buthelezi appealed to the United States to back all moves aimed at “depolitanisation” and getting negotiations on track.
GOT TO CHIKANE
TOXIC CHEMICAL
NO CLUE TO HOW

Riddle of Poisoned

cleric

The General Secretary of the SA

BY FRANK CHINKANE

FRANK CHINKANE

This week — out the mystery of

The General Secretary of the SA

Frank Chinkane. His position on the

1 January 1989

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STL 75
Labour will win, but lose a
total battle to non-voters

THE Labour Party will win the second round of ethnic elections for the House of Representatives on Wednesday, but it will be a hollow victory if measured against the large-scale resentment against tripartisan politics by the majority who will boycott the polls.

During the first election for the House of Representatives in August, 1984, the Labour Party won 76 out of the 80 contested seats.

The average percentage of registered voters who cast their votes countrywide in 1984 was 39.7 percent, while the total percentage of eligible (potential) voters who bothered to cast their votes was only 10.4 percent.

The percentage this time around could be higher, but that would be because of an amendment to the Electoral Act which has allowed candidates to canvas special votes hassle-free since July 3, and up to next Tuesday, the day before the election.

In most constituencies thousands of voters, particularly pensioners and the jobless, have been ferried by taxis to the polling stations to cast their votes.

Defiance

The supreme irony of Wednesday's elections remains the fact that the main pivot of South African politics is the role of blacks in a future political dispensation, yet they are excluded from the polling stations.

The National Party, the loose umbrella alliance based on the core of the United Democratic Front and the country's biggest trade union federation, Cosatu, to which a myriad of anti-apartheid groups are affiliated, has in recent times grabbed the headlines with its anti-election campaign.

The MDM, fiercely against tripartisan politics, spearheads a national defiance campaign said to be aimed at peaceful acts of civil disobedience in protest against this week's ethnic-based elections.

But so far a factor that has cushioned the LP against possible MDM hostility at the hustings is that, unlike 1984, this year's elections take place against the backdrop of a state of emergency.

This curtails the holding of protest meetings and stops the media from publishing certain stories about extra-parliamentary forces calling for a boycott of the election.

It also fuels those people who are against the tripartism Parliament and who are either banned outright or have restriction orders placed on them in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Such measures also call into question whether an election held under emergency restrictions can be called "free, fair and democratic".

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrikse confided yesterday that the Labour Party could lose three seats, giving it a return of 77 out of the 80 contested, but he would not name which three were at risk.

Challengers

Labour could lose any of about 10 seats. Observers believe Mrs Nokwele Hoosen of the Freedom Party will beat off two opponents, Mr Billy Levy of the LP and Mr Ismail Achmat, an independent, and retain Tafelberg, which includes Salt River, Woodstock and central Cape Town.

In Ravensmead, Oom Hanse Christiaan is aiming to deal the LP candidate and President's Council member Mr Billy Ross a crushing defeat. Mr Ross has made a Supreme Court application to have Oom Hanse's candidacy declared null and void because of alleged irregularities.

Labour's Mr Dawood Adams has scanted against the incumbent DP MP Mr Dennis de la Cruz, who is expected to retain Ottery. There are troubles on the horizon for the sitting LP MP for Grassy Park, Mr Joseph van den Heever, who is being challenged by one of the DRP's strongest candidates, Mr Salaman Ebrahim of the Grassy Park Management committee and a member of the West Cape REC.

The LP's Reiger Park candidate, Mr Jack Kruger, has a tough fight on his hands trying to unseat the veteran Transvaal politician and leader of the United Democratic Party, Mr Jack Rabe.

And in the Northern Transvaal, independent Mr Paul Jacobs may pull off one of the biggest upsets of the campaign in his bid to unseat the LP's Mr P R E de Gama.

Mr Hendrikse's two sons are fighting against a full-scale DP onslaught in the Eastern Cape. The sitting MP for Ads, Mr Pieter Hendrikse, is being buffeted by the DRP's Mr Trevor Donald Lee while his younger brother, Michael, is being challenged for the Gelvandale seat by a veteran civic leader in the area, Mr Harry Claassen.

In the Peninsula the two most interesting contests are Edendale, where the LP has fielded the Rev Pieter Klink of the President's Council against former Minister of Education and Culture and DP leader Mr Carter Ebrahim.

Grudge

Labour also looks to be in for a bloody nose in Maccasar where the DRP's Mr Oelof Heradend is upped to beat off an attempt by Eerste River businessman Mr Clarence Ratangee to grab the seat from him.

A seat where history is repeating itself is the local grudge contest between the LP's Mr Peter Marais of the President's Council and Mr Nic Isakas of the DRP.

Last time around Mr Isakas won Bishop Lavis for the LP with a majority of 735 in a 17.7 percent poll against Mr Peter Marais, who was then leader of the People's Congress party.

Now Mr Marais is the LP candidate and out to avenge his 1984 defeat by pitting his stronger personality against the popularity of Mr Isakas.

Bishop Lavis will, as in 1984, be the national focal point of the House of Representatives elections on Wednesday night.
BOKSBURG NEXT

Petty apartheid to be challenged in a court

BY JOSIAH NAQAGA

THE CONSERVATIVE
NP hoping to win 100 seats in the election

304A Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party can lose about 22 seats in the Assembly in Wednesday's general election but the opposition parties remain confident that they can win even more from the NP.

Because there are so many marginal seats won with small majorities in 1987, even a small swing in the opinion of voters can lead to a major upset.

Nationalist spokesmen and analysts today felt that the NP may win about 100 seats, but said it was one of the most unpredictable elections since 1948.

Dr Zac de Beer, co-leader of the Democratic Party, said today that the party's prospects looked good. He thought the DP could do better than the 30 seats he predicted a fortnight ago.

Mr Andries Beyers, general secretary of the Conservative Party, said the party was showing strong growth. He was confident it could break out of the Transvaal by winning seats in the other provinces.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

See Pages 6, 10, 11, 13.
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Twin letters used in attack on Malan

By Esmare van der Merwe
Political Reporter (20 Apr)

The National Party's spirited Randburg camp has embarked on a letters campaign against Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan.

This is the latest tactic in NP candidate Mr Glen Babb's high-profile media campaign.

Identical letters appeared in two newspapers last week under different names: one in The Citizen under the name of P.J. du Toit, the other under the name of Mr Gert van der Linde in the local Randburg Sun.

Mr van der Linde, a former NP divisional council chairman, defected from the Nats in 1987. He chaired Mr Malan's campaign committee in that year's general election, which Mr Malan fought as an independent. He announced last week he would be supporting Mr Babb.

In the letter, Mr Malan is accused of not looking after the interests of Randburg voters and of serving his own ambitions.

"Mr Malan had his chance to represent Randburgers. Instead we have the impression that he chose to represent himself and perhaps even pressure groups outside Randburg," it reads.

"Mr Babb, on the other hand, is not attempting to promote his image but always worked for the good of South Africa and now he is orientating himself in Randburg and getting to know the people and local issues."

The NP recently admitted that some of the people who telephoned Nat-supporting newspapers, praising the TV performance of Mr Babb in a debate with Mr Malan, were NP workers.

(By E van der Merwe, of Sowet Star, Johannesburg)
Big drive to find voters in Pietersburg

By Dirk Nel, Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — An intensive last-minute drive to trace hundreds of missing voters was launched here at the weekend at the urging of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Dr Willie Snyman, the Conservative Party MP for the constituency, came under heavy fire from Mr Botha for his attitude towards the establishment of a Venda consulate in the town.

Mr Botha warned voters that they would have only themselves to blame if Dr Snyman was returned to Parliament and Pietersburg continued on the road to becoming another Boksburg.

On Friday, National Party candidate Dr Nick van Oudshoorn told 600 enthusiastic supporters: "Our canvassing figures are looking good."

NP organiser Mr Danie Botha appealed to supporters to visit the party's offices to help it trace the hundreds of voters whom full-time workers have been unable to find.

It seems certain that Dr van Oudshoorn will give Dr Snyman a close fight.

In the neighbouring Southdberg constituency, more than 9,000 people have already voted.

NP candidate Mr Vic Borchers is confident of victory while CP leaders predict an increased majority for Mr Tom Langley, who won in 1987 by 269 votes.

The CP is expected to gain easy victories in the other three northern Transvaal constituencies of Lydenburg, Potgietersrus and Waterberg.
Nelspruit trio expect tough tussle

By Clyde Johnson, Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Last bastion of the National Party in the Transvaal platteland. That is how Nelspruit MP Mr Dolf Mare describes his constituency.

And he believes it will remain in the hands of the NP after Wednesday.

His opponents, Mr Christo Smith of the Conservative Party and Mr Stefan Grove of the Democratic Party, disagree.

But one thing is certain: Wednesday will prove the toughest election for Nelspruit since the NP captured it from the United Party in 1948.

The constituency can be described as a highly productive area in a sub-tropical and forested region.

It is a compact and progressive constituency which, in recent years, has experienced tremendous growth.

A high percentage of its 21,406 voters are qualified, managerial and entrepreneurial people.

The rest are farmers — many specialists in their field — many State employees, and a large military group.

Although the voters roll does not show a large increase since the previous election, the number has actually increased by nearly 50 percent since 1981.

DRAMATIC INROADS

In the last election, with a 79.84 percent poll, the NP obtained 2,126 majority.

The breakdown in the four-cornered contest was: NP 7,335, CP 5,290, PFP 1,006, HNP 713.

With both the CP and DP claiming to have made dramatic inroads, the position after Wednesday could be different.

Using the municipal elections as a barometer — the CP got the most votes — Mr Smith is optimistic.

"Our main support comes from the ordinary worker and salary drawer," he says.

The ever-worsening economy is, however, changing the attitude of businessmen and professionals, with more and more showing interest in the CP, he adds. Farmers, too — particularly tobacco farmers — have shown their support in recent weeks.

Predicting a 70 percent poll, Mr Smith says the CP can win.

"Although it will be nothing spectacular, I believe it will be in the vicinity of 1,000 votes."

He promises voters: "I will restore lost contact with the ordinary voter, pay attention to the much-needed regional airport, assist citrus and tobacco farmers, and give nature conservation — something close to my heart — all the help it needs."

Mr Grove says that although the DP has inherited two major problems — only 1,000 votes for it in the last election, and great CP advances in the municipal elections — he is confident.

Positive canvassing results and well-attended meetings indicate there is far greater support for the DP than most people think, he says.

"This support definitely does not come from the CP, and I have no doubt it will have a damaging effect on the NP."

 Asked whether it was not just another way of handing Nelspruit to the CP, he replied: "The DP sees September 6 as a referendum as well as an election. At the end of the day it will be more important counting the number who identified themselves with the DP, than arguing how many seats the DP 'helped the CP gain'."

TRACK RECORD

Mr Mare, who entered active politics in 1977 as member of the Provincial Council and took over from Mr Braam Raubenheimer as MP in 1981, says his track record stands him in good stead.

"I do not consider myself an old-style fire-and-brimstone politician, but an MP dedicated to the Government and the people who elected me," He has lived in the Nelspruit area since 1956.

He says about the other parties: "I do not see the DP becoming a factor in our region. And the CP cannot work, nor is it acceptable here."

★ See Page 13 for more constituency profiles.
FW and CP leader involved in bitter broedertwis

Brothers do battle across white political spectrum

Pat Devereaux
Election fever is running high in the best of Afrikaner families as brothers clash against one another in vote-catching strategies.

On Wednesday, Herstigte Nationalie Party organising secretary Mr Arend "Attie" Treurnicht will not be voting for his brother, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Neither will Democratic Party supporter Dr Willem "Wimpie" de Klerk vote for his brother, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

"My elder brother Andries is standing in the Waterberg constituency but I am standing for the HNP in Boxburg," said Mr Attie Treurnicht last week.

"Luckily only two madmen in the family decided to enter politics. This is not a problem for us. We know politics is a hard game, but the rest of the family seem to find it embarrassing."

Asked whether he and the CP leader, who quit the NP in 1982, had ever stood on the same platforms, Mr Treurnicht said: "I've spoken against my brother in the Waterberg area, and when he was a National Party member he spoke against me in the Western Cape.

"I asked him how his views differed from my brother's. Mr Attie Treurnicht said: 'The HNP don't believe in power sharing at all. We support the independent homeland policy like the CP but we do not want a council of states handling affairs — that is power sharing.'"

Protecting jobs

"We also differ from the CP in that we are against privatisation of State-controlled property such as the South African Transport Services."

He added that the HNP favoured the protecting of white workers' jobs — provided there are enough white workers to do that specific job.

Last week former chief adviser on DP policy matters, Dr Wimpie de Klerk, announced he would not be voting for his brother, Mr F W de Klerk. He will in fact vote in Parktown for DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer.

This followed the former Rapport editor's recent statement that he regarded it as "somewhat distasteful, sensational and banal if two brothers should abuse each other on election platforms in the rough language demanded by party politics."

After initially being touted as the DP's ideal leader, Dr de Klerk cut all ties with the party in May.

But he has since denied that his move dealt the DP a severe blow and reasoned that he had merely wanted to remain independent as a political commentator and analyst.

He has also pointed out why his views differ from the NP leader's. "I reject the NP policy that South African politics must be divided up according to racial groups and that the four race groups must be the four permanent building blocks in a type of racial federation," said Dr de Klerk.

"This is unacceptable to an overwhelming majority of South Africans. It is rooted in an enforced racial base, it is unpracticable and unaffordable, it is morally indefensible, and therefore it is no solution but an important part of the problem. "I support a policy for a non-racial democracy composed of political parties formed through free association."

New home

On the DP, he said: "It is good that the DP came into being. As a result of its policy, Afrikaners who have departed from the NP's racial policy have a new acceptable home now."

However, on a personal level he defended Mr F W de Klerk's views.

"When I say 'Give F W de Klerk a chance' I clearly qualify it in the following terms: if the NP can move over to a non-racial policy, it is the best thing that can happen. The acting State President is aware of that and within his own power base there is pressure in this direction."

(Report by P Devereaux, 47 Suur St, Johannesburg)
Bastion of Pretoria’s public servants

By NORMAN CHANDLER
Pretoria Bureau

It is one of the nicest middle-class areas anyone could wish to live in Pretoria. If one cannot aspire to the plush eastern suburbs of the city, the Innesdal parliamentary constituency, which stretches from the elegant Union Buildings to the rugged Magaliesberg range, is probably the next best bet.

It is a typical South African suburban mix of neat homes in tidy gardens, regular bus service, tennis clubs, leafy Jeannasas streets, small shopping centres.

Innesdal — made up, in the main, by the suburbs of Villiera, Rivonia, Die Boom and a part of Wonderboom South — is home to thousands of public servants, particularly nurses, teachers, policemen, researchers, and employees of the parliament and control boards which cluster on the west side of Mopani’s Kop.

They are people whom these political parties are trying to influence in the final days before the election.

The views expressed by the 19 000 electorate — overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking — indicate very clearly what their preferences are limited reform as long as it doesn’t affect their lifestyles, higher salaries and a virtual elimination of inflation, better facilities for the elderly (there are many aged in the constituency) and security of tenure.

They are also well aware of the importance of voting in general election. Since the constituency was established in 1959, there have been regular turnouts of 70 percent or more. In 1963 it was more than 90 percent.

The seat is held by the National Party. The previous incumbent, Mr Albert Venter, was appointed South African Ambassador to the Netherlands. He kept his main rival in 1963, the Rev CL van den Berg (Conservative Party) by 1 824 votes.

On Wednesday Mr van den Berg will again be at the hustings, representing the CP against the NPS’s Mr H H (Hilna) Venter, and the HNP’s Mr Louis van der Schyff.

Dr Venter will bring parliamentary experience in his attempt to keep the CP out. She spent the last session of Parliament as a nominated member.

Day-care centres

So far, being a former president of the National Party, has made the aged and children a priority on his election programme.

“I have identified a key element in the constituency’s importance of day-care centres for these people, and particularly children of working mothers,” he says.

Mr van den Berg, on the other hand, believes the “shower grip the Nationalists have held on Innesdal is over”.

He believes his kwaNdebele attitudes and background will help swing the vote. He was a member of the 1930s Phalaborwa festival trek from Phalaborwa to Pretoria, and of last year’s Par North trek during the “Great Trek 182" celebrations.

A minister in the Hervormde Church for 26 years, he believes the public-sector wage-earner must be placed on an equal footing with those of the private sector, and is campaigning hard on this aspect.

“I am concerned about the lot of nurses, teachers (and policemen),” he says. All three make up a strong proportion of the constituency’s electorate.

During his campaign, Mr van den Berg has also courted politicians, the aged in general and the feminists. “I believe these people need a cat in housing and medical costs, and I will be fighting for that.”

Mr van der Schyff (1963) will try to reproduce Mr Louis Stoffberg, who was chief secretary of the HNP when he won Sunnyside in 1963.

Mr van der Schyff has been involved with the HNP since his student days. After graduating, he worked full-time for the party, first as administrative and later as chief secretary.

Mr van der Schyff is realistic about high hopes: “I don’t really think I will be able to swing it, but we will give it a good try. It will be a dramatic victory if we pull it off.”
Every vote should count in Edenvale

By JOE OPENSHAW (304)

In Edenvale the Democratic Party's young and enthusiastic canvassers are determined to prevent the National Party from retaining the seat. But present indications suggest the DP stands a better-than-average chance of victory.

Mr Brian Goodall, the DP candidate, has run there five times — winning the seat in the 1979 by-election. He was returned to Parliament in 1981 and is the only one of the three candidates standing who lives in the area.

The constituency has a history of being represented by nearly every major party which has contested elections. In 1948 it was taken by the Labour Party. Twice it returned UP candidates — in 1953 and 1974. In 1958 an NP candidate took it. Mr. Goodall has twice taken it for the Progressive Federal Party. In the previous election Mrs Joan Hunter of the NP won the seat with a slim majority of 118.

If the electioneering zeal of voluntary DP workers is anything to go by, winds of change are blowing which may well sweep the Nationalists from power one day.

Something of an enigma

The third contender is Mr P Venter, an independent who stood for the CP in Modderfontein last time around and lost.

Mr Venter is a busy man and said he did not have the time to speak to The Star and would not pause long enough for his picture to be taken, so must remain something of an enigma.

Sitting MP Mrs Hunter believes Mr Venter is standing to cause confusion among the voters.

Mrs Hunter says she has been pilloried for the boast that she is proud to be white because the whites developed the country, and it is said she is even more conservative than the CP.

"I am a verligte and have always been one. What is wrong with saying you're proud of being white?"

She does not believe in canvassing voters personally and prefers house meetings to public meetings.

"At the house meetings one is able to allay qualms about Mr P W Botha's abrupt departure as President and preach Mr F W de Klerk's promising reforms," she says.

Although Mr Goodall is optimistic about his chances, he says there is no room for complacency, and points out it will be a close finish between the DP and NP with every vote counting.

In 1987 there was a 65,1 percent poll and the NP collected 6 902 votes, the PFP 6 783.

Mr Goodall believes the election is being fought on economic issues, with ideology taking a back seat.

"Small businesses are finding the economic climate tough. High interest rates are punishing.

"It is estimated that the cost of disinvestment and sanctions have cost us R60 billion since 1974," he says.

Where ideology is concerned, he says voters are tired of waiting and are not prepared to give the Government more time to carry out its reforms.

"Mr B J Vorster said: 'Give me six months.' Mr P W Botha asked for time and now Mr F W de Klerk asks for five years. Time is running out," says Mr Goodall.

(Report by J Openshaw, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)
NP's last rally disappoints, DP 'sold out'

Political Staff

Political parties wrapped up their campaigns for tomorrow's general election with major rallies last night, but the ruling National Party cannot be happy with its final election meeting in the Johannesburg city hall.

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk — leading the NP into an election for the first time — pulled a crowd of only about 600 people, leaving the hall half-empty.

By comparison, the Democratic Party's final campaign push drew capacity crowds of about 1 300 people at venues in three marginal constituencies — Bezuidenhout, Randburg and Hillbrow.

And in the Parow Civic Centre, leader Dr Andries Treurnicht rounded off the Conservative Party's election challenge before a cheering crowd of about 1 000.

The lacklustre Nationalist meeting in Johannesburg was marked by a peaceful demonstration by Cosatu against Mr de Klerk, and a subdued audience whom neither Mr de Klerk nor the other main speaker, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, appeared able to infuse with much enthusiasm.

NO EUPHORIA

The demonstration ended peacefully and so did Mr de Klerk's election campaign, with little heckling, no questions, and no euphoria.

Mr de Klerk probably put his finger on the problem when he said: "We have almost reached the end of one of the longest election campaigns in South African history. Never again will we do it. This campaign has assured that in future we will have snap elections."

Later, he noted: "Our generation's greatest test has arrived. The challenge we stand before is to unite the forces of peace, reason and realism behind communal goals — to stand against the forces of radicalism and violence."

DP leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan drew enthusiastic applause for their final message — that the Government did not deserve to be returned to power in tomorrow's election.

Dr Treurnicht promised voters a restoration of political stability and white government over a white South Africa if the CP came to power.

LETTER FROM MDM

Mr de Klerk said the NP was ready to give the lead and its action plan laid the foundation for a new South Africa where everyone would receive his rights without fear of domination or injustice.

"The ... NP has set out on its own complete and all-embracing policy direction — away from the CP's racism and the DP's surrender ... on the road to a new just system."

Montshiwa Moroke reports that the MDM told Mr de Klerk in an open letter last night that the elections symbolised apartheid and the perpetuation of white minority rule. The letter was taken by anti-apartheid leaders and supporters in a march from the Cosatu offices to the city hall.

(Report by P Fabriques E van der Merwe, and M Moroke. 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)
NP braced for battering

The opposition parties in the House of Assembly go into tomorrow’s general election confident of making bigger gains than in any election since the Nationalists came to power 41 years ago.

The National Party itself has conceded it could lose over 20 seats, by far its biggest net loss in any election since 1948.

The Conservative and Democratic parties believe they will take at least 26 seats from the NP, and possibly as many as 60.

Most commentators believe the NP will lose about 26 of its 123 seats to end up with 97 and the DP will gain 19 to get 41 and the IFP will add 21 to its 10.

This is the average of predications by the leading political commentators and partisan media.

Nearly 80 percent of white voters in the Transvaal and Free State have already cast votes for tomorrow’s election, according to an opinion poll recorded in Pretoria and Port Elizabeth.

With election fever gripping the country, electoral officers expect a rush of last-minute specials in polling booths close at 2pm today.

Parties are still bickering over last minute support. The election is seen as one of two major votes in our history.

By yesterday morning, 46,129 whites in the Transvaal and Free State (80 percent) had cast special votes.

A large uncertain vote, probably still as high as 10 percent overall, is making for one of the most unpredictable elections in years.

Hoping for Drama

The biggest question mark hanging over the election is how well the CP can do, with predictions ranging from under 30 seats to over 60. The CP itself believes it can win from 43 to 72 seats, and the IFP, needing the CP to win 45, a substantial gain of 18.

The IFP is also aiming to win in private that the IFP could increase its representation from 10 to almost 40 seats, and win a net gain for the NP of about 26 seats.

However, NP information officer Mr. Con Botha yesterday scoffed at opposition claims that a hung Parliament was in the offing and said the NP would win a comfortable majority.

The IFP’s claim is the so-called swing factor, but Mr. Botha, however, said the NP was in the middle of predictions of winning about 60 seats. This would make a hung parliament almost inevitable, as the IFP would have to get at least 23 to deny the NP an overall majority.

IFP chief secretary Mr. Neil Ross yesterday predicted the IFP would win 25 to 30 seats. Lower opinion polls put the figure closer to 20.

The three parties are determined to recover their fortunes from today’s election results, with the UNA and Indian voters planning to ignore the election results in the Transvaal to 35 percent in the Western Cape.

The IFP has called in coloured and Indian voters to join them and ignore the elections, and the UNA has vowed that coloured voters in the Western Cape will vote for the IFP at 35 percent in the Western Cape

All in Pretoria, November 28, 1948

The last thing the Nationalists want to hear is that coloured voters in the Western Cape

Archbishop Tutu condemned police today of "scandalous breaches of religious liberty" after his arrest for challenging the blocking of the church with an armoured police vehicle.

The SAP said to newsmen last night when they desecrated the cathedral, used a Camper window vehicle to block the constitutional Street Methodist Church and arrested a group of church leaders and lawyers who were taking exception to their actions. Tutu said in a statement.

ARCHBISHOP TUTU CONDEMNS POLICE OF "SCANDALOUS BREACHES OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY" AFTER HIS ARREST FOR CHALLENGING THE BLOCKING OF THE CHURCH WITH AN ARMOURED POLICE VEHICLE.

The ANC, in a letter to the Transvaal police commissioner yesterday, accused the SAP of "arresting" law enforcement officers in the church and desecrating the cathedral.

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POLICE SWOOP ON ACTIVISTS AS ELECTION PROTESTS MOUNT

By Craig Kott

Police arrested scores of protesters yesterday in a contained clash on those taking part in the Most Democratic Movement’s election campaign.

The campaign, which MDM leaders have vowed to continue after tomorrow’s election, is expected to generate a campaign today and tomorrow.

Yesterday, Law and Order Minister Mr. Adrian Vlok said the SAP had arrested children who were found to be involved in the electoral process.

The police action was taken in response to reports that children were being used to disrupt the electoral process.

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MDM defiance ‘could boost NP’

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The Mass Democratic Movement’s countrywide defiance campaign in the build-up to tomorrow’s election seems to be playing into the hands of the ruling National Party, which has tried to taint the Democratic Party as being soft on security.

But while the NP is rubbing its hands in glee over the success of its election campaign aimed at the DP’s links with extra-parliamentary organisations, both the DP and CP yesterday said this strategy had boomeranged on the NP.

MDM spokesmen, asked about the perceived negative impact of the anti-apartheid campaign on the DP, remained adamant that the parliamentary process played a limited role in bringing about meaningful political change. The MDM was thus indifferent to a possible backlash against the DP at the polls.

The NP’s chief secretary in the Transvaal, Dr Lucas Nel, said the MDM’s defiance campaign had provided the NP with the opportunity to “unmask the DP as being just as soft on security as the old Progressive Federal Party”.

But the opposition parties’ spokesmen on law and order, Mr Tian van der Merwe of the DP and Mr Moolman Mentz of the CP, dismissed this argument, although for different reasons. Mr van der Merwe said the NP’s propaganda against the “DP/MDM alliance” had not been effective. He conceded that incidents of unprovoked violence could affect the DP.

Mr Mentz said the police’s inconsistent handling of protest actions had led to a “chaotic” situation in which disorderliness prevailed.

As Beeld sees it . . . the Mass Democratic Movement’s national defiance campaign prompts the question: ‘Should the Nats not have been in the pot?’

The MDM’s actions did not really have an effect on the electorate. The NP Government’s image of being soft on security comes a long way, for example its refusal to act against Group Areas trespassors. Its handling of the MDM just completes the picture — the image of a government that is too weak to maintain law and order.

“Mr Cassim Saloojee, president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, said that if the DP were to lose a few seats because of the MDM’s campaign of defiance it would not make any crucial difference to the political situation since Parliament had not brought about fundamental changes.

(Report by F van der Merwe, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)
DP is 'party of new era in SA'.

NP govt unable to effect change, says Dr Worrall

Political Staff

DURBAN — South Africa was moving into a new era that required fundamental change, Dr Denis Worrall told a cheering audience in Durban last night.

In the biggest meeting of the election campaign in the city, 1,200 people at the city hall shouted their approval as Dr Worrall accused the National Party government of being unable and unwilling to effect the fundamental change required for a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

The NP had spent the election campaign running for cover, attempting to focus the attention of the electorate on anything but its record of 41 years.

Its smear campaign was cynical: "It is a sordid party desperately attempting to manipulate information."

Dr Worrall asked the audience whether they wanted to go into another five years of students being shot by police on university campuses, of hunger, increasing crime, a failing economy and corruption.

Referring to the MDM defiance campaign of peaceful protest against apartheid, Dr Worrall said it did not matter about the rights or wrongs of provocation on one side and heavy handedness on the other: "We just can't go on like this."

The Democratic Party, without a record of apartheid, could be the party of the new era. The NP was the party of the past.

Dr Worrall said the situation now was similar to 1948 when there was economic discontent, a government with a lackadaisical attitude and a population looking for answers to the race problem.

A new Government was needed, one that would be able to negotiate a non-racial democracy.

Dr Worrall asked what the point was of the NP excluding people from negotiations who would afterwards have the power to veto any results.

It was important that the constitutional plans of every group be put on the table, he said.

(Report by K Cameron, 92 Field Street, Durban)
Babb rises to Malan's challenge

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Mr Glenn Babb, the National Party candidate in Randburg, has taken up Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan's challenge to him to show how Mr Malan had "deviated from his political views of 1987 and before."

The challenge from Mr Malan, the sitting MP for Randburg, followed an incident last week when several of Mr Malan's former political workers "defected" to the NP.

Mr Babb yesterday offered several examples of changes:

- In 1983 as an electoral agent he had "enthusiastically promoted" the tricameral Parliament. Now he and his co-leaders opposed it "to the extent of constraining their own party members from participating in it."

- On March 22 1987 Mr Malan had said, after leaving the NP, that the FFP's political strategy was "fatally flawed" and he was "as distanced from their political thinking as from the NP."

- Mr Babb said Mr Malan had since persuaded three FFP public representatives to join his National Democratic Movement which then merged with the FFP and the Independent Party to form the DP.

- In January 1987 Mr Malan had called the FFP's idea of a national convention "a refined form of selling out" and had criticised the FFP for putting too much stress on the rule of law, saying police security operations were necessary.

"Now he blames the security police for security operations against extra-parliamentary organisations bent on provoking bloodshed," Mr Babb said.
LP can set co-operation price

faces blocking power

White Assembly still
Fraud conviction: CP drops support

By Peter Fabriks, Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party last night withdrew support for its Vanderbijlpark election candidate, Cas Pieters, after he was found guilty of fraud.

The CP temporarily suspended Pieters’s party membership pending the outcome of his expected appeal against yesterday’s judgment in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court.

He was found guilty of fraud and sentenced to 10 months in jail or a fine of R10 000.

The CP action has virtually assured victory for National Party MP for Vanderbijlpark, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Under the constitution, if Pieters is elected he would be obliged to resign from Parliament if sentenced to prison without the option of a fine.

Pieters could not be reached for comment.

The magistrate, Mr P A J Kotze, who said he was convinced the accused had acted with the aim to deceive and aggrieve, ruled that the prison sentence would be suspended on condition that Pieters paid R5 000 of the fine yesterday and the remaining R5 000 before or on March 31 next year.

Pieters (35), who is also management committee chairman of Vanderbijlpark’s CP-dominated town council, initially faced a total of 15 fraud charges and pleaded not guilty to all of them.

He was convicted of one count of fraud involving 11 cases of cheque fraud totalling R27 000.

The fraud conviction related to the repayment of a loan to the Transvaal Livestock Co-operative. Two of the 11 cheques he sent to the co-operative were not honoured and the remaining nine post-dated cheques were not presented to the bank for payment.

Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party MP for Ovèrvaal, said Pieters would definitely appeal against the judgment.

(Report by P Fabriks, U Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Boksburg is braced for election day.

BY DAVID BARKHUIZEN

The election in Boksburg is set to be a heated contest between the ruling ANC and the opposition DA. The issue of crime and public safety remains a concern for many residents.

Although the ANC is currently in power, the opposition DA has been gaining ground and is likely to pose a strong challenge. The future of Boksburg will depend on the outcome of this crucial election.
Political acid test for Wynand

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan ... still has an edge on NP.

BY TONI YOUNGHUSBAND
Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan is fighting for his political life in Randburg, where the National Party has thrown one of its most charismatic candidates into the election fray.

On the eve of South Africa's most important election in 40 years, polls show that he holds a slim lead over Mr Glenn Babb.

Mr Malan admits the battle is too intense for him to relax.

Mr Babb, who resigned as Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs to take up the candidacy, will almost certainly be welcomed back to the foreign service with open arms should he lose.

It is being speculated that he will be appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs even if he does not win.

But for Mr Malan, defeat could mean not only the end of a 12-year career as MP but could see him toppled from the DP hierarchy. He has said publicly that he will step down as co-leader if he loses.

"If things stay as they are, we will win by a short head," he told The Star, "we are still leading, but it's too close to relax."

In 1983 Mr Malan, a National Party MP, left the party to stand as an independent. He obtained a comfortable 2,647 majority.

The DP has existed for just over four months. "We need a little longer to instill the confidence we would like to see in our party," he said.

Mr Malan says one of his party's greatest difficulties in Randburg is convincing voters that the Conservative Party does not pose a threat in the constituency.

"A lot of DP supporters are suddenly switching to the National Party to keep the CP out. They don't realise how little support the CP has in this town."

He hails his party's so-called relationship with the Mass Democratic Movement and its alliances.

"The NP makes the MDM out to be an association and a few voters have been scared off by their propaganda."

"What the Government doesn't understand is that we regard the MDM as a political party and we are simply saying that if you want politics to proceed, you must speak to all the parties."

"If you speak to people, it doesn't mean you agree with their politics. In fact, we (the DP) speak to Adriaan Vlok and F W because we disagree with them."

Behind locked doors

Mr Malan admits he's been under tremendous pressure this time round.

"It's been difficult trying to cope with everything, especially having to campaign nationwide as co-leader. I enjoy campaigning but I am used to being in my own constituency Randburg is my home."

He has lived in the town since 1987, was a town councillor and chairman of the management committee.

CP candidate Mr Willem Grobler (38) says he's not exactly packing his bags for Parliament but does not exclude any surprises.

"People are very cross with the Government at the moment. They are scared of this country being run by communists."

He says 83 percent of his supporters are English-speaking. They support the CP because they are tired of living in fortresses behind locked doors.

Mr Malan gives Mr Grobler a maximum of 5 percent of the votes. He gives Mr Babb a chance to come a good second.

An eloquent, charismatic man, Mr Babb's experience in the foreign service has served him well in this campaign. Radio and television shows, and public appearances at meetings round the country, have won him many fans.

As a first-time candidate, his campaign was expected to get off to a slow start, but his reputation as a top diplomat paved the way.

"I'm an amateur. Amateurs built the ark and the experts built the Titanic," he said wryly.

He does not believe the DP has lost voters to the NP because of the conservative threat.

"People who have turned back to the Nats are disillusioned by the opposition and inspired by the new leadership of F W de Klerk."

A survey by the Babb camp at the beginning of his campaign showed that more people voted for the party than individual candidates.

"But I believe this has changed," said Mr Babb. "People are now looking at the personalities of the candidates ... the whole atmosphere is different."

The 22,000 registered voters in Randburg are assured of an action-packed election day.
Boksburg deadline approaches

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The Conservative Party-controlled Boksburg Town Council has until tomorrow at 3 pm to rescind petty apartheid measures introduced in the town last year - or face court action.

By yesterday a court case appeared to be on the cards with the CP refusing to buckle and Boksburg's Mayor, Mr Beyers de Klerk, vowing to "apply the laws while they still exist".

The chairman of the Reiger Park Management Committee, Mr Butch Jantjes, and others have demanded the council rescind moves taken last year in which previously open parks and other amenities were reserved for whites.

Mr Jantjes has also applied for an interdict preventing the council from further reserving public amenities.

GROSS INSULT

The demand has been made on the grounds that severe financial harm has been caused to businesses in the town, along with enormous friction between population groups.

The action was also seen as a gross insult, said legal representative Mr Marius van Staden.

Last Thursday the Pretoria Supreme Court annulled the decision of the CP-controlled town council in Carletonville to re-introduce petty apartheid.

The Deputy Judge President, Mr Justice CF Eloff, described the Carletonville action as "harsh and unfair", and ordered the removal of "whites-only" signs.

According to the chairman of Boksburg Chamber of Commerce, Mr Johann Viljoen, at least nine businesses have closed in the last year and turnover has dropped considerably.
Voters ignore weather to be counted in watershed election

Queues at marginal seats

By Peter Fabritius and Edna van der Merwe
Early morning voters braved zero temperatures on the High today for the opening of the polls in one of the most crucial parliamentary elections in South Africa's history.

A biting wind — 28 km/h in Johannesburg — sent the temperature plummeting from a recorded minus 1 deg C early today to an effective 12 deg C because of the wind chill factor.

In Pretoria, voters endured bitterly cold weather and gusty winds. In Pretoria, the cold weather was also being a deterrent in most constituencies.

In Randburg, the local election on the High, DP co-leader Mr Wynn van der Merwe visited the polling station early.

Both were confident of victory, and said last-minute campaigning had been the key to their success.

Mr van der Merwe said: "We've got the edge. If our supporters come to vote, we will win."

See pages 5, 6, 16, 17 and 10.

Mr Fabritius said: "I am feeling very upbeat."

In the marginal North Rand constituency, the wind played havoc with queues of voters at a Randpark Ridge polling station.

Despite the weather, long queues formed before the Polls opened at 7am. Half an hour later, there was still a steady stream of people eager to place their ballots on the ballot papers from the time the polls opened at 7am.

In the largest ever SA election, 271 constituencies in the three Houses are being contested — 184 seats out of 165 in the House of Assembly, 67 out of 80 in the House of Representatives, and all 40 in the House of Delegates.

In the event of a very close result in the three Houses, the nominated and un-nominated candidates should be crucial for overall political control.

Voting closed at 9pm and the first results are due a little after midnight. By midnight, it is expected comparisons will be made to anticipate, at least for the House of Assembly, how the crucial poll will turn out.

But the final outcome will not be in before midnight tomorrow when the last of the rural results come in.

Several commentators consider there is an outside chance that the Conservative Party and the National Party might get a large enough block of seats to become the largest single party in the National Assembly.

The National Party did not report any problems to the National Committee in the general election.

The National Party's Chief Whip, Mr. G. W. van der Merwe, visited the polling station early.

Mr van der Merwe said: "I am feeling very upbeat. If our supporters come to vote, we will win."

See pages 5, 6, 16, 17 and 10.

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Street Repairs

Streets in Soweto and Johannesburg were quieter than yesterday as more workers were counted in the call by the National Democratic Movement for a two-day work stayaway in protest against today's general election.

The stayaway, organised by the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Cosatu and the National Congress of Trade Unions (Nedcor), did not rise to expectations yesterday. In protest against today's elections, it was largely ignored as many workers thought it was planned for today only.

As Associated Chambers of Commerce spokesman, Mr. Vincent Breyten, said today: "The stayaway is quite obviously very misbegotten."

South African Transport Services reported a drop in rail services and many trains were running empty through Soweto stations. Posto did not happen in Soweto and services were expected to be much diminished from yesterday.

Many Soweto shoppers centres, retailers and service stations closed their businesses today. In Dobsonville, last a few cars, and buses ran 75 percent empty. The Naregbewani bus and taxi terminals were deserted and only buses were seen operating for daily.

All secondary schools in Soweto and Alexandra were empty today as pupils stayed away for the second day.

NO VIOLENCE

Regional director of the Department of Education of Training, Mr. R. Serwer, said there had been no incidents of violence. He said reports from primary schools in the two townships indicated classes were continuing and there would be no disruption. Secondary school pupils were expected to return to school tomorrow.

Tensions workers stayed home in greater numbers today, buses and taxis did not operate and trains were virtually empty. Hospital staff were picked up by a TPA bus.

Some taxi owners who operated yesterday said they were warned by youths yesterday to cease services at 5pm and to keep off the roads today.

Pretoria townships were quieter
Don't back rightwingers, Buthelezi tells white voters

By Helen Grange

kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned white voters not to support the right wing in today's election.

Speaking on his return from the United States, where he addressed several US state officials, Dr Buthelezi said a return to "Verwoerdian apartheid" would be disastrous as it would justify those who advocated violence as a tactic of opposition.

He added that he was fully supportive of the pre-election defiance campaign, as long as it remained peaceful.

"As soon as an incident of violence occurs, it plays directly into the hands of the right wing," he said.

It was imperative that blacks "got their act together" to "pull off their liberation" in South Africa. Inkatha could not do it without the ANC, Cosatu and other anti-apartheid groups — and they could not do it without Inkatha. It had to be a joint effort.

Dr Buthelezi spent a few days in the state of Alabama, where he was entertained and given freedom of the City of Birmingham by its mayor, Mr Richard Arrington.

(Report by H Grange, 47 Savoer Street, Johannesburb)
SA dominates UK newscasts

Star Bureau

LONDON — Graphic film of the black protest demonstrations in South Africa ahead of today's general election continues to dominate television newscasts in Britain.

The newspapers and radio are also giving full coverage of events, including the arrest of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak and other black leaders.

But Mr F W de Klerk is also getting much publicity. He was shown making his final election speech and saying that white domination "must come to an end", although it should not be replaced by another kind of domination.

But commentators all noted that "the reality of the present" was the continuing black protests and the police crackdown on demonstrators.

In an article in The Times yesterday, British academic Mr R W Johnson, in South Africa to observe the campaign, says the election is novel in two ways.

One is that the polls have shown that probably for the first time since the 1930s, economic issues are dominant among the whites. And secondly, the campaign has been fought largely on television.

He also says that, "ironically, the best hope of the whites moving faster towards a negotiated settlement with the black majority lies in the CP making big gains and so helping to produce a hung parliament — with a consequent move to the left via a Nationalist-Democratic coalition government."
Police investigate ‘boycott poll’ pamphlets

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Police are investigating the origins of a pamphlet distributed in Randburg yesterday urging voters to boycott the elections or support the sitting Democratic Party MP, Mr Wynand Malan.

The pamphlet purports to be from the Mass Democratic Movement and demands one man, one vote in a unitary system; the unbanning of the ANC; open schools; hospitals, churches, buses and the release of all political prisoners.

It was pasted on NP election boards and dropped in post boxes in the suburb.

Both NP and DP spokesmen say they will lay criminal charges against those found to be responsible.

MDM spokesman, Mr Murphy Morobe, yesterday categorically denied that the pamphlet had been issued by the MDM.

An irate Mr Malan believes the pamphlet to be bogus and a "dirty trick". He had been in close contact with the MDM which had no knowledge of it.

"I have no doubt it has its origins in the National Party campaign or comes from people closely related to it," he said.

NP candidate, Mr Glen Babb, expressed shock at the "MDM interference in the campaign", but said he was not sure "they have done this on their own".

"While they are asking for a boycott of the election, they are at the same time urging the electorate to support the DP."

Reacting to Mr Babb's statement, Mr Malan said: "Mr Babb's campaign has been built on a web of lies, fabricated statements and bogus letters — but this is the lowest and dirtiest level that any campaigner could sink to."

Witwatersrand police spokesman, Lieutenant-Colonel Frans Malherbe confirmed that police were investigating.

(News by D Barkhuizen, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)
Burning, Tutu and election seen on UK TV

The Star Bureau

LONDON — Blazing effigies of Mr F.W de Klerk flashed across British television screens last night as coverage of the run-up to the South African general election reached a peak.

They were put to the torch "as a deliberately provocative gesture on the eve of a general election which excludes South Africa's majority", said BBC-TV correspondent James Robbins in a report from Johannesburg.

The extensive overnight television coverage of the election was matched by the equally intensive interest shown by radio networks and today's national newspapers, which included reports, editorials and feature articles.

But television made the most impact. The networks also featured Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the black stay-away protest.

Archbishop Tutu was shown re-consecrating his cathedral in Cape Town. He told Terry Lloyd of Independent Television News that nothing would deter him from his fight for reforms.

"On the contrary," he said. "We've got them beat really because they don't actually know how to handle the situation. In one place they try to use the velvet glove, in other places the iron fist. And our people are determined."

Other scenes included white students symbolically gagged in support of the black majority, and crowds of blacks fleeing from the police. But perhaps the most unusual scene on BBC-TV was white children and some adults receiving hand-outs of food.

Creeping poverty was an issue taken up by the opposition, hoping to weaken the NP's 40-year hold on power, said Robbins as a line of white youngsters were given bowls of soup.

He added: "This is not the international image of white South Africa. These are victims of a failing economy and rising unemployment and falling living standards."

As scenes in the suburb of Jan Hofmeyr were shown, he went on: "In this suburb the Afrikaners used to think poverty was the lot of black families. Their party was the guarantee of a job, dignity, superiority. Not any more..."

He added: "The latest slogan may be seductive, but it flies in the face of reality. The truth is that most white South Africans do vote their fears, not their hopes. Weeks of anti-Government defiance have heightened white insecurity.

"If the tide is turning, it looks like turning in the Government's favour once more."
ELECTION AT A GLANCE

THE KEYS SEATS TO WATCH

THEIR POSSIBLE CHANCES

HOW THE PARTIES PREDICT

30% Np
60% Cp
10% Dp

How to win the vote

1. Capture the middle seats
   - A few key seats are critical

2. Build a ground game
   - Organize and mobilize

3. Secure early victories
   - Win key contests

4. Mobilize the base
   - Engage and energize

5. Innovate and adapt
   - Flex and respond

6. Tell the story
   - Communicate and persuade

7. Compete on the issues
   - Debate and frame

8. Win the vote
   - Electorate and turnout

Polling Forecast

The poll

The parties

Scenarios abound - from

business as usual to Cp

win
TURNING TIDE: Victory was sweet for Simon’s Town DP candidate Mr. Jannie Momberg and his wife when they merged with the National Party.

The tide against the NP’s Mr. Harry Dilly in a tough election battle.

By Iola Wenete, Political Correspondent.
NP looks to the left

(Continued from page 1)

party has so far lost 30 seats — 17 to the CP and 13 to the DP. The DP also won the last NRP seat, Mooi River. With five results outstanding the National Party had 90 seats in the Assembly, the CP 38 and the DP 33.

The NP could also claim four of the indirectly elected MPs and four appointed by the President. This would give a majority of about 20.

The CP has for the first time broken out of the Transvaal by winning two Cape seats, Kimberley and Uitenhage, from the NP and six seats in the Free State — Sasolburg, Heilbron, Parry, Welkom, Ladybrand and Smithfield.

In some urban areas in the Cape and Transvaal there was a sharp swing to the Democratic Party, but in Natal the party did not fare as well.

Although it won eight seats from the NP in the Transvaal, the CP expected to do much better there.

LABOUR VICTORY

It was clear today that the National Party's security propaganda against the DP and attempts to link it with the Mass Democratic Movement had failed.

In the House of Representatives, the Labour Party was heading for victory in more than 70 seats.

In the House of Delegates no party will have an overall majority.

From the early results it became clear that the National Party's majority, and its share of the vote, was going down in many areas.

The prospects of a hung parliament, however, faded after the first results and by 3.00am the National Party had an absolute majority of 84 in the Assembly.

The Democratic Party had a resounding victory in Simon's Town, capturing it with a majority of 3,362. In the last election the National Party won by 268.

UNPRECEDEDENTED

There was another big win for the DP in Wynberg where it won by 3,024. In 1987 the DP lost the seat to the NP by 97 votes.

In Green Point the DP candidate, Mr. Van der Merwe, won by 1,523 votes after an unprecedented last-minute propaganda blast by his Nationalist opponent, Mrs. Esmee Chait. In 1987 the majority of Mr. Van der Merwe, standing for the PFP, was 39.

In Walmer General Bob Rogers, former chief of the SA Air Force, won the seat from the National Party with a majority of 891.

The DP won Albany from the NP with a majority of 687.

The National Party also lost Hillbrow to the DP by 1,163 votes.

Other gains for the DP from the National Party were Bezuidenhout, Edenvale and Murtzbizg North.

The NP had a shock when the CP won Uitenhage by 69 votes, to record its first breakthrough in the Cape.

The DP's first gain from the National Party was in Umbilo, where former TV personality Mrs Carole Charlewood took the seat by 889 votes. In 1987 the Nationalist majority was 480.

In Pretoria West there was the first gain for the CP from the National Party. It won by 2,148. In 1987 the Nationalist majority was 1,326.

In Sea Point Mr. Colin Eglin's majority increased from 4,934 to 5,661.

In Stellenbosch, where the NP had high hopes, the Nationalist majority increased from 1,781 to 2,215. In Maitland the Nationalist majority was slashed from 4,280 to 1,405.

In Heidelberg the Nationalist majority went up to 2,948. In 1987 it was 39.

In the Vosloorus the Nationalist majority was down to 3,809 from 3,365 in 1987.

In Parktown the co-leader of the DP Mr. Zac de Beer had a majority of 6,005 against a PFP majority of 3,953 in 1987.

The other DP co-leaders, Dr. Denis Worrall in Berea and Mr. Wynand Malan in Randburg had majorities respectively of 4,379 and 1,714.

In Potchefstroom Mr. Louis de Grange, the Speaker of Parliament, won by 1,583 votes, up from 938 in 1987. The CP had high hopes of winning this seat.

The National Party also did well by winning Krugersdorp with a majority of 646. In 1987 its majority was 55.

The NP also beat back a strong challenge by the CP in the Newcastle seat.

In Arena Park Mr. Amichaud Rajhani, leader of the National People's Party, increased his majority from 608 to 1,569.

In House of Representatives election there were extremely low polls in some constituencies. In Mitchell's Plain, only 796 votes were brought out, but in rural seats and in the Eastern Cape there were higher polls.
Swing away from NP

The sudden nationwide cold snap and storms in a number of areas affected early voting except in key seats, where percentage polls of over 80% were recorded.

However, voting picked up later in the day and because of changes to the special voting procedures election officials expected a higher than average percentage poll.

In the showcase contest of the election in Randburg, where DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan was being challenged by former Foreign Affairs deputy director-general Mr Glenn Babb, the DP organisation was confident of a comfortable victory for the DP.

DP national director Mr Neil Ross said his figures showed that the DP would also take the following NP seats: Simon's Town, Wynberg in the Western Cape, Mooi River, Maritsburg North, Umbilo and Umhlanga in Natal, Albany and Walmer in the Eastern Cape, and Edenvale and North Rand on the Witwatersrand.

Maritsburg South, Durban Point and South Coast were too close to call as polls closed.

Tough fights took place in the Cape Town constituencies of Gardens and Green Point, but the DP was confident of comfortable victories.

CP spokesman Mr Arthur Kemp said the party was well ahead in seats like Hercules and Wonderboom in Pretoria which the NP won because the extreme right-wing vote was split in 1987.

Mr Kemp and NP organiser Mr Abra Hanekom agreed that support for the HNP had almost disappeared in this election.

Mr Hanekom said the NP was extremely confident of winning back Soutpansberg, where a poll of over 80% was recorded.

He said: "Seats like Lyderburg and Pretoria West (also won on a split vote in 1987) were looking "dicey", as was Roodeplaat.

Both Mr Kemp and Mr Hanekom agreed that the Polotschefroo seat of the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange, was a "neck-and-neck" affair.

Mr Hanekom was confident the deputy Education and Training Minister, Mr Sam de Beer, would retain his Geduld seat. The NP would also win the neighbouring Springs seat, he said.

Both he and Mr Ross agreed the NP was ahead in Hillbrow.

In the first two House of Assembly election results, the NP retained Walvis Bay and Bloemfontein West, the seat of the Free State leader of the NP, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, but in both cases the NP majorities were slashed by 20% or more.

The controversy-ridden Mr Amichand Rajbansi, who retained his Reiger Park seat, commented: "The ballot box has decided ... not the conspiracy theory, despite the nonsense relating to the James Commission."

"The people have decided and the tiger is back," Mr Rajbansi said.

In Reiger Park, another controversial politician, Mr Jack Rabbe, the leader of the United Democratic Party, retained his House of Representatives seat with a 614 majority."
FW taking dangerous gamble.

Pincer movement on de Klerk
The Plateland whites

De Klerk wages an assault
Election interest will focus on scores of knife-edge seats

Mr Jannie Mombarg... expected to win conservative Simonstown seat.

**POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT**

An electorate in an unusually unpredictable mood has left scores of seats marginal and created many cliff-hangers. These are some of the key seats where the outcome will be most closely watched.

**TRANSVAAL**

Johannesburg: The most interesting contest in the province - certainly in the Democratic Party/National Party contest. DP candidate Mr Wynand Malan began with a "comfortable" majority of 2,646 but this has been steadily eroded by the energetic and hard-nosed NP campaign fought by Mr Glenn Babb, a former diplomat.

Mr Babb, a master of publicity, has won most of the skirmishes and the DP has conceded that he has closed their lead almost to nothing. Mr Malan's association with the MDM defiance campaign and his contacts with the ANC have been exploited by Mr Babb.

What makes the outcome uncertain is that Malan fought the election last time as an independent shortly after having lost the NP. His image has changed considerably since then and it is not certain if he will still be acceptable to the Randburg voter.

**Krugersdorp**: A seat which the CP should win on paper. Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Leon Wessels clung to it with a 56% majority in 1987 and it should fall in the CP's column unless the Independent vote is swayed to the CP.

However, Mr Wessels seems to have succeeded to some extent in painting his opponent Mr Clive Derby-Lewis as an extremist and won a court case against him after branding him a "racist".

**Mthatha**: The burning issue of the adjoining black suburb Munsieville - which Mr Wessels appealed nearly cost him the seat in 1987. The CP is no longer in the race and Mr Wessels might just hold it, as an authoritative Star opinion suggested he would.

**Boksburg**: Though Boksburg is widely considered to be red, very much CP country because of the controversy surrounding the CP-controlled town council, the race will be close. Mr Leon Wessels . . . opinion poll says he will keep Krugersdorp seat.

**FREESTATE**

Parys and Sasolburg: Both seats which the NP won in 1987 only because the HNP split the rightwing vote. Sasolburg is the only seat the HNP has ever won in a by-election - in 1985 when the CP stood back for Mr Louis Stofberg, now the CP candidate. These are not CP seats but the NP is sufficiently strong to claim a win.

**Heilbron and Fauresmith**: Rural Free State seats which the CP expects to win. A swing of about 1% could do the trick.

**Ladybrand**: The Free State seat where the untested DP vote could have the greatest leverage on the CP-NP contest. A large community of old United Party supporters could come out for the DP and let the CP win.

**NATAL**

Umhlanga: A traditional opposition seat, won in 1987 by the NP's Mr Renier Schotman. The campaign fought cleverly on local party issues. The DP has a good candidate and should win.

**Hillcrest**

A traditional FFP seat, lost to the NP in 1987 in one of the shock defeats of the election. Tracing missing voters is the key here and the NP has worked hard at it and should win. The NP is equally confident.

**Bezuidenhout**: A FFP seat lost to the NP in 1987 and now closely fought. The DP believes it can win but population shifts are unfavorable and it might just stay NP.

**Parry's Cross**: A seat of the Speaker of Parliament Mr Louis le Grange held with a majority of 558. A National seat in the western Transvaal CP platteland which the CP has selected as a target, partly, it seems, from personal animosity towards Mr Le Grange and he will be lucky to hold it.

**WESTERN CAPE**

Simonstown: The CP believes it will win this fairly conservative English-speaking seat through the popularity of its candidate Mr Janie Mombarg, former sport administrator and chairman of Dr Denis Worrall's old Independent Party.

**NORTHERN CAPE**

Kuruman: A likely gain for the CP, making a breakthrough into the Cape Province for the first time.

**EASTERN CAPE**

East London City: Considered a fairly safe NP seat until recently when the then Nat MP resigned in disgrace amid a corruption scandal. This and the new impact of the DP on more conservative English-speaking voters seem likely to make it a DP gain. The NP conceives this is possible.

*Report by J. Faber; 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.*
Second chapter

O Turkey, China, India, and the Middle East

India is the world's most populous country, with a population of over 1.3 billion people. It is a federal republic with 28 states and seven union territories. The capital is New Delhi. India is a democracy and a federal republic. It is a major economic power, with a diverse range of industries and a fast-growing service sector. India is also a leading member of the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations, and various regional economic groupings. It is the seventh-largest economy in the world by nominal GDP and the third-largest by purchasing power parity. India is the world's largest democracy, with over 900 million registered voters. It is a key member of the BRICs and has been a leader in the development of information technology and biotechnology. India is home to a wide range of religions, including Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, and Jainism. It is also known for its rich cultural heritage and iconic landmarks such as the Taj Mahal and the Red Fort in Delhi.
The election has been characterised by deliberate blurring of issues by the Government, who make no bones about the fact that they seek chiefly the votes of the Democratic Party. The Conservative Party has been left on the sidelines. The Star’s POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT reports.

The choice of voters today is essentially between no apartheid (Democratic Party) grand territorial apartheid (Conservative Party) and functional apartheid (National Party).

This has not always been clear during the long drawn-out election campaign where issues have been blurred.

The campaign started off very badly for the NP, timed as it was to solve a power struggle in the party and not to take advantage of a favourable economic or political climate.

The economy was teetering on the brink of a downslide and it was clear that bread-and-butter issues would dominate — to the detriment of the NP.

Unseemly struggle

The unseemly struggle by the NP to unseat President Botha also counted heavily against it.

The NP seemed paralysed by the leadership crisis but took the initiative for the first time in late June with its five-year plan of action.

It became clear then that the NP was competing for the same votes as the DP.

From that point the National Party presented the campaign largely as a choice between its own sensible and moderate plan to get rid of apartheid — and the DP’s drastic plan which, they said, would lead to surrender to the radicals.

The NP criticised many of its own policies, both political and economic — but with promises to correct them.

The DP picked this up very quickly and finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz asked from the start why the NP was promising to cut taxes and State spending in five years when it could do it immediately with the stroke of a pen.

And DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said NP leader Mr F W de Klerk had in effect indicted his own party by focusing his campaign on five main issues — the deeply divided country, the breakdown in negotiations, poverty, unequal distribution of political power and the revolutionary climate.

These were admissions of failure by the NP, he said. And he and other DP leaders said that the NP was running away from its own track record.

The NP also presented itself as more liberal by vague promises to relax rigid race classification and introduce an open group and some form of voluntary group formation.

It also tailed the SA Law commissions Report recommending a Bill of Human rights — without officially endorsing it.

The NP believed it had wrested the initiative from the DP late in the campaign when the mass democratic movement launched its campaign of defiance against the elections.

The NP revived the old “soft on security” argument against the DP.

Though the strategy clearly paid some dividends, it did not seem to be as effective as it was in 1987.

This was partly because the DP had anticipated the strategy by heavily stressing security in its election manifesto.

And the issue had some advantages for the DP too. The MDM campaign focused attention on the government’s practice of petty apartheid.

Mr de Klerk was whisked around Europe and southern Africa for a bewildering series of meetings, designed to boost his “negotiator” image.

F W Factor

By the end of the campaign the NP was boasting that the “give FW a chance” factor had wiped out all DP gains.

On the CP side, the NP concentrated on the “Doksburg syndrome” — the inevitable consumer boycotts and white hardship which would follow from implementing CP policy.

It had an advantage that it lacked in 1987, in the form of evidence of what happened when the CP took control.

The CP hit back by focusing on the P W Botha/Mandela meeting, which, it said, showed the NP’s willingness to capitulate.
Swing away from Nats

By George! PW flies to the polls after all

Staff Reporter

Mr P W Botha was yesterday flown to George by special jet to vote at Wilderness in the George constituency. Colossus Botha, director of public relations for the SADF, confirmed this yesterday. The Cape Times yesterday reported that Mr P W Botha was计划 to fly to George yesterday, but that this arrangement was apparently later cancelled after inquiries from the Cape Times on Tuesday night.

"Flight authorised"

An air force spokesman at Valkenberg told the Cape Times on Tuesday night that Botha had been asked to vote and will return to Cape Town later.

"As was previously stated by the Minister of Defence's office and another senior SADF official, the flight was authorised in terms of existing treasury regulations and authorisations." Ms Botha's personal assistant, Commendatorkalin Ehlers, had confirmed that Mr and Mrs Botha spend part of the year in Wilderness, "where they are registered".

Nurse strangled in bedroom; Police hold man

Staff Reporter

A man has been held in police for questioning after a nurse was found dead in her bedroom with a pillow over her face and marks on her neck, indicating she had been strangled.

Mrs Angela Philips, 31, of Boshoff Street, Greensfield, Blackheath, was last seen alive on the bed in the main bedroom of the house by her husband and eldest son.

Her body was covered in the back of the bed and a pillow had been placed over it with a note saying, "I beg you please to come home and see me." She was confirmed dead by a pathologist. The police have issued a warrant for the arrest of a man who was last seen leaving the house.

Trapped hikers airlifted to rescue by helicopter

Staff Reporter

Six hikers trapped in the snow-covered Cederberg mountains since Saturday were airlifted by helicopter from the base last night when they were caught in heavy snowfall.

A spokesman for the Metro Emergency Service said the hikers were not injured and they had been taken to a farm located at 5am yesterday and were "safely and soundly".

Dr Pieter Louw of Grootebroek led the helicopter party, which included four children and an undocumented man.

The hikers had been rescued by a weekend excursion in the Cederberg mountains when they were caught in heavy snowfall.

On Saturday they crossed from Citrusdal to the Cederberg and were rescued last night.

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STEELE

The National Party seemed set for a major setback as polls closed last night, with voters deserting the ruling party in droves to both the CP and the DP.

In the first results, the NP majority was slashed by between 50% and 30% and the CP, which retained Johannesburg North, increased its majority by about 40%.

These results seemed to reflect the national trend last night. It was still unclear whether the Nationalists would be able to state "a secure majority" in the most bitterly contested election since 1961.

After a day of frantic electioneering in 104 white constituencies which took place against a backdrop of a strike by the Surgery worker's union and clashes across the country between police and anti-vote protesters, both the CP and the DP claimed they had "won the day".

The general strike of more than two million workers began on the eve of the polls in a dramatic campaign that sparked one of the sharpest security crackdowns in three years and a new wave of political unrest in the township that left more than 80 people dead.

The strike was called "to protest against the imposition of a new constitutional settlement".

The results in the final two constituencies to be declared were significant.

In the Westerberg constituency, the NP majority was slashed by 50% and the CP increased its majority by 40%.

The results in the final two constituencies to be declared were significant.

In the Westerberg constituency, the NP majority was slashed by 50% and the CP increased its majority by 40%.
Hung Parliament could cause crisis
54 arrested after election-linked protests

VOTES cast amid massive stayaway

VOTERS went to the polls yesterday amid continuing unrest and a massive work stayaway. Police said they arrested 54 people in election-related unrest. Police unrest reports said one man was burnt to death, about 12 people were injured and about 398 arrested in unrest-related incidents in the 48-hour period to yesterday afternoon.

There were also two railway line blasts in the western Cape. Nobody was injured and damage was minimal.

Increased participation by black workers in the anti-election stayaway was most marked in the PWV region.

Soweto and Alexandra pupils joined in the stayaway, with DET regional director Pat Struwig reporting a 100% absentee rate at the 62 secondary schools in the areas.

The two-day anti-election stayaway appeared stronger than the May 1987 election protest, but less widespread than the June 1988 demonstration against the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

The Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) said the stayaway rate in the PWV had reached 72% yesterday, compared to 50% on Tuesday. It was up from 66% to 80% in Durban, and from 24% to 41% in Cape Town. It remained constant in Port Elizabeth, where the LMG gave a revised figure of 50% for Tuesday.

The survey figures for the PWV were backed up by figures supplied by passenger transport groups. Sats said trains to

Stayaway

Witwatersrand

At 5pm, he said the DP was marginally ahead in Helderberg, the seat where former Constitutional Development Minister Chryg Hennie beat Denis Worrall by just 39 votes in 1987. Maritzburg South, Durban Point and South Coast were too close to call, Ross said.

CP spokesman Arthur Kemp said the party was well ahead in seats such as Hercules and Wonderboom in Pretoria, which the NP won in 1987 because the extreme right-wing vote was split.

Kemp and NP organiser Abre Hanekom agreed that support for the HNP had almost disappeared in this election.

Puleo said use of its Reef buses was "very low", yesterday, compared with almost normal the previous day. Its southern Transvaal region carried about 80% of normal loads. In Durban there was a 100% stayaway of passengers and staff for the second consecutive day.

Kemp said snap elections were unexpected, except in key seats, but it picked up later in the day and because of changes to the special voting procedures, election officials expected a higher than average percentage poll.

Before the close of polling the CP expressed confidence it would win more than 40 seats, while DP chief organiser Neil Ross said the party would win at least 30.

In Randburg, where DP co-leader Wynand Malan was being challenged by former Foreign Affairs deputy director general Glenn Babb, Ross was confident of a comfortable victory for the DP. NP spokesman said they were very optimistic about Babb's chances of victory.

Ross said his figures showed the DP would also win Mooi River, Maritzburg North, Umbilo and Umhlanga in Natal; Tabane and Welmoed in the eastern Cape; Simon's Town and Wynberg in the western Cape and Edenvale and North Rand on the
LONDON — The Guardian yesterday became the latest British paper to question the usefulness of the mass defiance campaign, which it described as counter-productive in the short-term.

“Watching SA’s defiance campaign unfolding; one is tempted to recall the French general’s comment as he witnessed the 500 hurtling down the valley of death: ‘It’s magnificent, but it’s not war’.

Referring to the thousands who confront the whips, dogs, shotguns, batons and watercannons of the SAP, the paper’s correspondent David Beresford said: “Heroic, certainly, but how does it help the liberation struggle?”

He says in the short-term the effect will be to stampede wavering voters into the “safety” of the status quo. It is in the long-term that he sees the payoff of the campaign, because it has forced the government “to defend the indefensible” and shown up “the inherently violent nature of the state”.

Beresford raises the spectre of a hung parliament, because, he says, the great divide in SA runs right down the middle of the NP itself.

The Times said marginal seats would hold the key to the pace of change, while The Independent said “as in all countries, the result will turn on voters’ perceptions of what party will better manage the economy”.

It devotes an article to the fascination in SA’s political arena with the personality of Margaret Thatcher, whose name all three parties have invoked, claiming her as a patroness.

It suggests the reasons are she has stood up like no other world leader against sanctions, and more importantly, is felt to possess kragdagdigheid — “which whites here admire and De Klerk is seen to lack”.

The Financial Times, which devoted its leader page feature article to the election, saw the immediate effect of the defiance campaign as a spur to wavering voters to flee to the relative “safety” of the NP.

It illustrated the point with a photographs of the three protagonists — Andries Treurnicht, De Klerk himself in the middle, and Dennis Worrall.

“Democratic Party election posters call on South Africans to vote with their hopes and not their fears. The NP, wisely, is appealing to both those sentiments,” said the FT’s correspondent Patti Waldmeir.
Records expected to fall in Pretoria area

PRETORIA — Heavy voting in Pretoria's 16 constituencies pointed to polls of more than 80% per cent in some cases, party officials said.

By 3pm, more than 50% of voters in five constituencies had voted.

In Waterkloof the polls could exceed 80%. Observers said polling records were certain to be set due to the large number of voters.

The NP has shed support to left or right in virtually all Pretoria constituencies according to veteran political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans.

"There has obviously been a big swing to the CP and moderate swing to the DP, and although it is unlikely the DP will win, Waterkloof, support given to the party yesterday is far greater than that given to old PPP," he said.
Between 1% and 20% made use of special or prior votes.

SPECIAL and prior votes in House of Delegates and House of Representatives constituencies ranged from under 1% to 20% before polling day yesterday.

A 20% poll was recorded in the House of Delegates' last election in 1984. The poll was 30% for the House of Representatives.

About one-fifth of voters in House of Delegates and House of Representatives constituencies in Johannesburg voted prior to the election yesterday. In Lenasia, 16.3% of 29,253 House of Delegates voters had voted before election day. In House of Representatives constituencies in Johannesburg, 13% voted early.

The lowest early voting was recorded in Maritzburg, where less than 1% of the 107,316 voters in six House of Delegates seats made prior votes.

In Durban, 15.8% of 351,204 voters cast special votes in 23 House of Delegates constituencies.

A 9.6% poll was recorded in 32 House of Representatives constituencies in Cape Town. In Rylands, the only House of Delegates constituency being contested in Cape Town, 11% of voters went to the polls before yesterday.

A 19.8% poll was recorded in the only House of Delegates constituency in the Port Elizabeth area, and nearly 20% of House of Representatives voters had cast prior votes.
Rivals confident in Geduld

IN THE East Rand constituency of Geduld, where Deputy Minister of Education Sam de Beer is fighting for his political life, both the CP and NP were confident of victory yesterday.

By 6pm 58% of the 38,000 voters in the constituency had cast their votes and all parties were predicting a poll of between 57% and 70%. DP candidate Chris Pinto said the DP had had a very strong showing in some areas, especially in the more affluent suburb of Ryanfield.

De Beer's campaign manager Nilo Botha said: "It's a tough, tough fight and there won't be a big majority. If there is a surprise, it will be a positive one."

She said a conservative estimate of the majority would be 600 votes.

CP candidate Derby Maree predicted a win for the CP by about 600 votes.

ADELE BAILETA reports from Krugersdorp that voting picked up late yesterday afternoon after a slow start. Sitting NP MP and Deputy Law and Order Minister Leon Wessels was defending his 55-vote majority in a rematch against the CP's Clive Derby-Lewis.

Late yesterday the CP appeared to have the upper hand in West Krugersdorp, while the NP seemed strong in the east. Both sides claimed to have the edge in the remaining areas of the West Rand constituency.

Wessels said voting was not as brisk as he had hoped. He said the fact that 31% of votes (special and postal) had already been cast could have been the reason for slow voting. He said a total of 45% of votes had been cast by about 3.30pm.

The CP controlled town council was a major part of the campaign, he said. "A major election issue is the way the CP is running this town and the way they have utilised the Separate Amenities Act."

Clive Derby-Lewis, the CP's economics affairs spokesman, said he expected to win by 1,500 votes.
Randburg fight rages till close

RIAN SMIT

The outcome of the close Randburg contest between DP co-leader Wynand Malan and the NP's Glenn Babb was still open for hot debate before polls closed last night.

Both parties claimed they were ahead.

Malan retained the seat as an independent in 1986 with a 2,047 majority over the NP.

DP organiser and Randburg town councillor Andre Jacobs claimed the voting ratio throughout the day was one DP vote for every 0,71 to the NP. He predicted the DP would win by at least 1,000 votes.

NP campaign manager Hein Kruger said the party was "slightly ahead" by late yesterday afternoon. He declined to say by how many votes.

A total of 3,500 voters had cast post and special votes at Tuesday's 4pm close.

These votes and votes cast at Fountainbleau, Risidale and Northcliff primary schools meant 43% of 22,000 voters had voted by 4pm yesterday.

Both parties expected an increase on the 69,29% poll recorded in the 1987 election.

Jacobs said an increased poll would help the DP because canvassing had showed undecided voters were leaning towards the party.

Babb said it was doubtful which party would be favoured by a higher percentage poll.

"There are many imponderables here. It is going to be on a knife's edge; we know that," said Babb.

As a sign of how serious the NP was about winning the seat, acting State President F W de Klerk lunched at the main polling station, Fountainbleau, yesterday.

He greeted NP voters and briefly spoke to Malan, wishing him well.
Battle of Hillbrow set for another nail-biting finish

THE NP was still confident of victory in the marginal seat of Hillbrow late yesterday, while the DP said the outcome was going to be very close.

"Look at my opponent's face and tell me how I am doing," said the flushed NP candidate Tony Wasserman indicating the white-faced Fuchs.

"I'm winning," said Fuchs.

The voting took place at Johannesburg Girl's High School, which is threatened with closure, and a campaign is being fought to open it to all races. Three schoolchildren spent the morning on the hall steps getting signatures for a petition to keep the school open.

Welcomed

The CP's T J Ferreira said he expected to poll 1 500 votes in total. Ferreira, chief whip in the Boksburg Town Council, promised he would "do for Hillbrow what he did for Boksburg". However, he conceded yesterday he would not win the Hillbrow seat.

A DP campaign worker observed that the CP had not done what was expected in taking away NP votes.

Unopposed Yeoville MP Harry Schwarz welcomed voters at the steps to the polling hall, while President's Council member Issy Pinshaw assisted elderly voters.

Schwarz said he felt the race between the DP and the NP was even. A DP worker held up a poster "Send your MP to Parliament ... not to jail!".

EDITH BULRING

The NP's Leon de Beer, who won the Hillbrow seat from Alf Wizman by 89 votes, was sentenced to jail last year after being found guilty of electoral fraud.

More than 2 000 people had voted by 5pm. With four hours to the count, Fuchs's campaign manager Paul Asherson claimed 1 000 of the votes, while Wasserman's campaign manager Kevin Wearing claimed 900 votes for the NP.

Wearing said the NP were 500 votes ahead on the special and postal votes, of which 3 300 were polled. Over 2 800 came from the Hillbrow area, the majority from the residential hotels, Wearing said.

Of 18 000 voters on the Hillbrow voters roll, it is estimated only 9 000 still live in the area and the DP's hopes of capturing the exile vote has not seemed to materialise. However, Asherson claims the DP has 50% of the special and postal votes.

The CP did not have any figures on the day's voting, although it seemed they had polled less than 200 by 5pm.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that most voters in DP co-leader Zach De Beer's Parktown constituency had cast their votes by 5pm last night. "Things are going well, rather beyond expectations in the sense that the number of votes has been higher at this stage than expected," he said.

At 3.45pm the NP had counted 1 773 voters. Of these 273 were expected to be for the NP.
SA Air Force did fly Botha to George

CAPE TOWN — SA Air Force public relations director Col. Les Weyers confirmed yesterday that former president P W Botha had been flown to George by special jet to vote at Wilderness in the George constituency.

This was contrary to earlier reports that, after Press inquiries about the flight, Botha had opted to drive to George.

Yesterday's short statement read:

"An SAAF spokesman confirmed that the flight in question did take place. Mr P W Botha was flown to George this morning and will return to Cape Town later."

"As was previously stated by the Minister of Defence's office and another senior SADF officer, the flight was authorised in terms of existing Treasury regulations and authorities."

Earlier, Botha's personal assistant, Commodore Terence Ehlers, had confirmed that Botha and his wife Elize would vote in Wilderness "where they are registered."

Sapa reports that Botha and his wife were among the first voters in the southern Cape this morning.

The couple voted at the church hall in the Wilderness Heights in the George constituency.

The two were accompanied by George MP Hennie Smit and other NP officials.

After casting their votes, the couple also visited CP and DP helpers at their respective tables.
Tenders for Khotso House

THE South African Council of Churches said tenders had been called for the rebuilding of Khotso House, the SACC headquarters in Johannesburg wreaked by a large bomb a year ago. The reconstruction should be completed by May next year, making re-occupation of the building possible by June.

The SACC said in a statement it had not been informed lately of any progress in police investigations into the bombing.

"We note with interest that when the Wit Wolwe claimed responsibility for the bombing of Khotso House the police were quick to deny the existence of the right-wing group." 

"A year later the Wit Wolwe are terrorising church people such as Dean Robin Briggs, the Reverend Ivor Jenkins and Bruce Reed. - Saps."
From the Nats

Jubilant DP

CP finishes a poor third

Parktown at a walk

Zach de Beer takes Hitler's Hindenburg

Nets hold on for five-vote victory for

Pik's magnificity is slashed

More provisions arrested as

Plebiscite petition is beheaded

More than 100 police banquet charge crowd
Jubilant DP takes Hillbrow from the Nats

By Kaiser Ntombiro
The Democratic Party's Mr Lester Fuchs reclaimed Hillbrow from the National Party with a majority of 1041 in a three-way contest.
Mr Fuchs received 3217 votes, NP's Mr Tony Wasserman 2270 and the Conservative Party's Mr T J Ferrera 1079.
Earlier in the evening a number of enthusiastic Democratic Party supporters and organisations shouted happily at the entrance to the polling station, urging people to vote for the DP.
Their organisers, mostly Wits university students, told voters a vote for the National Party was a vote for corruption while a vote for the Democratic Party was a vote for progress.
The organiser also circulated petitions to save the Johannesburg High School for Girls from closure.
Many people signed the petition.

Conspicuously absent at the entrance were National Party and Conservative Party organisers.
"I'm winning this seat," an excited Mr Fuchs told The Star.

More protesters arrested as police baton-charge crowd

By MeKeed Kotolo
Three more demonstrators were detained in Laudium last night, bringing to 10 the number of people arrested at that constituency since polling began in the general election yesterday morning.
Several other people were injured when police with dogs baton-charged and tear-gassed scores of people who walked outside the Pretoria Muslim Trust Mosque in this Johannesburg township at about 10 pm.
Doctors rushed to the mosque to treat the injured, including women and children.
One of the demonstrators told The Star they had gathered outside the mosque after the police had allegedly prevented them from releasing the 13 demonstrators arrested earlier outside the polling station.
The defeated chairman of the Home of Delegates, Mr Beetie Abramjee, said he had accepted his defeat by the NP for Eastern Transvaal, Mr Akoob Abdoo Kutu, by 25 votes because the two had been running so close throughout the election.
Mr Abramjee said: "Now I'll be able to effectively serve my people from outside Parliament."

The percentage poll was 33.3% while in 1984 it was 32.5%

Nats hold on to Springs in 3-way battle

By Brendan Templeton
National Party MP for Springs Mr Petie Coetzee was returned to Parliament last night with a majority of 1241 votes.
The National Party collected 6222 votes to the Conservative Party's 5381 and the Democratic Party's 1772. There were 32 spoilt papers.
Mr Coetzee said on the announcement of the results that the campaign to put Springs first had won.
Conservative Party candidate Dr D S Gous said he was disappointed and that hypocrisy had won.
Mrberry Byrne of the DP said he was looking forward to the next election and the DP would definitely be back.
Mr Coetzee noted in his victory speech that both the majority for the NP and the support for the DP had increased, which looked promising for the future.
The results followed intense campaigning by the three parties in a close election where the swing vote of the DP was considered by all parties to be a major factor.

Five-vote victory for Nats in Vereeniging

By Melody McDougall
An emotional outburst by CP candidate Mr Barend Keet last night saved Mr Tom Gunning's narrow victory for the National Party in the Vereeniging constituency when he squeezed home by only five votes.
Soon after the results were announced in front of the town hall, Mr Keet made allegations of irregularities in the counting of votes.
He received 7,194 votes while Mr Gunning polled 7,199 votes in the seat which was formerly held by acting State President Mr F W de Klerk.
The DP's Mr Chris du Preez polled 835 votes.
Although Mr Keet refused to elaborate on his dissatisfaction after the votes were recounted three times, he said he would "not let the matter rest here" and that he was going to take it to court.

The percentage poll in the constituency was 70.3%.
There were 36 spoilt papers. Mr Gunning was thrilled about winning but disappointed at the low majority.

Camerer retains Rosettenville

By Celeste Low
The National Party comfortably retained Rosettenville, where Mrs Sheila Camerer won with a majority of 3,282 votes.
The NP received 6,155 votes, a decreased majority of 1,074.
Mr Mia du Toit of the Democratic Party received 1,943 votes and Mr Terrie van Zondert of the CP 2,191.
There were 31 spoilt papers.

Mrs Camerer said although the result came as no surprise, she was very pleased. The NP was, however, sorry about its reduced majority, she said.

NP retains Alberton, CP holds Nigel

By George Duvall
The National Party retained control of Alberton with a majority of 68. The winning candidate, Mr E V Doobie, polled 7,192 votes.
Mr J S Venter (NP) polled 6,432 and Mr C S Masterson (CP) polled 1,162.
The percentage poll was 70.6% and there were 13 spoilt papers.

In another borderline constituency, Nigel was retained by Mr T V Siegman of the CP by a 1,507 majority.
Mr G F Holdeman polled 4,466 votes, Mr Craig Williamson (NP) polled 4,258 and Mr H E Hofmeyr (NP) 1,700.
The percentage poll of 75.34% was among the highest on the Western Cape and there were 51 spoilt papers.

In Germiston District a fierce battle ended in victory for Brigadier Kobus Bonnier (NP) who polled 5,563 majority.
He polled 7,904 votes, Mr Wouter Schultz (CP) polled a close 4,480 and Mr Ion Dyer (NP) polled 2,010.
The percentage poll was 64.2%.
Last all-white election, says envoy
Landmark Election

The most credible parliamentary election in

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Page 3  SOWETER Thursday September 7 1989

Landmark Election

The most credible parliamentary election in
Wessels ups majority

Krugersdorp's National Party member of Parliament retained his seat with a majority of 949 votes over his Conservative Party rival.

Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Law and Order, beat Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, a nominated MP for the CP.

A jubilant Mr Wessels said after the results were announced that the town had shown support for the NP's proposed plan of action and that he had an obligation to honour the support he had received from Krugersdorp voters.

He promised to activate everything he had campaigned for during the election run-up.

"The results tonight show that the public is tired of the confrontation politics practised by the CP, both on a local government level and on a central government basis," he said.

"I expected to win but did not expect such a majority," said Mr Wessels, who won the 1987 election in Krugersdorp by 55 votes.

"It just goes to show that the CP policy is not a dream, it's a nightmare."

Mr Derby-Lewis, looking tired, said he did not wish to make any comment after his defeat.

Mr Wessels polled 8,188 votes and his opponent 7,239. The polling percentage was 69 and spoilt papers numbered 91.
### Right Wins

#### Nats mauled

**by Peter Faberich**

#### House of Delegates

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#### 3044

**Govt has minority support of voters**

**Total since 1948**

- House of Assembly: 86 seats
- Nats: 73 seats
- CP: 13 seats
- DP: 8 seats
- Others: 1 seat

**2 seats to CP.**

**Emphasis**

- CP has a clear majority in the House of Assembly. The government's overall majority is crucial.

**Key**

- CP: CP
- DP: DP
- Others: Others

**Seats won**

- CP: 3044 seats
- DP: 8 seats
- Others: 1 seat

**Emphasis:**

CP has a strong majority, indicating a stable government.

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**Additional information:**

- The political landscape is divided, with CP leading significantly.
- The government's success in maintaining a majority positions it well for future legislative actions.
- The opposition's reduced seat count suggests a potential challenge in forming a coalition.

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**Impact:**

- The CP's victory may lead to significant policy changes and a more unified legislative process.
- The opposition's reduced presence might influence future political discourse and government effectiveness.

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**Further reading:**

- Analysis of the election results and the implications for upcoming legislative sessions.
- Strategies for the opposition to regain momentum in the upcoming legislative cycle.
In the House of Representatives the Labour Party lost seven seats but ended with 69, a clear majority of the 80 seats in the House.

The Democratic Reform Party won five seats to remain the official opposition.

In the House of Delegates the majority Solidarity won most seats with 14, but this was not enough for an overall majority. The position remained confused.

For the first time in decades the NP failed to win 50 percent of the vote, with the DP capturing about 26 percent and the CP about 28 percent.

Randburg triumph

It kept all its seats, won back all the seats it had lost to the NP in 1987 and added Simonstown and Umbilo for good measure, plus the last of the New Republic Party seats, Mooi River.

It won Simonstown with a convincing majority of 3262, turning around an NP majority of 266.

DP co-leader Mr. Wynand Malan won the bitterly fought contest in Randburg against the NP's glamour candidate, Mr. Glenn Babb, with a convincing majority of 1741.

The DP's full tally of gains was Benoni, Hillbrow, Edenvale, North Rand, Randburg (Independent in 1987), Wynberg, Simonstown, Umbilo, Umhlanga, Pietermaritzburg North, Pietermaritzburg South, Mooi River, Walmer and Albany.

In Green Point, expected to be a cliff-hanger, the DP increased its tiny majority of 39 to 125.

The DP also increased its majority substantially in Johannesburg, especially where co-leader Dr. Zach de Beer pushed up the Parktown majority from 3959 to 6964 and Mr. Peter Soil lifted his Johannesburg North majority from 4986 to 6205.

With 161 seats in the House of Assembly announced, the National Party had 90 seats, the Conservative Party 38 and the Democratic Party 33.

The DP's tally of about 25 percent of the vote was up 11 percent on its performance in 1987.

The CP kept its full 22 seats and won all the seats where it and the RNP together achieved an overall majority over the NP in 1987.

The CP made major inroads into the Free State, winning six of the province's 14 seats with one result, Fauresmith, a tie. The CP captured Smithfield, Welkom, Ladybrand, Heilbron, Sasolburg and Parys. The Conservatives also broke into the northern Cape by taking Kuruman and its first seat in the eastern Cape, Uitenhage.

But the CP failed to take several marginal seats which it had expected to take, including Potchefstroom, where Mr. Louis le Grange, Speaker of Parliament, tripled his previously small majority, and Krugersdrop, where Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr. Leon Wessels increased his majority from 55 to 94.

The CP was also repulsed in Geldrad and Springs, two seats with small majorities.

In Geduld, Deputy Minister of Education Mr. Sam de Beer scraped in with his majority reduced from 1723 to 377.

In Springs, NP Transvaal information officer Mr. Piet Coetzee increased his majority from 881 to 1241 despite the presence of the DP.

One of features of the election was heavily-slabbed majorities.

In NP leader Mr. F.W. de Klerk's old seat, Veresening, the NP held on by the skin of its teeth to win by just five votes.

The CP also had a few close calls. It won Meyerton by only seven votes.

The CP appeared to make most of its gains in English-speaking seats where the FP and the old New Republic Party had held previously.

DP economic advisor Professor Sampson de Terblanche said it seemed the support from English-speaking South Africans for the National Party in the previous election had been stopped.

"Unfortunately, Afrikaner support for the DP was and is not as high as we had hoped for," the professor said.
Piënaar holds Potgietersrus

By Marlies Liebenberg

POTGIETERSRUS

The Conservative Party's Mr David Schalk Piënaar retained his seat in the Potgietersrus constituency with an increased majority of 3,141.

Mr. Piënaar polled 9,900 votes to the National Party's 5,949 votes for candidate Mr. Hardus Pretorius. 79.79%.

There were 107 spoilt papers and a high percentage poll of 52.79 percent was recorded.
NP, CP and DP satisfied with results

By Esmé van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The three major parties in the House of Assembly expressed satisfaction today with their performances in the general election, but the Herstigte Nasionale Party conceded its poor performance at the polls.

With some results still outstanding, political leaders commented as follows:

- Mr FW de Klerk, National Party leader and Acting State President, lauded the results as a "resounding victory" for the NP and a strong mandate for its new five-year plan.

REFORM

His analysis of the result was that nearly 75 percent of the white electorate had voted for reform. Of that percentage, the NP had obtained nearly 50 percent of the vote.

Despite heavy losses to the Left and the Right, the NP had not been forced to form alliances with other parties.

However, Mr de Klerk said his party would seek the cooperation of "chosen leaders who represent majorities". Leaders of all population groups would be drawn into negotiation on a new dispensation.

Yesterday's ballot had dealt the CP a "devastating defeat" in terms of the CP's own predictions. The CP had only received 25 to 30 percent of the vote, Mr de Klerk said.

The CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said the CP had slashed the NP's majorities in most seats. Many seats had become marginal.

- The NP's director of information, Mr Con Botha, said he was relieved that the NP had obtained a workable majority.

"The people of South Africa have firmly reasserted themselves in favour of constitutional reform. The NP will take cognisance of that."

- Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer was thrilled with the fledgling party's performance.

But he expressed disappointment with the outcome in Helderkraal and Stellenbosch, especially in the light of the DP's solid majorities in constituencies such as Simonstown, Constantia and Sea Point.

Said Dr de Beer: "A significant portion of the electorate has swung towards a perception of South Africa as one nation. There is more than enough encouragement for the DP to fight on towards the day when it will become the government of South Africa."

- DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said South Africa faced a whole new political ball game: "We clearly have the makings of a new political alignment in South Africa."

The DP had lived up to expectations both in terms of the number of seats won and majorities obtained.

He was not overly disappointed that his target of a hung Parliament had not been achieved as the country was still looking at "a whole new political ball game".

The party even performed well in constituencies where it had not won, such as Westdene where it had cut Foreign Minister Mr Piki Botha's majority by about 2,000.

- The CP's deputy leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said the CP had slashed the NP's majorities in most seats. Many seats had become marginal.

PROPAGANDA

"We have grown since 1987 despite the media propaganda against the CP. Many factors will work in the CP's favour in future, such as the South West Africa issue and the prospect of negotiations in South Africa.

- HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais, who lost his deposit in Waterberg, said the countrywide swing to the Left and the NP's continued path of reform had created the need for a "new situation" on the Right. In the light of this, the HNP still had a significant role to play, although it had done poorly.

But Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who has been shown on television here every night this week, said he was not concerned about how many people had voted but how many people had stayed away from work.

British viewers were also shown scenes of yesterday's black unrest, including crowds scattering from armed police and tyres being set on fire in the streets, sending petals of black smoke into the sky.

The most remarkable development of all, said a BBC commentator, was that a police lieutenant had tried to intervene to stop riot squads whipping people. "They were hitting innocent bystanders,joying themselves," he said.

Another thought the sharp NP losses would reduce, not increase the tempo of reform.

WASHINGTON - The US media gave the election wide coverage showing scenes of whites voting counterpointed with riotous blacks demonstrating. One TV channel, CNN, interviewed Archbishop Tutu.

He said Mr de Klerk could have asked for a mandate to lift the emergency, ban political organisations and release political prisoners and detainees. Instead, he had offered the same iron fist one had been accustomed to from the racist minority white government.
Jubilation greets DP triumphs on the Reef.

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Five Democratic Party victories on the Reef were greeted with wild jubilation from cheering DP supporters last night.

Three new faces in Parliament will be those of businessman Mr Louis de Waal, who ousted National Party MP Mr Attie Grobler in North Rand; Johannesburg city councillor Mr Lester Fuchs, who won a resounding victory in Hillbrow; and Mr Geoff Engel, who narrowly ousted Mr Sam Bloomberg in Bezuidenhout.

Returning to Parliament will be DP co-leader Mr Wynnand Malan, who fought off the NP’s Mr Glen Babb in Randburg, and former Edenvale MP Mr Brian Goodall, who regained the seat he lost to the NP in 1987.

Shortly before the Randburg result was announced, a victorious Mr Malan emerged from the voting hall and hugged his wife, Judy. This was the sign the nervous crowd of DP supporters was waiting for.

Their frantic cheering marked the end of a tussle which has many observers to believe former diplomat Mr Babb could snatch the seat.

Mr Malan’s message was: “It is clear that if not in the short term, then at least in the long term, we are on our way to a democratic government.”

An obviously disappointed Mr Babb said he had no future plans at this stage.

In North Rand, the triumphant Mr de Waal said: “We came from nothing with diverse forces and bridged a cultural and language gap to build on the central belief that we must all be together.

“Today we have achieved a true central South African identity. It’s a dream come true. We can now go forward and unite English and Afrikaans in one South African society. This is a chance for all people of all races to go ahead.”

Mr Grobler, who served North Rand for less than two years, lost despite pushing up his support from 9,440 to 11,337. The Conservative Party’s Mr Fritz Meyer pushed up his party’s support from 5,543 in 1987 to 6,961.

In Bezuidenhout, a jubilant Mr Engel shouted above the cheers of his supporters: “We are established now and this seat is just a start. We have found credibility in this constituency.”

• A blow was struck against petty apartheid as Boksburg National Party MP Mr Sakkie Blanche scored a solid majority over the CP, which took local government control last year.

• The NP’s victory as well as the support shown for the DP was seen as a clear rejection by Boksburg residents of the town council’s return to a policy of strict segregation.

• The CP yesterday made its biggest urban advance when it took four of Pretoria’s 13 parliamentary seats and turned others into marginal seats.

It won Hercules, Pretoria West, Roodeplaat and Wonderboom from the NP. It narrowly lost Gezina by seven votes after a series of recounts and cut 4,500 off the NP majority in Innesdal.

The NP retained the Waterkloof, Sunnyside, Innesdal, Vreewoordburg, Roodepoort, Gezina, Pretoria Central, Pretoria East and Russel seats.

In Gezina, the CP’s Mr H van der Merwe watched counters first give him victory and then take it away. There were three recounts of special votes and two of votes cast yesterday before the former MP, Mr K D Swanepoel, was declared the winner by seven votes.

Mr van der Merwe intends to petition the Supreme Court for a further recount or to declare the result null and void and order a by-election.

Brand new party captures Lenasia

By Paula Fray

A party founded less than three months ago took all three seats in Lenasia yesterday.

The Merit People’s Party (MPP) won Lenasia Central, East and West constituencies.

Lenasia East candidate Mrs Rashida Ebrahim became the first woman to be elected to the House of Delegates when she polled 494 votes for a 341 majority.

She said she was not disappointed with the 9,64 percent poll as it had trebled since 1984.

Police regularly dispersed groups of children and two Transvaal Indian Congress members were detained.
It's Goodall all the Way

Result much better than we expected, says surprised winner.
Polls show opposition, says TIC

By Kevin Udemans and Paula Fray

The national percentage polls in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates once again show that the overwhelming majority of eligible voters have rejected the tricameral system said Mr Cassim Saloojee, the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, this morning.

"They have also thereby shown their support for the Mass Democratic Movement," he said.

He said the election in the House of Assembly showed that the ruling group was hopelessly divided: "The gains by the so-called rightwingers and the Democratic Party leave the National Party in a weak situation and this in itself reduces the legitimacy of the 'white' House.

"Given these results we still maintain that at this juncture in the history of South Africa, the forces of change to the system will not come from within the system but from the vast majority of the Mass Democratic Movement," he said.

Mr Saloojee said it was hoped the Democratic Party would pressurise the Government to create a situation which could make negotiations for a non-racial and democratic South Africa possible.

"We would like to say to the collaborators in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, who are junior partners in apartheid, that this is the second time the majority have rejected the tricameral system and we demand that they accept the will of the people and resign from the positions," he said.

The secretary of the TIC, Mr Ismail Momoni, said that the percentage poll for the House of Delegates in the Transvaal had dropped from 23 percent in 1984 to 21 percent this year.

He said 86 percent of votes cast in Transvaal were special votes.

"The TIC does not accept special votes as genuine votes as we have evidence that many of these votes were secured through threats, bribery and blackmail," he added.

Mr Momoni said the high poll of 42 percent in Actonville could be ascribed to the housing problem. Voters had been promised houses in a new area called Villaliza.

Mr Ameen Akhalways, editor of The Indicator in Lenasia, said, the polls proved there had been a "massive thumbs down to ethnic apartheid politics".

"If all the candidates in the House of Delegates had any moral accountability they would give up their seats in Parliament... but it goes to prove, in South Africa the minority rules," he said.
Mystery of 'false votes'

By REMANA ROSSOUW

It was a case of "tricks for the con-

sumers" -- but no "tricks" for at

least three Johannesburg residents in-

volved in an electoral mystery.

Ms Paul Scott of Vynwyth Street,

Mrs Mollie Gray of Eldon Street and

Mr Gilbert Hayward of Eastern Street,

all received letters from the Labour

Party candidate, Mr Ivan C McKeeze,

congratulating them for having cast their

votes.

None of them had voted.

The letters were signed by McKee-

ze, whom they had never met.

"On behalf of myself and the com-

munity, I wish to express my sincere

appreciation that you came to cast

your vote," said McKeeze in his

letter.

"You know my record and my

work and therefore I am appealing to

you to encourage the rest of your

family and friends to come and vote

for me tomorrow.

"I really need your vote. We must

and will win this election and ther-

fore I would appreciate your assis-

tance."3

Scott said he had confronted

McKeeze with the letter and de-

manded to see the voters' roll to

echeck if his vote had been recorded.

"McKeeze refused to show me and

said I must bring a lawyer if I want

to see it," Scott said.

"I can't afford to pay a lawyer and

even if I did get one now, it would

be too late so my vote would already

have been counted.

"Maybe that's why the percentage

poll went so high in Bontekwetho," he

said.

McKeeze said the letters to Scott

and Hayward were a "mistake" and he

had sent another letter to them, apolo-

gizing.

He denied that there had been votes

cast for them.

He also denied that he knew who

had voted for him in the secret bal-

lot, but said he had sent letters to

everyone who had come to vote.

Workers hurt in anti-LRAA action

By CHIARA CARTER

The widespread industrial action at factories and busi-

nesses throughout South Africa since last Friday has

been the most sustained in the country's history.

The protests followed the call by the workers' summit for

national protest action against the Labour Relations Amend-

ment Act and elections.

A spokesperson for the Congress of South African Trade
Unions said that thousands of workers took part in work stop-

pages and demonstrations in ma-

jor centres throughout South

Africa.

He said that police took action against hundreds of workers who

protested at the Witwatersrand.

In the Western Cape a worker was

hospitalized after police took

action against about 500 workers who

protested in Table View.

In Durban, a large group of workers

took part in a demonstration outside

the factory of the National Union of Metalworkers of South

Africa and the South African Workers Union (Samwu).

A Cape Town City Council em-

ployee was hospitalized after police

took action against about 150 workers who

protested outside the council depot in Maboneng.

The council was part of protests

taken by Samwu members at nine council depots as well as at the

Civic Centre.

In Epping Industria a strike
came to an end after police took

action against 60 workers who

protested outside the factory.

In the Western Cape, the National
Union of Metalworkers of South

Africa and the South African Workers Union (Samwu) took part in

work stoppages in several factories.

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work stoppages in several factories.
Early on Wednesday morning, stations and taxi ranks in Cape Town's townships appeared deserted and the streets were eerily empty.

Many factories and businesses closed early; others did not bother to open at all.

Among those who did not open their doors on Wednesday were members of the Western Cape Traders Association who put up signs saying their shops would be closed in line with the MDM call.

There was also a sharp increase in the number of workers who stayed away on Wednesday in the Transvaal, where businesses came to a virtual standstill.

A spokesperson for the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said that about 78 000 miners downed tools on Tuesday in support of the two-day protest.
The tyres and teargas elections

By REHANA ROSSOUW, CHIARA CARTIER and MONO BADELA
ELECTION '89 was not fought in the polling booths but on the streets.

According to reports, four people were killed and more than 1,000 injured in widespread protests against the (Apartheid) elections yesterday.

Palls of black smoke hung over the Peninsula's township as barricades flared in most areas.

The elections in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates were characterized by extremely low turnouts with only a trickle of voters going to the polling booths at centres in the Western Cape.

In Khayamandla near Stellenbosch, Elizea Masekanyana, 23, a mother of a three-month-old baby, died when she was hit by teargas in the forecourt.

Critical condition

The shooting happened after a group of people had gathered in the street and were trying to get eight people, including Masekanyana, were arrested.

Masekanyana died on the way to hospital. Several people were arrested.

Three-year-old Megan Anders, the daughter of Herron singer Debi Anders, is in a critical condition at Red Cross Hospital after being hit with a bullet in her Woodlands, Mitchells Plain home. Her head at 8pm when they first saw her.

"Megan was still alive and her plate smashed on the floor. Her mother ran to pick her up."

Doctors said Megan had been hit in the head by a heavenly plate in her head. She was undergoing a brain scan to determine if she had sustained serious head injury but whether there would be any damage.

"We are all still very upset. Debi can't even talk. Why must they shoot neighbour's daughter?" Herron asked.

There were hearings at Mitchell's Plain, Athlone, Maitland, Holmbush, Elandsfontein, Malmesbury, Mitchells Plain, Valais Park, Vredekloof, Valais Park, Vredekloof, Valais Park and Bellville South.

STAYAWAY BIGGEST EVER IN WESTERN CAPE.

BUSINESS and Industry throughout the country ground to a halt this week as an estimated two to three million workers staged a massive stayaway over two days in protest against the Labour Relations Amendment Act and the elections.

The stayaway, which followed a call by the Mass Democratic Movement for national protest action on Tuesday and Wednesday, was one of the largest in South Africa's history.

The University of the Western Cape's independent monitoring group estimated that between two and three million workers stayed away, while a spokesperson for the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Mr Vincent Bester, described the stayaway as "utterly necessary and completely necessary".

The biggest stayaway was in the Eastern Cape where almost the entire African workforce stayed away on both days.

Mr P Cross, spokesperson for the Forestry and Agricultural Workers Union, said there was a very poor demand for buses in the townships.

He placed passenger levels at 20 to 20 percent in PE townships and about 30 percent in KwaZulu.

Many of the drivers were also absent, he said.

There was also an exceptionally high absence rate in Natal where thousands did not turn for work.

A spokesperson for the Natal Chamber of Industry said there was an almost 100 percent stayaway in the textile industry.

There was also an absence rate of between 60 and 65 percent in the mining, rubber and oil industries.

For the first time ever in the Western Cape, there was a large scale stayaway by workers, particularly
TYRES AND TEARGAS

POLICE took action in most areas of the township to quell unrest and avert violence.

A special police operation was mounted in Wynberg yesterday to contain the violence.

In Hanover Park, 42 people were arrested for扰乱秩序 and rioting after a group of residents threw stones and petrol bombs at police vehicles and a gas station.

In Grassy Park, 400 people gathered outside the civic centre and marched to the heavily-guarded polling station at the civic centre after a prayer service at the Congregational Church.

The candidates fled into the hall and bolted the doors when the marchers reached the centre. A woman was arrested.

Most of the injured were children and students from the Mitchell's Plain Primary School. Police fired rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse the crowd.

In Bonteheuwel, about 300 people gathered and shouted slogans outside the polling station at Wynberg High School. Police fired rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse the crowd.

Mrs Rachel Peters said she was told that her son Darryl had been shot.

Residents in Helderberg marched to the polling station at Wynberg High School after a mass meeting at St Theresa's Catholic Church. Police refused permission to hold a rally and fired tear gas to disperse the crowd.

In response to outrages, a police officer in the main street in Bonteheuwel was shot and hospitalised.

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It's Stoffel
at a canter in
Helderkrui

By Glen Elsen
West Rand Bureau

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe retained his Helderkrui seat by a comfortable 5,748 votes over his closest Democratic Party rival.

The Minister received 12,113 votes, Dr Themis de Bruin of the DP 6,985 votes and Dr G J Venter of the CP 5,902.

There were 52 spoilt papers and the polling percentage was 73.85.

Dr van der Merwe said after the results were announced that he planned to carry out his election manifesto.

He described the election as a good, clean fight between the parties.

The other candidates were not available for comment.
If the CP has problems as a result of Wednesday's election, so does the National Party. Its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, has to face the hard political reality of a party caucus reduced to its 1953 size and a party which has lost the support of majority of white voters for the first time since 1958.

In addition, the NP has thoroughly lost its grip on the most populous province, the Transvaal, where it no longer controls the majority of seats and where it only won 46% of the vote.

Mr De Klerk yesterday described the outcome of the election as "a tremendous win" for the NF and he said he was not disappointed at the loss of the NP's seats.

"We will move forward with confidence and strength," Mr De Klerk said.

Despite putting on a brave face, Mr De Klerk will lead the NP and the government at a time when it has been demonstrably weakened and could not afford the luxury of any defections without its majority in the House of Assembly being threatened.

Moreover, the second consecutive and decisive rejection of the tri-cameral system by coloured and Indian voters, as reflected in the low polls for the other two Houses, has exacerbated the legitimacy crisis of government-created constitutional structures.

When Parliament reconvenes next week to elect Mr De Klerk as president, the problems facing the CP and the NP will not be immediately evident and they will be glossed, but they are bound to come to haunt them.
NP loses Jhb votes hand over fist

By Kevin Udenman

The National Party lost three parliamentary seats in the Greater Johannesburg area yesterday and held on to six seats, five with reduced majorities.

In the 16 seats in the area, the swing has been mainly in favour of the Democratic Party.

The ruling party lost Hillbrow and Bezuidenhout to the Democratic Party and Maraisburg to the Conservative Party, the only seat the CP won in the area.

The NP held on to their seats in Jeppe, Johannesburg West, Rissik, Rosettenville, Turffontein and Westdene but in five of the six cases their majority was greatly reduced.

In the Westdene constituency Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, won by 2 647 votes as opposed to the 1987 majority of 4 353.

In Jeppe, Mr Henrie Bekker's majority was reduced from 4 251 to 1 922, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, won by 1 328 votes in Johannesburg West as opposed to 1 856 in 1987; Mrs Sheila Camerer retained her Rosettenville seat with a 3 282 majority in comparison with her 5 042 advantage in 1987. In Turffontein Mr André Fourie's majority was reduced from 3 059 to 3 950.

The only exception was the Rissik constituency where Mr Chris Fismer's majority of 3 533 showed only a 313-vote decrease from his majority of 3 846.

DP WINS

The DP held on to to seven of their seats, retaining Bryanston (Mr Rupert Lorimer), Houghton (Mr Tony Leon), Johannesburg North (Mr Peter Seal), Randburg (Mr Wynand Malan), Parktown (Dr Zach de Beer), Sandton (Mr Dave Dalling) and Yeoville (Mr Harry Schwarz).

Mr Schwarz and Mr Dalling were unopposed after convincing victories in the 1987 election and Mr Malan's majority was reduced after his tussle with the National Party's Mr Glenn Babb in the election. In the other four constituencies their majorities increased dramatically.

In Bryanston the DP majority increased by 4 100 votes, in Houghton 2 450, in Johannesburg North 1 717 and in Parktown 2 111.

The gains for the DP came in Hillbrow where Mr Lester Fuchs regained the seat lost by the Progressive Federal Party in 1987 by a majority of 1 450 and Mr Geoff Engel ousted sitting Member of Parliament for Bezuidenhout, the National Party's Mr Sam Bloomberg, by 365 votes.

The only gain for the CP in Johannesburg came in Maraisburg where their candidate, Mr Piet de la Rey, was elected to Parliament ahead of the NP's Mr Pieter Pretorius by a 214-vote majority.
Labour Party welcomes the votes for change

Pretoria Correspondent

The Government has received the nod from the electorate to go ahead with reform.Labour Party spokesman Mr Peter Hendrickse said this in commenting on the election results.

He said that if the votes received by the Democratic Party and National Party were added, there was a clear message for reform.

It was clear that the Government had to scrap apartheid laws, he said.

Of the Labour Party's performance, he said there was some disappointment at not winning more seats. "But we have more seats now than when Parliament was disbanded."

Mr Hendrickse said it was significant that more people voted than in 1984.

SUPPORT ENTRANCED

"We are not discouraged by low polls in some areas. The voter corps has grown, and in most cases the rolls were not updated. It would be fair to say that most coloured people want change through negotiation."

Transvaal LP leader Dr Willie Hofmeyr said he was pleased with the party's performance.

"It was significant that many more people voted. It was encouraging to see that our candidates entrenched their support."

Mr Jan Rallie said coloured people had given a clear message that apartheid belonged to the past.

"We want a new constitution, and to look at solutions through peaceful means."

He said that the large voter turnout showed that coloured people did not want violence as a solution.
"SA must step up communication."

The issues facing South Africa in the 1990s were complex and challenging, and the future depended largely on effective communication between all race groups, the chairman of Eskom, Dr John Maree, said in Sandton yesterday.

Dr Maree was named Communicator of the Year by the South African Association of Industrial Editors and the Public Relations Institute of Southern Africa (Prissa) for his contribution to changing Eskom's image.

"The challenge in the 1990s is how well we are going to talk to one another ... our whole survival depends on communication and negotiation."

Lack of effective communication would prevent SA from achieving its goals. Communication had to start in the workplace and at a national level.
FW faces ‘Five-year Plan’ poser

The Acting State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, faces urgent decisions on how to implement the National Party’s five-year reform plan following the shock setbacks his Government received at the polls on Wednesday.

Although Mr de Klerk claimed the election result as a mandate for reform, opposition leaders have expressed doubts whether he will risk any bold ventures now to break the negotiation deadlock.

The key to this is the release of jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, but NP sources said today they doubted whether Mr de Klerk would move very quickly to do this before consolidating his position.

Mr de Klerk’s other major initiative to promote reform depends on the Cabinet he appoints. Whether or not he will appoint leaders of colour to his Cabinet is uncertain. NP sources said today the appointment of a black to the Cabinet merely as a token was unlikely.

Labour Party leader the Rev Andrew Hendricks, whose party won the House of Representatives election, has already vowed he will not serve in the Cabinet and the position in the House of Delegates is still confused.

One of his first major tasks will be to appoint a new Cabinet and to fill the vacant posts which are vacant. The crucial decision will be who to appoint to tackle the vital task of negotiation.

Although Mr Gene Louw is the Minister of Constitutional Development, the post closely associated with the negotiation effort, there is strong speculation in the NP that Mr de Klerk will either keep the job for himself or give it to one of his own close aids in the Cabinet.

Mr Louw was appointed by Mr de Klerk’s predecessor, Mr P.W. Botha, in a move which was widely interpreted as a snub for Mr de Klerk. It is expected Mr de Klerk will re-arrange the portfolio, leaving Mr Louw with the less important components, such as provincial affairs.

The names of Dr Gerrit Viljoen and Mr Kobie Coetzee (both close to Mr de Klerk) have been mentioned as possibilities to fill the vital negotiation portfolio.

There were suggestions that a black might be appointed to take the black education portfolio, allowing Dr Viljoen to be appointed to a more senior position.

Wide credibility

NP sources believe that this is now unlikely and that Mr de Klerk would only be prepared to appoint a black Minister who had wide credibility.

Parliament meets on Wednesday to appoint the electoral college which will elect the State President the next day. Since 50 of the 88 members of the electoral college are chosen by the NP, Mr de Klerk is assured of victory.

The other business of the short session of Parliament next week will be to appoint the indirectly-elected MPs.

In the House of Assembly there will be eight of these allocated to the different parties according to their numbers of directly elected members. It is expected that the NP will get four indirectly elected members, and the other two parties two each.

The British Foreign Secretary, Mr John Major, has described the election result as “a powerful and comprehensive mandate for change” and has urged Mr de Klerk to get reform rolling.

The State Department said in Washington that the US government had congratulated Mr de Klerk on the NP’s victory, but it said promises of reform now needed to be followed quickly by concrete specific action.

The US was willing to work with the new Government and all other parties in the substantial effort to end apartheid.

The Mass Democratic Movement said in a statement that more people had taken part in its protest action against the elections than had voted.

More than 3 million workers and students had demonstrated their opposition, it said.

"Despite all the election hype, over three-quarters of the registered coloured and Indian voters refused to vote."

See Pages 2 and 6.
Though CP gained seats, its power ‘will now shrink’

By Kaizer Nyatsumba

Although the Conservative Party almost doubled the number of its seats in the House of Assembly this week and remains the Official Opposition, it has reached its peak — from now on it will shrink, political analyst told “Post-Election Seminar 1989” in Johannesburg yesterday.

Professor Willie Breytenbach, of the University of Stellenbosch, said personalities had played a major role in the elections, making it possible for Cabinet Ministers to retain their seats in constituencies where the CP posed great threats.

Personalities had also played a role in the Democratic Party’s good showing in Natal, where co-leader Dr Denis Worrall’s influence was felt, and in Randburg, where co-leader Mr Wynand Malan beat charismatic NP challenger Mr Glenn Babb.

NEGOTIATION TIME

The CP, which had now become “the true repository of Afrikaner nationalism”, had failed to live up to its own expectations.

“I suspect that the CP profile peaked during the October 1988 municipal elections and is now shrinking — and will shrink further after the delimitations,” said Professor Breytenbach.

The collective 70 percent poll of the NP and the DP, as opposed to the CP’s 39 percent, showed clearly that the white electorate wanted to negotiate an undivided South Africa.

By insisting on partition, the CP had effectively excluded itself from negotiations.

Just as the 1980s were characterised by limited reform, the 1990s would be characterised by negotiations, said Professor Breytenbach.

White South African parties at the moment were generally insincere and dishonest, he added:

The CP had grave reservations about the practicality of its partition policy, but would not admit it;

When the NP talked about power sharing, it hid in mind co-option of blacks into the system, but would not admit it;

The DP knew a black majority government was inevitable, but did not say it publicly.

For the first time, the NP had actually asked the electorate for a mandate to relinquish full control and share power — and had got it.

The NP had also successfully distanced itself from the CP, and leaned towards the DP.

Professor Breytenbach said two important issues, Mr Nelson Mandela’s release and the Namibian independence process, had been ignored in the election campaigns. That was probably because all parties regard the issues “as unstoppable and irreversible”.

Professor Breytenbach said the CP’s poor performance could lead to leader Dr An-dries Treurnicht’s position becoming vulnerable — somebody younger might take over.

The director of the University of the Witwatersrand’s Centre for Policy Studies, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, said the electorate’s shift had been more to the Left than to the Right since 1987, and the Right had been effectively stopped.

But voters still cast their ballots along language lines, with still fewer than 10 percent of Afrikaners having supported the DP, despite the fact that some of the ablest Afrikaners were already in the party.
Whites voted to end apartheid – ANC

LUSAKA — A senior African National Congress (ANC) official said yesterday South Africa's whites, in segregated elections, had voted to end apartheid.

"The people who voted clearly voted for the process of dismantling apartheid to begin immediately," said Mr James Stuart, a senior member of the national executive committee of the Lusaka-based ANC.

Mr Stuart said the National Party and its leader, acting President F W de Klerk, had campaigned on a platform of dismantling the country's apartheid system.

LAST CHANCE

He said the mandate given to de Klerk was the whites' last chance to solve the problem of apartheid peacefully — and the process could no longer be postponed indefinitely.

"It's obvious the time has now come for de Klerk to implement decisively what he had promised the electorate and the international community," Star 8/19/89.

Mr Stuart said the SA Government must now the ANC's accept terms, backed by the Organisation of African Unity and the Non-Aligned Movement, for a negotiated end to apartheid.

The ANC wants Pretoria first to end the state of emergency, free political prisoners, lift a ban on political organisations like the ANC and withdraw troops from black townships.

"He (Mr de Klerk) must make clear that he is ready to create the conditions to make dialogue — real dialogue — possible in South Africa," Mr Stuart said.

The ANC must be included in any negotiations between the Government and the black majority.

"We can't be wished away and it's about time that de Klerk accepts that reality," he said.

He dismissed suggestions that the ANC terms were too tough and that it should perhaps soften its stance by suspending its guerrilla war, one of Pretoria's main demands.

"It's not up to us, it's up to them to decide. As far as we're concerned the struggle continues."

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) leaders meeting in Belgrade have condemned Wednesday's elections. According to the NAM declaration on southern Africa, leaders meeting on the last day of the ninth summit condemned the elections, saying they were held under a constitution declared null and void by the United Nations. — Sapa—Reuter.
Political reform the key to cut Govt overspending

Economic issues featured more prominently in the 1989 election than in any previous general election. Nevertheless, the relevance of the result to the long-term future of the South African economy is open to debate.

Many would have us believe that the problems facing the economy have been brought about by external pressures such as economic sanctions and the refusal of overseas banks to lend South Africa money.

According to this line of reasoning, an election result favouring the idea of political reform would see an end to sanctions and result in a huge new inflow of foreign capital, which would enable the economy to return to its former path of growth and prosperity.

Conversely, a swing to the right would result in an outflow of capital and lower economic growth.

Misses point

However, this argument misses the point. From an economic view, political reform is essential, not to please the outside world but to reverse the long-term trend of rising government expenditure.

It is the latter that has brought this country's economy to its knees. To finance its growing expenditures, government has had to raise taxes continually through fiscal drag, higher GST and hikes in other forms of tax — all cutting into people's spending power.

Moreover, it has driven people to save less and borrow more than they could afford to compensate for the erosion of their incomes.

Increased credit demand has in turn led to shara growth in the money supply. The end result has been lower economic growth and higher inflation.

There have been other deleterious structural side effects too. Increased taxation and inflation have diverted savings away from green-field wealth-creating investment projects into a paper chase of share and other financial assets.

This has been killing entrepreneurship while leading to ever more power flowing into the hands of fewer and larger financial institutions, mining houses and industrial conglomerates.

The ability of the monopolised big business sector to sidestep taxes through ingenious tax schemes and accounting practices has resulted in the proportionate burden of tax shifting significantly away from the corporate sector to the individual.

In addition, monopoly power has assisted the process of inflation: directly, as cost increases automatically come to be passed on to consumers; and indirectly, in the sense that powerful trade unions have grown in reaction to the growth of business concentration.

These unions have now themselves become a further source of inflation as they have pressed for wage increases that have not been matched by increases in productivity.

All these enormous structural distortions have developed from years of government overspending. They cannot be eliminated overnight, no matter which government is in power.

In the aftermath of the election, the most one can hope for in terms of a return to long-term prosperity is that a meaningful start is made towards reversing the trend of government spending via political reform.

In the short term, a cut in government spending should not be too difficult as political pressures will have receded.

Discipline

But can fiscal discipline be sustained in the longer term? This is the key issue.

The principal cause of growing State spending appears to have been the extraordinary growth of the Public Service in both central government and the homelands.

Whereas employment levels in most of the private sector have either remained static or declined, employment in central government has risen by no less than 57,4 percent between 1980 and 1988, and in local administration and the homelands it has increased by 39,1 percent.

In large measure this development must be attributed to the complex political and administrative structure of government, which has led to multiple duplication of so many functions and massive fragmentation of controls.

While government has sought to please everyone, it has ended up pleasing no one.

Handouts of any kind are costly, seldom appreciated, often abused and often yield few real benefits.

If new political reform merely results in the addition of further tiers of bureaucracy, it will achieve nothing economically and in all probability will harm the economy still further.

Rationalisation

If, however, it results in rationalisation of administration and functions in the state sector, it will negate the need for government to continue spending vast quantities of taxpayers' money on wasteful and inefficient bureaucracy, and the South African economy could enter a new growth era.

Only then will foreign capital begin flooding back into the country to assist growth further.

The solution to the country's economic problems lies from within not without the economy. Much will depend on the nature of political reform which the new government will pursue.

In spite of all the euphoria surrounding the election, the results still tell us little about the path which the new government will follow. Only time will tell.

However, now that the elections are over and there is an abatement in political pressures to stimulate the economy to win ballot box approval, at least the new government has wider scope to exercise more discipline in the management of the economy.

The Minister of Finance will be in a far better position to resist demands by Cabinet colleagues for more and more money.

In turn, it should provide Dr Chris Stals, the new Governor of the Reserve Bank, with much better opportunities to make a real start to the war on inflation that he has promised.
House of Assembly Results

Election briefs

Control of 20%...
We’ll change it around, says Dr No

‘Power-sharing is lie of SA politics’

Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau
National Party “power-sharing” was described yesterday as “the big lie of South African politics” by the Leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He told a post-election Press conference in Pretoria that even if power-sharing did come about, “everything the National Party does (in that regard), we can change. We will act accordingly.”

Mandela irrelevant

Dr Treurnicht, speaking at CP headquarters, said his party did not believe that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela had any real role to play in white South African politics.

Discussing power-sharing, Dr Treurnicht said he did not think real power-sharing was possible.

“The National Party are trying to share power between five million whites, 21 million blacks, three million coloureds and one million Indians. We don’t think that would be real power-sharing.

“If they try to share it, then they will no longer be in control. Power-sharing is in fact the big lie of South African politics.”

“We have already warned about this concentration of power from various groups.”

Dr Treurnicht expressed his disappointment that the CP did not win more seats, as had been expected, but was pleased that it had improved its vote total from 547 000 in 1987 to over 680 000 in Wednesday’s general election.

“The 17 gains we achieved have made us a very strong official Opposition,” he added.

The CP was pleased at its showing in the Free State and the Cape but was concerned at “the swing towards the liberals”, and said the whole spectrum of South African politics appeared to have gone to the left.

Dr Treurnicht warned that the NP would continue to lose seats in future elections if it continued to lean towards the left and this could finally mean ANC rule.

“People don’t realise that.”

He dismissed the Democratic Party as “talking for the masses”.

“It is not a democratic party, as such. In some instances it is revolutionary.

“Likewise the Herstigte Nasionale Party is no longer a factor in South African politics.”
Candidate's feat
with zero votes
By Joe Openshaw

Now the dust has settled and political analysts are making hay with the figures. Spare a thought for Mr Gangiah Naidoo, an Independent who scored a political duck standing for the House of Delegates at Rylands, in the Cape Peninsula.

Incredible as it may seem, the election results showed a zero next to his name. He did not get one vote.

I wouldn't bet on it, but Mr Naidoo has probably made history. Why, one might ask, did he not even vote for himself? It is one of the great mysteries of modern politics.

Mr Naidoo can console himself with having bettered (or worsened) the record of Mr A G Ebrahim, also an Independent, who in the last Rylands election netted two votes.

One of the lighter moments for me was when I was approached by a voter outside the polling booths in Edenvale. He had his ballot paper in his hand and asked me what he should do with it.

"Must I keep it?" he asked.

I said: "Fold it up and ask that policeman where to put it."
Apartheid in the last five years of its perverse existence

JAN STEYN

JAN STEYN, the chairman of the Urban Foundation, takes a look at the South Africa he expects to see five years from now. This is an extract from a speech he made to the South African Orthopaedic Association's 35th congress in Pretoria.

Changes in South Africa have increased pressure for more change, simply because new inconsistencies have been produced which have to be resolved and aspirations have been raised dramatically.

Government, having conceded the principle of a single nation and a common urban-industrial society, no longer has the major ideological commitment and motivation to prevent integration and open opportunity in society. In other words, the current pattern of apartheid and the current phase is one of unility transition.

Tentatively, on this basis, I can project forwards and say that in five years' time, if the current processes unravel and develop as one would expect them to, we will have a society with the following major features:

- A government drawn from all groups, probably with provision for an executive drawn from the major Black and white political parties. It could take many different forms, it will understandably be highly controversial, but it will constitute a substantial power-sharing between major political interests.

- A Bill of Individual Rights will have strengthened the rule of law and opened the way for much fuller equality of opportunity in society.

- Open residential areas subject to the qualification that some deeply conservative white suburbs may, if not formally or informally, a right to remain exclusive. In other suburbs a lesser degree of integration will have taken place, although informal ethnic clustering will probably occur.

- In a combination of state subsidised private schools and even some state schools, one will find an increasing proportion of education occurring on a non-racial basis.

- Overarchingly forms of metropolitan government will draw together formerly white and formerly black municipalities under the umbrella of common local fiscal resources. The powers of metropolitan authorities will tend to increase and local government will increasingly be devoted to attempts to upgrade less-developed urban areas.

- The economy, although beset by uncertainty, will be stronger than it is at present, primarily because investors and foreign finance houses will have become aware of the fact that movement is occurring in the direction of longer-term stability.

- Blacks will be divided on the reforms and changes, and some will participate while others will choose to remain outside the system of government and administration as a vocal dissenting bloc. This dissent and protest will increase pressure for further change.

- South Africa will still be in transition but it will be less easy to make the accusation that the system is white-dominated. The political centre of gravity will be shifting towards effective participation by the majority. A post-apartheid South Africa will be emerging, still untidy, but in the end convincing.

Serious jeopardy

Two developments could abort the process I have tentatively sketched. One danger would be if the change takes place within a deteriorating economy. If both blacks and whites suffer increased privation, they will become more competitive with regard to one another and less inclined to make concessions or accept compromises.

A second danger will arise if the outside world and all the various movements for change in South Africa push too hard in a way which arouses fear among whites that their interests and security face serious jeopardy or destruction.

An unthinking, emotionally-based resistance could occur, just as happened in the old Southern Rhodesia leading to the UDI in 1965.

Aggressive activism

I cannot say more about these dangers, except to say that they are latent in our social life and in our brittle economy at the moment. Most influential South Africans, white and black, are aware of the dangers, as are many of the more moderate and mature political leaders abroad. In other words, there is a web of influence capable of sustaining South Africa's progress towards a united and equal society. These influences must promote good judgment and constructive strategy at every turn, here and abroad.

South Africa will change; apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and perverse existence, and progress towards this goal can be protected against aggressive and confrontational activism from the right, the left and abroad. We all, as South Africans, or those of you who visit us from abroad, have a role to play in this process.
Democratic Party candidates win huge majorities in metropolitans

The Democratic Party's surprising success in many areas may have been greater had there been delimitation of constituencies prior to Wednesday's election. PATRICK LAURENCE reports.

The Democratic Party surprised many observers, even some of its supporters, by winning 33 seats in the general election, thus easily surpassing the previous high-water mark of a liberal opposition party.

The old Progressive Federal Party, under the leadership of Dr. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert, set the earlier mark in 1981 when it netted 26 seats. At the time that was considered to be a solid achievement. But the DP's success on Wednesday would have been even greater had there been delimitation of constituencies.

As former President Botha made clear in March when he was resisting National Party pressure for an early election, a new delimitation of seats was overdue and necessary. The NP, however, backed its new leader, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, in his demand for an early election.

The NP was motivated in part by a desire to rid itself of the brooding presence of a sick and irascible Mr. Botha and the belief that if the poll was held after the Namibian election in November it might have had adverse repercussions on its election chances.

The NP feared that a Swafo victory in Namibia would have given the Conservative Party a stick with which to beat it.

Had the delimitation been held it would have resulted in a reallocation of seats to the Transvaal to reflect population shifts since the last delimitation was held 10 years ago.

According to a proposal mooted by a parliamentary select committee, the Transvaal — which has 76 of the present 166 seats — would have gained 15 new seats and Natal one.

Under the same proposal, the Cape would have retained its present 58 seats and the Free State its 14 seats.

A provincial redistribution of seats to give the heavily populated Transvaal a greater number would not in itself have benefited the DP.

But there would have been a redistribution of seats within the provinces from rural to urban areas and that may well have benefited the urban-based DP.

Benefits

Two metropolitan areas with a strong DP presence would have gained seats: the Witwatersrand — where nearly a quarter of the white voters live, and the Cape Peninsula.

DP co-leader Dr. Zach de Beer said yesterday: “Delimitation would have meant more urban seats and affected us additional chances (of victory).”

Several DP candidates in Johannesburg won huge majorities. Dr. de Beer himself won by more than 6000 votes in Parktown. A reallocation of seats might have secured one or two more MPs for the DP.

Even where the DP majority was narrower a re-delimitation may have benefited the DP.

Take North Rand where the DP candidate, Mr. L.A. de Waal, attracted more than 11,500 votes to win by a majority of over 2,000. In slightly altered circumstances, the DP's 13,450 votes and a majority of 2,300 votes might have secured two seats.

North Rand, incidentally, can be used to illustrate the inequity of the present distribution of seats. It has about 4,000 registered voters against, say, about 10,000 for Grasstree Hill, meaning that a North Rand vote is worth only one-fifth of a Grasstree Hill vote.

DP successes top 1981 liberal trend
Mandate for reform - but trouble ahead

When he says that the combined vote for the National and Democratic parties is "75 per cent" in favour of reform, it is clear that Mr de Klerk cannot be faulted. But he is going to have to make a serious point the 75 percent constituency on the question of whether the future of the country lies in a new political alignment - and criticism will come not only from traditional opponents of apartheid right across the political and racial spectrum, but also from within his own party.

There are to be enormous changes in the National Party with pressure being applied by both of those many, many MPs who were not in Parliament with the narrowest of margins such as Mr Tom Gunning, MP member for Vereeniging, who lost the seat by a mere 35 votes. There are plenty of examples of close shaves on both sides. These MPs will try to pull party policy in the way which they think will ensure tribal survival.

Empty schools

In the battle, Mr de Klerk has so far shown that he stands firmly on the Right, having gone round the country emphasizing repeatedly that he was in a minority of one. He was still in a minority of one to the disadvantage and expense of other groups.

For example, he has shown no intention of doing anything about all the black kids who have to use those desperately-needed empty, white schools and those that have to be closed down.

So emphatically has he spelled out the fact that the former white Priority Group and now DP member of Parliament for Umnyati, Mr. Robyn Jordan, who was in his campaign that Mr de Klerk was preparing to take South Africa on a new Verwoerdian detour in which "group" would be sacrosanct.

Minister of Finance Mr Berend de Plissken, who was called to discuss Mr de Klerk in the battle for the party leadership, gave early indication of the struggle for leadership in the party when he commented on his victory in his Florida constituency.

Referring to the fact that the Democrats had taken over from the CP as the second strongest party in the constituency, he said: "I interpret this as a clear mandate for my constituency to get the politics right so we can get the economy right as well."

And outgoing Natal NP leader Mr. South Aloe also gave an indication of the direction the party had to consider when he offered to cooperate with the DP in the province.

But the potential for problems in his Caucus itself but not in the DP.

The Star Friday September 8 1989

After winning the North Rand constituency in Johannesburg.

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The issue of top and bottom trends would not in fact be the DP.

But there is another factor which counts against urban-based parties: the provision in the law which allows an urban seat to be "uploaded" by 15 per cent and a rural seat to be "downloaded" by 15 and even 30 per cent where the seat covers a large geographical area.

Thus, even when there has been a new definition of seats, the fact is still that a difference of 35 per cent between urban and rural seats.

The device was taken into electoral law when South Africa was a much less urbanized and industrialized country. It remains on the statute book, presumably because it benefits the NP in the Cape.

According to Mr. Tion van der Merwe of the DP, the issue was last discussed in Parliament, the NP wanted to increase downloading to a maximum of 40 per cent in geographically large and sparsely populated constituencies. The Bill, however, was blocked by the Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

The result of the election in the rural Cape seat of Karuma may, however, persuade the NP to upload its proportion.

Mr van der Merwe rejected the idea of loading and unloading seats as being in principle because it undermined the important concept of "equality in democracy".

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The Star Friday September 8 1989

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Even where the DP majority was narrower a redistribution may have benefited the DP.

Take North Rand where the DP candidate, Mr. L.L. de Wet, attracted more than 12,450 votes to win by a majority of 2,900. In slightly altered circumstances, the DP's 13,450 votes and a majority of 2,900 might have secured two seats.

North Rand, incidentally, can be used to illustrate the inequity of the present distribution of seats. It has about 44,000 registered voters against, say, about 9,000 for Graaff-Reinet, meaning that a North Rand vote is worth only one-fifth of a Graaff-Reinet vote.

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Nats can't use old excuse – Barratt

By Jacqueline Myburgh

The results of the general election proved the National Party could no longer use the old excuse that right-wing reaction was holding them up, Professor John Barratt, Director General of the Institute of International Affairs, said yesterday.

He said the acting State President, Mr P W de Klerk, had himself said that the electorate had given the NP a clear mandate to reform and he could “move forward and stop looking over his right shoulder”.

During a post-election briefing at the University of the Witwatersrand, a leading British commentator on southern African affairs, Professor J E Spence, discussed the implications of the election results for the country’s international relations.

Late House of Assembly results

TRANSVAAL

PRETORIA CENTRAL

De C van der Merwe (CP) 3,019
NP 1,967
Poll 5,086
Majority 1,052
Last election: P C Gostuinie (NP) 2,994, J P P Langerman (CP) 2,064, D Neill (NP) 1,992, NP Majority 482

CAPE

BEAUFORT WEST

A C Coetzee (NP) 4,086

Graaff-Reinet

J L Retief (NP) 3,991
R van Heerden (CP) 3,510
B Fitzhery (DF) 1,022
NP Majority 1,071

EAST LONDON

W H Nel (NP) 4,897
A E de Wet (DP) 4,681
NP Majority 216

*See House of Assembly results on Page 11.
Substitute the words “scale of benefits” for the words “tariff of fees” where it appears in the following regulations:

REGULATION 1
Paragraph (xii).
REGULATION 11
Paragraph (2).
REGULATION 12
Paragraph (3).
REGULATION 13
Paragraph (1) (a) (i).
Paragraph (1) (a) (ii).
Paragraph (1) (b).
Paragraph (2) (c).
Paragraph (8) (a).
Paragraph (11).
Paragraph (12).
Paragraph (13).
Paragraph (14).
REGULATION 15
Paragraph (2) (a).
Paragraph (5).

No. R. 1973
8 September 1989
PENSION REGULATIONS.—THE RAILWAYS AND HARBOURS PENSIONS FOR NON-WHITES ACT, 1974 (ACT NO. 43 OF 1974)—AMENDMENTS

By virtue of the power vested in me by section 3 (2) of the Railways and Harbours Pensions for Non-Whites Act, 1974 (Act No. 43 of 1974), I, Eli van der Merwe Louw, Minister of Transport Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, hereby approve, after consultation with the South African Transport Board, of the Pension Regulations published in Government Notice No. R. 303 of 14 February 1975 being amended as set out in the Annexure hereto with retrospective effect from 1 April 1989.

ANNEXURE

1. The following regulation shall be inserted after regulation 3:

“3A. INVESTMENT COMMITTEE

(1) The moneys of the Pension Fund not immediately required for current expenses shall be invested by an Investment Committee.

(2) The Investment Committee shall consist of—

(a) the Chairman of the Joint Committee;

(b) a member of the personnel of the Administration involved in the administration of the Pension Fund nominated by the Chairman of the Joint Committee; and

(c) two members of the Pension Fund nominated by the Joint Committee.

(3) The two members of the Investment Committee who are nominated by the Joint Committee shall have financial and investment expertise as well as practical experience regarding the making and handling of investments.

Vervang die woord “geldetarief” met die woord “woordeleskaal” waar dit in die volgende regulasies voorkom:

REGULASIE 1
Paragraaf (xii).
REGULASIE 11
Paragraaf (2).
REGULASIE 12
Paragraaf (3).
REGULASIE 13
Paragraaf (1) (a) (i).
Paragraaf (1) (a) (ii).
Paragraaf (1) (b).
Paragraaf (2) (c).
Paragraaf (8) (a).
Paragraaf (11).
Paragraaf (12).
Paragraaf (13).
Paragraaf (14).
REGULASIE 15
Paragraaf (2) (a).
Paragraaf (5).

No. R. 1973
8 September 1989
PENSIOENREGULASIES.—DIE WET OP SPOORWEG- EN HAWEPENSIOENE VIR NIE-BLANKES, 1974 (WET NO. 43 VAN 1974)—WYSIGINGS

Ingevolge die bevoegdheid aan my verleen deur artikel 3 (2) van die Wet op Spoorweg- en Hawepensioene vir Nie-Blankes, 1974 (Wet No. 43 van 1974), verleen ek, Eli van der Merwe Louw, Minister van Vervoerwese van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika, na raadpleging met die Raad van Suid-Afrikaanse Vervoerdiens, goedkeuring daaraan dat die Pensioenregulasies gepubliseer in Goewermentskennismagtegewing No. R. 303 van 14 Februarie 1975 terugwerkend vanaf 1 April 1989 gewysig word soos in die Bylae hierby uiteengezet word.

BYLAE

1. Die volgende regulasie word na regulasie 3 ingevoeg:

“3A. BELEGGINGSKOMITEE

(1) Die geldte van die Pensioenfonds wat nie onmiddellik vir lopende uitgawes benodig word nie, word deur ’n Beleggingskomitee belê.

(2) Die Beleggingskomitee bestaan uit—

(a) die Voorheier van die Gesamentlike Komitee;

(b) ’n lid van die personeel van die Administrasie wat by die administrasie van die Pensioenfonds betrokke is en wat deur die Voorheier van die Gesamentlike Komitee benoem word; en

(c) twee lede van die Pensioenfonds wat deur die Gesamentlike Komitee benoem word.

(3) Die twee lede van die Beleggingskomitee wat deur die Gesamentlike Komitee benoem word, moet oor fisiese- en beleggingskundigheid, asook oor praktiese ervaring in verband met die maak en hantering van beleggings, beskik.”
The railways reported southern Transvaal trains were about 70% full. Only the Germiston line saw a 50% passenger decline.

Assocon estimates a full national stayaway of black employees will cost R120m, and on the Witwatersrand R37.5m.

Putco MD Jack Visser said the East Rand and Soweto services were only 5% down on passengers and drivers on Tuesday. The Pretoria service was running “perfectly.” He estimated Putco lost R250 000 to R300 000 on Tuesday and did not expect the amount to rise dramatically on Wednesday.

Black taxi drivers generally appeared to have heeded the call.

Durban & Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce’s Geoff Tyler said a survey showed larger Cosatu-unionised firms to be hardest hit, experiencing 30%-70% stayaways. Smaller firms did not have the same degree of absenteeism. Tyler said attendance varied considerably, depending on workers’ accessibility to railway stations.

Natal’s Chamber of Industries said the region’s industries experienced an extensive worker stayaway, with a 100% boycott at some companies.

Executive director and labour adviser John Pohl said refineries experienced a 50%-95% stayaway with 100% staying away from clothing companies. Some businesses would not open on Wednesday.

Surprisingly, Cape Town had a relatively low stayaway, according to the LMG, though the railways reported train commuters down by 40%.

A PE chamber spokesman said the stayaway was “quite extensive”. The railways said PE trains had a 70% passenger drop while about 16.5% of black railway employees did not report for work.

ELECTION PROTEST

Voting by absence

Most employers expected a national work stayaway on Wednesday, election day. By Tuesday the stayaway, called by the MDM to protest at the poll, had taken hold — especially where Cosatu fields a strong presence. The black consciousness and Africanist unions were due to join on Wednesday.

In the PWV area employers reported sporadic absences, though metal workers stayed away in large numbers. Seifsa estimated absenteeism of metal workers on the Reef on Tuesday was 100% with an average of 90% nationally. According to figures from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), about 10% of miners stayed off work.

Assocon manpower secretary Vincent Brett said some firms had a 97% stayaway while others saw 100% attendance.

The Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) said that firms in the PWV area with more than 100 employees had a 39% worker stayaway. Only 1%-2% stayed away in areas of the Transvaal where no unions operate.

Traffic from Soweto was lighter but some taxis and buses were operating. The bus and taxi terminals outside the JSE showed about 70% fewer passengers and vehicles.
CP now set to take a back seat

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

AS the National Party licked its wounds after yesterday's election setbacks, the biggest loser in the long term could be the Conservative Party.

While CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday predicted that the party's 39 seats amounted to a foundation for future growth, election analysts believe the party had peaked.

Furthermore, the new delimitation will cause the CP to lose both seats and its status as the official Opposition in the white House of Assembly.

As a result of the setbacks in the platteland, the NP is certain to reduce the extent of the loading of rural votes when the new delimitation is finalised.

While the Democratic Party will almost certainly benefit from the new delimitation removing the bias in favour of rural constituencies and allowing it to become the official Opposition, NP sources indicated they would prefer this.

Though CP made advances in the Free State, winning six seats, and in the Cape, with two seats, it made little headway in the Transvaal other than in those constituencies where the HNP split the right-wing vote in 1987.

Potchefstroom University election analyst Professor Donald Simpson said yesterday that if seats the CP forfeited in 1987 because of the split were taken into account, the CP in effect went into this week's election with 30, rather than 22, seats in the Transvaal.

With the changing face of the CP caucus, which has increasing numbers of younger MPs, it would not be surprising if moves were afoot to begin easing out Dr Treurnicht.

To page 3
ELECTION FOCUS ... A VISIT TO A SMALL TOWN WHERE POLITICAL PASSIONS RAN DEEP

For a day, a small town

White River was one of the few rural Transvaal towns where wholly incompatible visions of the future were put to the voters: CP, NP and DP too. That made White River a favourite of political pundits for the way the votes went here, said they gave a great deal about the growth of the anti-Nat vote.

By SHAUN JOHNSON

In the baking heat of the first days of spring, the good burghers of White River in the Lowveld felt unusually self-important as they promenaded through the remote dorp this week. Nobody had much cared about their constituency since the Nationalists wrested it from General Smuts’ United Party in 1948, but now the pundits were taking its temperature hourly.

The Nebulpruit seat — of which White River is a vital element — is white South Africa in microcosm, numbering among its 21 000 voters a blue-collar AWB contingent, poor and wage-earning, state employees, military personnel, a small managerial contingent and even some affluent agricultural entrepreneurs.

It was one of the few seats in South Africa’s northern reaches to produce an election contest in which wholly incompatible visions of the future were put to the voters. The way the votes went, everybody knew, would say much about the real growth potential of the far right wing.

The NP, CP, DP and their supporters in White River seemed to be enjoying their “barometer” status this week. Politics infused the picturesque sub-tropical town and the lush valleys beyond, where the business of growing tobacco, musk honeysuckle, avocado and orchids was for once a secondary matter.

White River’s elegant palm-lined avenues were transformed into new seats of political importance as the long faces were even to be found grilling from isolated pine trees on country roads which appeared to carry one

A quiet vote with no ballot sheets

The nearby black township voted too, in its own quiet way: The people of kanyamazane stayed at home on election day.

KANYAMAZANE threw a dignified garden party to mark this week’s white elections.

There were no anti-voting marches in the sprawling township outside Nebulpruit, nor were there any of the sorts of clashes with police which have characterised the defiance campaigns elsewhere in the country. But this did not signal acceptance by kanyamazane of their exclusion from the ethnic polling.

Rather, to show their protest, the people of kanyamazane stayed at home, rolled out blankets on the postage-stamp lawns in front of their matchbox houses and had a day off in the fine Lowveld sunshine.

It was an unusual Wednesday in the bush Nyanga valley. Musica walked from house to house at midday, and men and women who otherwise have been working until late in the township sipped beer, read books and relished the rare opportunity for leisurely conversation.

It is not clear how comprehensively the stayaway in the Nebulpruit/White River area was, but it was certainly considerable — and not just in kanyamazane itself.

In Nebulpruit, rows of buses stood empty at the township’s main terminal, and taxis made the 30km run to and from the township with few passengers. While black staff at shops and filling stations were in evidence, ticket and conveyancer ranks appeared to have been significantly affected.

As for the extent of the stayaway, was, a (white) receipent at one of Nebulpruit’s bigger concerns replied: “There’s no staff here at all.”

She clearly defined “staff” as black employees, her own presence at work was undeniably.

Local unionists, church leaders and lawyers also refrained from showing up at their offices — they were probably doing the done thing with the community in kanyamazane.

On farms, as is usual, work attendance was unaffected.

Given the area’s history of political solidarity, there was no extraordinary low-key security force presence in the towns that made up the Nebulpruit seat. For the most part traffic policemen and reservists (referred to by white residents as “diasmenae”) kept half an eye on proceedings at polling booths, and only a single Cossack was seen during the day of voting.

It was parked outside the school which had been commandeered for Nebulpruit’s electorate, and was abandoned for most of the time.

Party officials were bemused by the stayaway — most had to be reminded that there was indeed one on the go — and they certainly had no fears of the “violent disruptions” which Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok had warned of so darkly.

Those black people who were in the towns simply stood clear of the white antics.

In kanyamazane, dismissal of the elections seemed for the day to outweigh resentment. “That’s your business,” said a young geography teacher who had been interrupted with a question by the only white people in the township. She was stretched out, comfortably, marking examination papers on a blanket on her front lawn.

“Nothing to do with us,” she added. “That’s for sure.”
Election night ‘war’ leaves 23 dead and scores hurt

BY GAYE DAVIS,
Cape Town

CAPE FLATS townships became battle zones on election night leaving at least 23 people dead and scores injured by police gunfire.

On Wednesday night, the greater Cape Town area exploded into violence on a scale eclipsing the political turmoil of 1985-86.

Church halls, churchyards and private homes were turned into emergency hospitals as doctors and health workers treated hundreds of injured.

Police have challenged the figure of 23 dead — given early yesterday by Archbishop Desmond Tutu — but confirmed 12 deaths. A prominent law firm, Easa Moosa and Associates, said that witnesses and activists told of 25 deaths.

Weekly Mail has obtained the names of 14 dead, and has reason to believe that there are at least nine others.

As preparations got underway late yesterday for the first of what will become a succession of funerals, running battles between civilians and police continued in several Cape Flats townships.

Injured men, women and children were ferried to emergency clinics by community workers.

Yasmin Moolia, a member of the South African Health Workers Congress who assisted at a clinic in Steenberg, south of Cape Town, said: “I thought I was watching a movie. It was horrific. You read about these things but you don’t believe that adults can do this to children.”

She and other members of the team treated about 50 children between 3pm and 11pm on Wednesday night.

The children had been teargassed, shot at with rubber bullets, birdshot and buckshot. Earlier she had watched police line up and fire at children without warning.

She said police began using buckshot from about 10pm.

A 14-year-old who had been shot in his abdomen and chest, was brought in. Most of the children had facial injuries. “It looked as if the cops had aimed straight for their faces.”

To PAGE 2
More than 20 dead in election horror.

The scene was chaotic, with bodies strewn across the floor, bloodied and lifeless. The vote was being held in a remote village, where only a handful of people had come to cast their ballots. The polling station was poorly equipped, with only a single table and a few chairs, and the security was lax. It was a perfect storm for violence.

As the voting progressed, tensions rose. A group of armed men entered the polling station, demanding their votes be counted. The villagers were afraid to resist, and the men began to shoot indiscriminately. The bodies fell in a tangled pile, the cries of the injured went unanswered.

The world was shocked by the news of the massacre. The United Nations called for an investigation, but the government was too busy with other matters to pay much attention. The families of the victims were left to mourn in silence, their grief and loss unacknowledged.

The election was called off, and the country descended into chaos. The violence continued, with rival factions battling for power. The people were left to suffer in a land where hope had died.

From Page 1
Negotiation: a way of wielding power

For the first time, the government may be entering a new political phase with strategies that are far less predictable. While this has strengthened prospects for change in the past, it now might hinder them.

Extra-parliamentary movements have awarded the government little official or unofficial backing. They seem to be a self-perpetuating phenomenon — they have, inevitably, begun to use it to mobilize.

Privately, the government has been told that few capital campaigns, marches and demonstrations are part of this strategy. But, given the spontaneous, haphazard nature of the turn-out, the government has probably been fairly realistic about its chances of success.

Extra-parliamentary groups have tried to form a loose, disciplined opposition, but so far, predictions by supporters of conferences are of little influence.

And, despite the inevitable resistance to the dissolution of the Allende administration, the authorities have avoided the use of the police or the military as a means of suppression.

They imply that this shows that the opposition’s fear that the opposition army is not a serious threat, if the strategy makes any sense.

Negotiation is not a substitute for wielding power. It is another way of doing it. Its outcome is decided by the negotiation of the statesmen or the parties on the power they bring to the table.

Horizontal bodies or social organizations and the problems of government will want to make sure that they are an essential part of the process when they have to be accountable for the consequences of an accommodation with the adversaries or not.

A negotiation as an ultimate solution, therefore, involves much more mobilization — the advantage of the authorities is that they may become an alternative to more direct methods to change the official change of government strategies and the mutual conflict of the official strategy.

The government will lose all channels to the government officials and will continue to face the threat of the government or its actions. The government’s failure to understand and accept the demands that it is being faced will be blamed when they are faced with.

In Latin America, the alternation of governments is an important element of the democratic process and economic development. The government is not faced with the choice of selecting a new government or its representatives. It is serious in its own way, as every minister is to be safeguarded against such sentences.

MINISTRY International has begun a worldwide campaign for the abolition of the death penalty. The government has called for an immediate end to the current situation of capital sentences and to abolish the death penalty.

We are concerned that South Africa, one of the countries where the country exists, is responsible for more executions than any other country. The government has already taken steps to change the law.

We have decided to ask that the government to act immediately to end all executions. The government has already taken a step to do so. The government has already taken a step to do so.

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The campaign is not only designed to, but also to, mobilize all the relevant groups and to build the domestic pressure on the government to act immediately.

In the light of the elections, we call on the legitimate government to act immediately to end all executions. The government has already taken steps to change the law.

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becomes a microcosm of South Africa

Worried NP activists at White River welcome voters who register at the National Party tent just as the polls open.

Pictures: STEVE HILTON-BARBER, Afrikaans

A stream of voters at the CP booth appear to confirm the claim on the poster.

vehicle an hour on average.

On the farms, in the streets and in the bars — especially in the bars — white farmers were sinned with the certainty that they really mattered.

On polling day there was a carnival atmosphere in the brightly-coloured voting booths at Krugersdorp Street: rival groups of men with faces to toe in party colours — slapped each other on the back and joked about who one or the other would soon be consigned to the realm of the “Africans”. But the surface joviality barely belied the seriousness of the mood at hand.

If there was a genuinely cheerful registration tent, it was that of the DP. Knowing they couldn’t win, officials were pleased with the vibrancy of the campaign, and convinced that their candidate, local attorney Stefan Grobe, would increase the vote achieved by the Progressive Federal Party in 1987.

“We’ve got the Lowell’s intellect,” said one Joan McGregor. Then, as an afterthought: “The CP’s got the passionate vote.”

The NP contingents looked genuinely worried, as voters began to form in front of the CP benches. One rosette-bedecked organiser shook his head sadly as a woman who had just emerged from a brand-new Mercedes brushed off his advances and marched purposefully to the yellow CP tent.

Great Torhambomi, an NP organiser in the constituency for 46 years, put it this way: “I won’t be as worried,” she said, “as we’re not really worried.”

Such was the depth of political passion that The Lowell’s Adler’s 20-page edition, only a week old, was sold out in a matter of hours, published at the cost of a bad cold.

With the split in the NP, the battle raged on around it.

Vincent and partners...When he’s not selling hardware in a Nelspruit shop, he’s trying to convince people to vote CP.

ON a farm just outside Nelspruit, there is Cecil, a young English-speaker with long blond hair and bangs. When he isn’t selling hardware, he is in charge of putting up posters for the Democratic Party’s election campaign.

In a shop in the town, there is Vincent, another young English-speaker with long blond hair and bangs. When he isn’t selling hardware, he is trying to convince people to vote for the Conservative Party.

It is an understatement to say that neither looks his political part. It is also an indication of the deep strangeness of this brand Lowell’s constituency that no-one seems to pay any notice as Cecil and Vincent go about their contradictory tasks.

Unlike, say, Waterberg, there seems to be surprisingly little outright animosity between rival parties or their footsoliders. It is partly because their working lives are so intertwined.

They made no bones about this: there was a CP wrench below the裙装 at the floer-thongue Berg-en-Dal monument, extolling the courage of Boers who fought the British there in August 1800.

"Impressed by a fiery nationalism", 'it mail', 'needed by discipline and prepared to make the supreme sacrifice' for their beloved fatherland... they succumbed to surrender and died as heroes on the battlefield.”

The CP’s sentiments exactly — except that it was now almost a century on, and the "enemy" was identified as an Afrikaner government that had "sold out" its own people.

"Don’t worry about this place," said one Khaki-clad patriarch in the town on Tuesday. "It’s ours. What will be the news from the town after the election?"

The issues in the polygon constitute a fairly clear-cut battle: the overarching question of race were concerns about the alling economy, corruption, and the "eryengising" of the NP.

The CP’s Smith was confident of turning the NP’s 1987 majority of 2000 into one of about a thousand for himself. He didn’t — but managed to slash the majority to under 500.

So he looks at next time in reverse the direction of the Great Trek: his CP ‘pioneers’ must secure this experience in order to be able to march south south to the Cape for the one time they once came.

Blond hair and bangles.

Now, which one is DP?

Two young farmers with long blond hair and bangles. One is CP, the other DP... but neither looks the part.

In this tiny community, partly because all sides are fervently loyal to the place in which they live. Take all this — and more — and you can understand how the sub-tropical termites throw up, well, weirdos like Cecil and Vincent.

Vincent, on the other hand, is scared of the future. Taking a break from a welding job on one of the 13 tractors he services for the farmer, a green-eyed Ceci11 emerges to explain what on earth the DP is doing putting so much energy into a seat that’s been Nationalist since the defeat of Jan Smuts.

"Of course we haven’t got a hope in hell," he says with a grin, "but we’re sure showing them we’re here!" The DP’s campaign is certainly the most spirited liberal statement the area has ever seen, and Cecil feels hopeful about the future. Young Afrikaners are coming over, he says, and relations between black and white are good and improving.

Vincent, on the other hand, is scared of the future. Taking a break from a welding job, he explains that the "mush" cannot be allowed as much influence as the government’s given them. The CP’s on the right road back to the good old days.

Already, he says, blacks have too much buying power. His girlfriend comes from Rhodesia, he adds, and look what happened there. Vincent wouldn’t mind a hung parliament with an NP/CPC coalition, but the DP — "they’re going to sell us out."

Vincent’s a lot happier about Wednesday’s result, of course — the CP gained 33 percent. But it’s difficult not to conclude that Cecil’s generally a happier chap and likely to become more so. He and all his DP co-workers take an implicit delight in flying their flag bravely in enemy country, and it has paid obvious dividends.

It is also, probably, the one constituency in the whole of South Africa where the DP slogan, "Vote your hopes, not your fears", is most appropriate.
Elections are over but defiance goes on

The elections may be over but the defiance continues as it is in many developing countries.

Yesterday the ANC national executive characteristic of targeted elections would be taken further "because it is specifically targeted on the elections." Some provincial elections served to hold the minority of civilians or those so-called "population in the country."

"We will continue with the defiance in the rural areas where we have political rights in the country," the MDM said in statements. "If we are forced to."

The pressure on the local and the national economy will continue, the MDM said in statements to the press. It called for a "stronger and more united" approach to face the "TokTokolo" situation.

Meanwhile, the African National Congress has responded to the elections. ANC national executive committee member, James Stuart, said South Africa’s reliance on black ANC support continues to be held. The ANC said it was "an act of defiance" to focus on "the 1984 elections" to "fight against the apartheid." The ANC said it was to fight against the "TokTokolo" scenario and that "the people of the country" were "fighting for their country.

The ANC is determined to continue with the "TokTokolo" situation, the ANC said in statements. It called for a "stronger and more united" approach to face the "TokTokolo" situation.

Meanwhile, the African National Congress has responded to the elections. ANC national executive committee member, James Stuart, said South Africa’s reliance on black ANC support continues to be held. The ANC said it was "an act of defiance" to focus on "the 1984 elections" to "fight against the apartheid." The ANC said it was to fight against the "TokTokolo" scenario and that "the people of the country" were "fighting for their country.
It was the *gatvol* factor that knocked the National Party

to the fact that once its practical policies are put to the test — as in Boksburg and Carletonville — many potential supporters get nervous. Arrie Paulus’ less-than-overwhelming victory in Carletonville is a case in point.

Stellenbosch academic Professor Willie Breytenbach said yesterday he believed the CP had peaked in last year’s municipal elections, and “was now shrinking and will shrink further”.

Breytenbach said the CP had nailed its colours to the mast of “exclusionary” politics, while 70 percent of the electorate had opted for some form of “inclusion”, and would therefore find itself sidelined in the 1990s — which would be dominated by the concept of “negotiations”.

“The CP,” he said, “is now the true representative of rural Afrikaner exclusivist nationalism — but that nationalism is no longer central.”

The perception that the CP had per-

formed disappointingly, even though it doubled its seats, could lead to a shake-up in the party, he said.

Breytenbach said even the NP was realising that the future of South Africa lay in urban politics.

“We are now dealing with a smaller, leaner, younger party. It will be different in the way that it deals with the key issues of a constitutional future, negotiations, and the economy.”

However, University of the Witwatersrand Centre for Policy Studies Director Professor Lawrence Schilder warned that there was no certainty that all people who had voted Nationalist would follow the reform path.

While he agreed that the CP had peaked, “it has peaked at a point where it remains potent. This will break down the thrust and coherence of NP moves toward reform.”
Baronades and boycotts in the run-up to the elections

The process of burning barricades and boycotts spread from the Western Cape to the Transvaal during the week before this election. PHIL MOLEFE and CHANDRE SEEGETSIE report.

South African Police representative Major R Crewe said he had not received reports from any other parts of the country.

The Johannesburg Journal manager, Tony Breton, who is also a lawyer, was in the Lusaka police station by 9.30am when he was arrested.

By Louie Planagan, Karen Evany and Beverley Gorden

Defiance in the Western Cape -- police were given a taste of their own purple dye when a protestor turned the hose on them during a march in Cape Town on Saturday and, right, Stellenbosch workers and students showed their anger at Security Force behaviour on Monday. Police broke up both protests.

By Louise Planagan, Karen Evany and Beverley Gorden

Factories halt as E Cape workers stay out

The widespread resistance to the elections in the Eastern Cape has been met by a largely peaceful response.

Police have arrested several hundred workers who have refused to work in the eastern Cape. The provincial government has declared a state of emergency in the province.

The police have been on high alert since the recent violence in the province. Many workers have been arrested for taking part in protests.

Power to the purple in the watery wars

The question of whether the police will use water cannon has been raised. The police have been warned to avoid using unnecessary force.

The police have been warned that they will be held accountable for any excesses.

The police have been advised to use their discretion in dealing with protesters.

The police have been urged to ensure the safety of all parties involved.

The police have been told to avoid using tear gas.

The police have been asked to ensure that all protesters are treated with respect.

The police have been reminded that they will be held accountable for any excesses.

The police have been advised to use their discretion in dealing with protesters.

The police have been warned that they will be held accountable for any excesses.
Stayaway: Not as long as last year, but as sweeping

STAYAWAYS in South Africa are becoming less frequent but bigger, better organised and part of a sustained programme of protest by organised labour.

That’s the conclusion of the Labour Monitoring Group (LMG) in the wake of this week’s protest by up to three million workers around the country to register their opposition to the elections and the Labour Relations Act.

While it did not last as long as the marathon three-day work boycott against the labour law in June last year, this month’s stay-at-home was comparable in size.

And like last year’s protest it was marked by co-operation and growing solidarity between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and a number of independent unions.

A novel feature of the stayaway was that it was conceived as part of a sustained campaign against the Labour Relations Act (LRA), rather than a one-off display of collective muscle.

The wider campaign includes calls for an indefinite ban on overtime from September 13 and a one-month consumer boycott of stores in the CBDs of white cities.

Another characteristic was the relative absence of intimidation and violence — methods used frequently by township youth to enforce stayaways in the transshipment period between 1984 and 1996.

An in-depth survey by the LMG, on an academic monitoring group, indicated an 80 percent stayaway in both the Eastern Cape and Durban and a 70 percent stayaway in the PWV area on Wednesday.

Surprisingly the stayaway in Cape Town, the area which has become the centre of defiance, was less successful: only some 40 percent of workers did not go to work.

The mass democratic movement said in a statement this week that LMG figures were likely to be conservative as they were based on management sources.

“These protests must be seen against the backdrop of worker action against the LRA,” the statement said.

“This massive national action demonstrated our people’s determination to contest these laws or to intensify a programme of united mass defiance which will result in the eradication of the crime of apartheid and the creation of a new South Africa,” Nactu general secretary Piroslaw Casmary said.

The response to the stayaway call was marvellous and indicated that the vast majority is firmly committed to developing a government for the people and by the people.

The LMG noted that the economic sectors most affected by the stayaway were the chemical, textile and clothing, and motor and metal industries.

The food sector was hit to a lesser extent and there were indications that a higher proportion of miners responded than during the 1988 protest.

The LMG said preliminary figures indicated a six percent stayaway on collieries and gold mines; Cosatu claimed 100 000 workers had taken part in the largest political protest ever in the industry.

Negligible action took place in the rural towns of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal. “Although there was no widespread stayaway in Rustenburg a few companies were severely affected and in the Eastern Transvaal 19 percent of workers stayed away,” the LMG said.

On Wednesday, a 12 percent stayaway was reported in the Transvaal country districts while towns in the Orange Free State experienced a stayaway of less than 10 percent.

The stayaway was the outcome of a call, made at a workers summit in Johannesburg a fortnight ago, for trade unions and community organisations to consult on a programme of action against the September 6 elections and state repression.

Last week Cosatu called for a national stayaway on September 5 and 6, while Nactu urged that only September 6 be observed as a day of protest against the elections.

Confusion over the dates may have accounted for the fact that the stayaway was observed — patchy on day one and escalating on election day. Compared to the 80 percent stayaway on Wednesday, Durban recorded only a 60 percent stayaway on Tuesday.

The PWV figure for absent black workers was 39 percent on Tuesday but rose to 72 percent on Wednesday.

The LMG cited additional reasons for this pattern as:

- The fact that Wednesday was election day gave a clearer political reason for the stayaway.
- Difficulty with public transport on Wednesday because Parco buses were not operating. However, taxis were less frequent on both Tuesday and Wednesday.

An LMG representative said the small response in the Western Cape was that the region comprised smaller factories organised by more conservative unions. “The workforce also comprised a considerable number of ‘coloured’ workers who were less supportive of the protest than other black workers.”

A National Union of Mineworkers representative said workers in Western Deep Level, Sappi and President Steyn goldmines had been forced underground by mine security.

At Western Deep, mine security were assisted by the South African Police, said NUM press officer Victor Jermy Masiyadzi. Chamber of Mines representative James Duncan categorically denied the allegations.

Management responses in the LMG survey indicated a general policy of no work/no pay penalty, the LMG said. However, “a small percentage of employers indicated they would be taking a harder line on absentee workers.”

Bobby Godsell, chairman of the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Sacola), said it was unclear to employers whether the stayaway was aimed at the elections or at the labour law. He did think the action would strengthen the bargaining power of unions in negotiations with the employer body.

“Sacola is totally committed to negotiations with unions on the subject of the LRA and does not need to be pressured into talks by a stayaway. We are ready to meet at Nactu and Cosatu’s convenience,” he said.

Stayaway percentages by region, according to figures compiled by the Labour Monitoring Group.
A tense backdrop to an election upset

Labour tension ran high in Rustenburg on the eve of an election upset. A white supervisor shot a black worker — then shot himself. While reporter EDDIE KOCH looked on, police broke up a black soccer match on a white high school field.

A WEATHER-VANE outside Rustenburg's town hall has a strange set of symbols attached to it that foretell the future. The town hall is 9,800 km due north of Sydney. Sydney is 9,800 km south of Rustenburg. And Rustenburg is 9,800 km to the north-west.

On the last day of the campaign, the town hall was closed. The only person in the building was the security guard. The town hall is the centre of political activity in the town.

"I am sure that the tension will not subside until after the election," a local politician said. "Rustenburg has always been a hotbed of political activity."
FW's big cabinet reshuffle

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

A MAJOR cabinet reshuffle, with at least five new cabinet ministers, and a number of other appointments, probably next week, will force Mr FW de Klerk to show his colours and put his personal stamp on government leadership for the first time.

All eyes will be on Mr De Klerk when Parliament meets next week to see whom he decides to appoint to — or drop from — the cabinet.

He could opt for promoting conservative party loyalists for key positions, such as the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Claas, and the Minister of Local Government and Housing, Mr Amie Venter.

Both ministers, regarded as ultra-conservatives within the NP caucus, enjoyed positions of prominence when the NP launched its five-year plan at its federal congress in Pretoria earlier this year.

Alternatively, he could decide to promote younger and more attractive candidates, such as the Deputy Minister of Education, Mr Sam de Beer, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon West, and the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer — all of whom performed better than expected in recent weeks' elections.

Mr De Klerk's appointments to the new cabinet will serve as a critical barometer of his future style of government and the government's commitment to reform within the framework of its vague five-year plan.

Black minister

The current Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has indicated that a black person will eventually take over the job — and the minister is widely expected to be promoted to a more senior office under the De Klerk regime.

It is expected that a number of senior ministers will retain their existing positions.

If this is the case, Mr Pik Botha will remain Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Barend du Plessis will continue to be the Minister of Finance, Mr Eli Louw will stay as Minister of Transport, Mr Adriaan Vlok will still be Minister of Law and Order, and General Magnus Malan will remain Minister of Defence.

However, it is expected that Mr Chris Heunis's former portfolio, Constitutional Development and Planning, will be split up, with his successor, Mr Gene Louw, being made responsible for provincial and local government and a new minister, probably Dr Viljoen or Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, being made responsible for constitutional negotiations.
Six key Argus predictions accurate

Predictions of the election outcome commissioned by The Argus proved accurate in six key constituencies.

Below are the results of a poll by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) focused on Krugersdorp, Germiston, Bulwer, Boksburg, Randburg, Edenvale and Esselenia.

In the second half of a range of predictions that had occurred from differing opinion polls, MMR was able to comment on the validity of the predictions.

The method used in making election predictions involves a number of factors including the selection of samples. It is vital that the sample represents the constituency and that every voter has an equal chance of being selected.

Thus for this poll a minimum of two households per street were contacted, with at least three calls back on each night before another household was substituted.

The telephone was used for the interviewing because security systems prevent accurate data collection through door sampling. In 10 white households there would be a telephone in the area, police tend to be more responsive when telephoned, and strict supervision of the interviewers in the office situation is possible.

In addition the questionnaire was designed to elicit the electorate time preference the most

E.W. poser: How to deliver the goods?

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

Mr P.W de Klerk foresees the outcome of the election, he must wonder: "How do I deliver the goods?"

Not only does he have to carry out lofty election promises to be a credible leader he must also live up to the Nationalist propaganda image of him as a great reformer, a man of action, a leader with a new vision.

Even more formidable is the task of meeting the expectations created by him and his associates during his pre-election trips to Europe and Africa.

Both inside and outside South Africa, his early diplomatic initiatives have focused attention on him as the man who promises to break South Africa's political logjam, to get meaningful constitutional negotiations off the ground, and to provide the social formula for a peaceful settlement involving all the country's people.

People are fixed on PW, with his relaxed, "sweet reasonableness", new leadership style, to fill the vacuum left by the departure of Mr P.W Botha.

Politically and psychologically this is a major challenge, making it even more imperative for him to prove himself.

The big question is: can PW succeed where PW failed?

Critics of the man with the "Mona Lisa smile", as some describe PW, say it is hardly likely. As the Democratic Party's Mr Robie Carslile put it in his run-up to the election: "If this Mna Luka becomes a successful negotiator, bullets will fall on his grave."".

Mafikengbashi Bushell is expected in another way: "I like what I see. But I wouldn't carry his political bags for him.

One of the reasons for the expectation is that even if PW has the best of intentions - and the reserve of white voters seem to think so - he remains handicapped by the thinking inside his own party. A DP election slogan summed up his dilemma as that of "new jockey on an old horse".

The most ominous sign that PW may represent little more than a continuation of the PW era is provided by the government's hand-hailed handling of the MMD's protest campaign.

The impression was created that it is quite of having a stacking of Mr de Klerk at the helm, the old-style keyphandled remained unchanged.

Another ominous sign has been for Mr de Klerk's emphasis on "own affairs" and "governing affairs" - two controversial areas in which he has been determined to resolve.

The concepts are, in fact, cornerstones of the apartheid which the government has kept firmly in place while diluting some pocket apartheid measures. The most important

Transvaaler

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Transvaaler
Black's exclusion from his vision of power-sharing

David Braun

WASHINGTON — Mr. PW

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South Africans of all the political
Rhododendron at Irel, damming, Botha's decade
Now it's:
FW will struggle with smaller power

SPECTRUM
Forward crawl!

8fc 9/1989

base and bigger problems than his predecessors
ATTING State President Mr F W de Klerk faces an awesome and unenviable task after securing a mandate - of sorts - for his battle-scarred National Party in Wednesday's parliamentary elections.

Peering into the future from the threshold of 1990, South Africa's problems are starkly silhouetted against the twilight of the 20th century: intensifying race and class antagonism - erupting into violence at ever-shorter intervals - increasing international pressure and isolation, huge foreign-debt repayments, declining economic growth and mounting unemployment.

Mr de Klerk contemplates these vast problems from a smaller and more insecure power base than those enjoyed by his immediate predecessors.

The NP is obviously weaker, having shed 30 seats to the Conservative and Democratic Parties in Wednesday's election to emerge with a total of 86 seats. With 48 percent of the white vote and 56 percent of the 166 seats in the white chamber, its power base in the white community is smaller than it has been since 1953.

Crudely expressed, Mr de Klerk's mandate from the white minority of 5 million can be summarised as one from a minority of a minority.

His problems do not end there. Unlike his predecessors, he does not have a major power base within the bureaucracy.

Hendrik Verwoerd had the old Department of Bantu Administration, John Vorster the police, and P W Botha the defence force when they came to power.

Mr de Klerk, who is the Minister of National Education, has nothing comparable. His portfolio does not even include white, black, coloured and Indian education at school level; these are allocated to separate departments as "own affairs".

The present balance of power within the white House of Assembly is 33 for the NP, 39 for the CP and 33 for DP, with a cliffhanger by-election due in Fauresmith where the NP and CP tied.

It has created what sociologist and former opposition politician, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slaibert, calls a "hung NP".

He defines a "hung NP" as one in which some of its MPs are peering anxiously over their Left and Right shoulders, depending on which opposition party is strongest in their constituency, and in the event of a by-election, that opposition party might form a majority.

But well-placed observers and analysts caution against attaching too much importance to Mr de Klerk's smaller power base. It does not necessarily mean, they argue, that he will be politically impotent.

A minority of votes, however, did not prevent Malan or his successors, J G Strijdom and Verwoerd, from governing effectively, Professor Venter notes.

Another point needs to be made: 12 nominated MPs still have to be appointed. Eight are allocated to the parties in proportion to the number of elected MPs. Four are nominated by the President.

The NP will be entitled to at least four of the eight MPs divided between the parties. President-designate De Klerk may not be so scrupulous as to appoint defeated NP candidates. But he will certainly name men or women noted for their loyalty to the NP.

While Mr De Klerk does not have an administrative power base to match those of his predecessors, an astute foreign observer warns against under-estimating Mr De Klerk's control over the NP or the NP's loyalty to him.

Many political analysts, Professor Venter recollects, anticipated that Defence Minister Magnus Malan, because of his power base in the Defence Force and the "growing militarisation in South Africa", would emerge as a powerful contender for the NP leadership.

General Malan, however, was not even a candidate for the post when the NP met on February 2 to elect a leader, the foreign observer muses.

Much emphasis has been laid by commentators, for good reason, on the power of the security establishment and the "securicrats" under the Mr Botha's "imperial presidency".

A corollary to that analysis is the conclusion that Mr De Klerk...
SIGN OF THE TIMES: The National Party is weaker. Once its supporters more than filled the Johannesburg City Hall but, on the final night of its campaign, speakers Mr F W de Klerk and Mr P J Vorster faced empty seats. The fact is Mr de Klerk faces the future from a more insecure base than his predecessors. With 48 percent of the white vote his mandate is a minority of a minority. In addition, unlike Mr P W Botha who had the defence force, or Mr B J Vorster who had the police, Mr de Klerk has no power base within the bureaucracy.

may find himself co-opted and manipulated by the generals and their aides who hold central position in the State Security Council (SSC) and the National Security Management System (NSMS).

But in their new book, "From Apartheid to Nation-Building", professors Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer challenge the oft-expressed view that the military are the de facto rulers of South Africa.

While conceding that the SSC has taken crucial decisions in recent years — including the decision to impose a state of emergency in 1985 and 1986 — and has submitted them to the Cabinet for formal ratification only, Giliomee and Schlemmer add an important rider.

They write: "... the key fact is that the SSC is a body in which civilian politicians take responsibility for decisions."

Of the NSMS, they state: "(It) is under the overall control of a civilian politician who has no security background ... Owing to limited financial resources, the NSMS can only concentrate on the worst trouble-spots; it lacks the means to become an effective alternative system of civilian administration throughout the country."

Giliomee and Schlemmer make another pertinent observation: "There are signs that F W de Klerk ... is keen to diminish the considerable influence which the security forces managed to gain during the 1984-86 unrest."

Whether he will succeed is debatable. Time will, of course, tell. But the loyalty of General Malan, who sided with Mr de Klerk against ex-President Botha, in the clash between the party and presidency, will certainly help the new NP boss assert the primary role of politicians over bureaucrats.

The diplomat quoted earlier sees Mr de Klerk, with his emphasis on civilian government and the party, as representative of a reaction to the "imperial presidency" and the clique who held power within it. Mr de Klerk may be able to remobilise and reactivate another force which was marginalised by Mr Botha: the Afrikaner Broederbond.

While the Broederbond may not have the power it once had, it will certainly help to maintain cohesion and loyalty in the upper echelons of the NP.

There are signs that the Broederbond is re-emerging under Mr de Klerk's leadership. The NP's five-year "action plan" released on June 29, and a June 1989 Broederbond document overlap in many ways. The concept in ideas and timing suggests that Broeders played an important role in formulating much of the "action plan."

The close personal and political friendship between Mr de Klerk and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Training and, more important, a past Broederbond chairman, is further evidence — albeit circumstantial — of the reappearance of the Broederbond to centre stage.

To pull these divergent and often countervailing points together, and to make a general deduction from them, is not a simple task. But a tentative conclusion can be offered.

While Mr de Klerk's position may not be as strong as, say, Mr Botha's, it is not as weak as it appears on first glance. For the next five years he has some room to manoeuvre, even if it involves moving along the proverbial knife-edge. Whether he will be able to move fast enough to deal with — or, better still, anticipate — the crises which lie ahead will depend ultimately on him. He is essentially a prudent man who seeks consensus wherever he can. But his clash with Mr Botha shows that he is not pantillious.

Mr De Klerk will be under immense pressures to move towards a more open society and — as important — to tackle the fundamental problem of seeking an accommodation with credible and representative black leaders and meeting the commitment challenge of releasing Mr Nelson Mandela, unbanning the ANC and drawing its leaders into a negotiated settlement.

But he will be under counter pressure not to move too fast; 16 Nat MPs kept the OP out by majorities of less than 1000 against a mere three who won with similar majorities against the DP.

An immediate challenge is looming for Mr de Klerk. The release of Mr Mandela before the Commonwealth summit appears in order to give the British Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, a potent argument for the efficacy of her anti-sanctions stand.

But because of the violence in the western Cape, and the anxieties of the police to keep it firmly under control, it is one which Mr de Klerk is likely to duck for a little while yet.

One seasoned observer predicted of Mr de Klerk's incoming government: "It will try to crawl forward."

W
The Conservative Party is expected to challenge the election results in Vereeniging, which the National Party won by five votes, and Gezina which it won by seven votes, CP sources said.

Under the Electoral Act objections to the results must be lodged within 42 days of the election.

The sources would not say in what way the votes were irregular but said they were especially confident of winning Vereeniging — the seat which Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk vacated. The CP has already charged Mr de Klerk “ran away” from Vereeniging because he knew he would lose it.

The challenges in Vereeniging and Gezina mean that three election results could be disputed.

In the Free State constituency of Fauresmith there is to be a by-election because the CP and NP polled exactly the same number of votes. But the NP may decide to challenge the electoral officer’s decision that there should be a by-election.
Confident NP uncertain over future negotiations

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The leaders of pro-apartheid parties which failed to live up to their pre-election performance predictions remained upbeat about their parties' future prospects this week.

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, who described the outcome of the election in which the NP lost 29 seats as a "tremendous win", said the ruling party had received a mandate to implement its five-year action plan.

However, he declined to answer questions on how the NP would start negotiations.

Commenting on security action against the MDM in the run-up to the election, he said he did not believe that "such drastic steps" had been taken.

"The government handled the defiance campaign with aplomb and in a very reasonable way."

Mr De Klerk said the NP would have preferred a larger mandate from whites, but had nevertheless achieved a clear majority.

He said he believed the CP had already reached its peak in the Transvaal in 1987 and did not have growth potential.

He predicted that the DP did not have growth potential beyond the affluent parts of the metropolitan areas.

When asked by journalists if the NP would meet DP supporters' expectations of reform, Mr De Klerk reportedly said: "We have not won to implement DP policy. I think it is fatally flawed and we have no intention of taking that dangerous route."

He said the DP's policies were as "dangerous" as the CP's.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said his party's haul of 39 seats represented a stable foundation for future elections, but acknowledged that the party had hoped to win more seats on Wednesday.

The CP had made breakthroughs in the Free State and the Cape.

The NP on the other hand had long since reached its electoral ceiling, and there were now about 66 marginal seats.

"There is a fluid situation, and I don't think the NP can sleep very peacefully. Were it to put a foot in the direction of the DP, it will lose votes to the right," he said.
Unfair election, says US; Nats scared  

The Argus Foreign Service  
WASHINGTON. — The United States government does not consider the general election free and fair. State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said in a brief statement that the election offered only part of the South African community a chance to voice its views. The majority had to be given an opportunity to voice theirs peacefully.

She said the right to strike was widely accepted throughout the democratic world.

“We have repeatedly called on the government of South Africa to permit the fullest possible expression of peaceful, political dissent,” she said.

In London observers said the National Party had just "had its biggest scare since it took power in 1948."

Earlier it had seemed to British commentators that against most expectations the party could be in danger of losing its overall majority. They instanced the fact that Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha's majority had been nearly halved.

Scenes from the polling stations were featured on all British television newscasts, with a smiling Mr F W de Klerk confidently predicting that his party would do well.

BBC television viewers were told that up to three million people had stayed away from work in "one of the biggest strikes in South Africa's history."

Viewers were also shown scenes of yesterday's unrest, including crowds fleeing from police and tyres being set on fire in the streets.

The scenes were described as part of "one of the most serious unrest nationwide in three years under the state of emergency."

The violence was "likely to add to the woes of National Party leader F W de Klerk", said Independent Television correspondent Mike Hannah.

In Windhoek Swapo's director of information and publicity, Mr. Hidipo Hamutenya, has said the election result is bad news for an independent Namibia and the whole region.

He said Namibia could expect "very little in terms of change" because South Africa was already reluctant to deal with such issues as disbanding Koevoet, it was dragging its feet over implementing Resolution 435, and it was indifferent about dismantling its security apparatus in Namibia.

The new line-up of forces in parliament would "definitely keep the National Party in check," Mr Hamutenya said, and he predicted that relations between Pretoria and its neighbours would also deteriorate because the Conservative Party would balk at every detente initiative.

Mr Dirk Mudge, leader of Swapo's main opposition in Namibia, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, said he did not think the result would greatly affect Namibia.
in big Cabinet shake-up

Black could get post

Only five Ministers likely to retain portfolios
Black for Cabinet?

Announce his administration after being sworn in as President on September 20.

It appears the man most likely to take over from Mr. de Klerk in the key post of chairman of the white Minister's Council is the Deputy Minister of Education and Training, Mr. Sam de Beer.

The important Ministry of Constitutional Development and Planning appears set to be carved up, with Mr. Gene Louw, who governs the portfolio at present, retaining the administration side, looking after local government and the provinces.

Although there have been indications that Mr. de Klerk wanted to take over the negotiating aspect of the portfolio himself, Nationalists generally feel this task will be given to Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, who is currently Minister of (black) Education and Development Aid.

New Cape leader Dr. Dawie de Villiers is expected to take over from Mr. de Klerk, at National Education, or from Mr. Viljoen.

With the privatisation of South African Transport Services and the Post Office, one Minister is likely to be appointed for both. He would also deal with the Commission for Administration and privatisation.

A possible contender for this position would be the current Minister of the Budget and Works, Mr. Kent Durr.

The front-runner for agriculture is the current Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Dr. Kraai van Niekerk.

Minister of Information Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe could well be given Home Affairs, with the front-runner in the Natal NP leadership stakes, Mr. Con Botha, taking over from him.

The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Technology could go to one of the current deputies, Mr. Theoh Alant or Mr. George Bartlett. The latter is also a serious contender for the NP Natal leadership.

Transport Minister Mr. Eli Louw is seen as the probable next Minister of Manpower and Public Works.

Other names to watch for promotion either to the Cabinet, the white Minister's Council or as deputies are Mr. Roelf Meyer, currently Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development; Mr. Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Law and Order; Dr. Boy Geldenhuys; Dr. Rina Venter; and Dr. Francois Jacobs.

BRUCE CAMERON

CAPE TOWN — South Africa faces one of its biggest government administration shake-ups, with the possible inclusion of the first black person, in the wake of the general election.

Within the next two weeks, Acting State President Mr. F.W. de Klerk will announce a new Cabinet, a new white Minister's Council and a bevy of Deputy Ministers.

And in so doing, he is likely to re-design the portfolios of his administration.

The first black to be brought in would probably be given the post of Deputy Minister in charge of black education, National Party sources say.

With the inclusion of retired President Mr. P.W. Botha, there were already five vacancies in the Cabinet.

And in re-designing his administration, Mr. de Klerk will have to take into account the altered provincial strengths of the National Party. The Cape now dominates the NP caucus with 42 members, as against 34 for the Transvaal, 16 for Natal and only seven for the Free State.

As a result, Natal should get an additional member either of the Cabinet or the Minister's Council, while the Cape should get at least another two members.

It is likely that only five members of the Cabinet will hold their current portfolios — Mr. Pik Botha (foreign affairs), General Magnus Malan (defence), Mr. Kobie Coetzee (justice), Mr. Barend du Plessis (finance) and Mr. Adriaan Viljoen (law and order).

Another who may remain where he is is Minister of Environment Affairs Mr. Gert Kotze, but speculation in NP circles is that he is likely to get the white own affairs portfolio of agriculture.

Mr. de Klerk has many options and combinations of portfolio available to him, and speculation is rife and varied about what he will do.

The indications are that he is unlikely to make up his mind in a hurry and will probably...
THE Democratic Party made major inroads on the National Party in the 22 seats the DP contested in the Cape Western region in Wednesday's election.

The NP won 130,062 votes in the area, the DP 102,485, the CP 18,897 and the HNP 1,060.

The ruling party won 12 seats in the area against the DP's nine—a two-seat gain for the DP.

However, the DP also managed to slash NP majorities in a number of seats, which shows that the swings towards the DP in the Western Cape were among the largest in the region.

**DP 'confident'**

In Maitland, 23 out of every 100 traditional NP supporters voted for the DP in the election, while in Tyger Valley 23 out of every 100 NP supporters voted for the DP.

The DP's Cape Western regional director, Mrs Lois Harley, said yesterday: "The DP is confident of winning more votes in the seats we contest in the region than the NP in the next election—and we will certainly win more seats."

Prime DP targets for the next poll are the NP-held seats of Maitland, Durbanville and Stellenbosch.

The DP also hopes to improve on its showing in the Southern Cape seat of Helderberg, where it lost by 2,048 votes after coming within 29 votes of victory in 1987.
SSHHH!
THere
GOES
20th
MP WHO
NEVER
SPOKE

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE sphinx of Parliament, former MP for Mid-Karoo (Priestka) Mr Roy Williams, has been forced into retirement as the un-defeated champion of silence.

The voters of Mid-Karoo (Priestka) sent him packing and so enabled him to keep his record of never having spoken a word in 10 years of public life intact.

One of the surprise defeats for the Labour Party, Mr Williams, who five years ago won the seat with a majority of 4785, lost to newcomer Mr P W Saldman of the United Democratic Party by a 2335 vote.

Spurred

Mr Saldman polled 3985 against Mr Williams' 6500 in a 53.1 percent poll.

Most parliamentarians achieve their fame through epoch-making speeches, but sometimes the course of his torments!

Mr Williams has fame foisted upon him by doing the opposite — not making a single speech, not even his maiden speech, in 10 years. He sat in the now defunct Coloured Persons Representative Council from 1975 to 1980 without uttering a word.

Then he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1986 and refused to say a word — except for one recorded interjection.

Even in 1988, when MPs received generous salary hikes, Mr Williams was not spurred to break his silence.

Withdrawn

He said: "I keep quiet and do my thing while most other MPs talk too much and do too little to deserve their salaries."

And the candidate, who didn't poll a single vote on Wednesday, claimed this week that "it did not matter" as he had withdrawn from the contest the day after nomination day.

Mr Gangie, Naidoo of Rylands, Cape Town, refused to elaborate on why he had allowed himself to be nominated to stand for the House of Delegates and had then withdrawn.
120-vote HNP in defiant stand over by-election

By DRIES van HEERDEN

The CP candidate, Mr Alex Danzinger, said he prefers a by-election to settle the issue.

The HNP yesterday accused the CP of sabotaging a possible right-wing victory at the polls on Wednesday by refusing to enter into an election pact with the HNP. "Up to 10 more seats could have been won by the right if only the CP had co-operated and this could have resulted in a hanging Parliament," the HNP said.

"The short-sightedness and political selfishness of the CP's leadership did irreparable damage to the Afrikaner cause. The CP has discredited itself from leading the nation in this time of crisis."

According to the HNP, some of its supporters have already indicated that they voted for the CP on Wednesday "in the mistaken belief that the CP would take over the government."

The HNP fielded 22 candidates on Wednesday. All of them lost their deposits.
ZACH DE BEER

DENS WORRALL

TROika OR . . . WHO?

DP Leadership Crunch:

By Lester Winter

* Sunday Times, September 10, 1989
Lamarie Silvemone, Richard in 2019/2020

AIRMAIL TINA SCHELLE

Pros & Cons

The current battle with the government to make it easier for people to travel is a hotly debated issue. Some argue that it is necessary to ensure the safety of travelers, while others believe that it would be more efficient to allow people to travel freely. The government has been criticized for not doing enough to regulate the travel industry, and many are calling for stronger measures to be put in place.

In the meantime, many people are still trying to travel to different parts of the world. Some are choosing to fly, while others are taking the more traditional route of traveling by boat or train. However, the current situation has made it difficult for many to make travel plans, and many are wondering what the future holds for travel in the era of the pandemic.
The Commission's Final Act 69-264

Voting system would have hit NP more
on our tough realism
the future based
A unique agenda for

Toyota Leon

19/11/89
S/11 304

THE READY-TURN

emerson
Cupsa Cheep for ill Michelle

Black Pols

EW Plan For

Revealed: Radicals won't be excluded in dramatic bid to identify true leaders
THE NEW De Klerk Government will give priority to identifying true black leaders with whom to negotiate, but even the most radical will be excluded from the talks.

But it will lay down one condition: those who lay claim to leadership must prove their standing in their communities, preferably in elections.

According to highly placed sources, this process will be preceded by talks with political figures across the spectrum — possibly including the ANC.

A top Government source conceded: "For dyed-in-the-wool Nationalists this could be a fairly hair-raising process."

The aim of Mr De Klerk's strategy is to rebut allegations that Pretoria deals only with "puppets". The President-elect aims to ensure that leaders involved in negotiations have proven broad legitimacy.

The release of the imprisoned ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, will be an important element of the process.

Sources said Mr Mandela could be released "as part of the programme" in the first half of next year.

Financing of the Government's strategy will take place soon at a think-tank session for Mr De Klerk's new Cabinet (see Page 2).

However, the onslaught is predictable, with white officials "You must be absolutely ruthless before negotiation."

Watching personalities — from homeland leaders through to the Man Democratic Movement and the ANC — to discuss who should eventually sit at the negotiating table.

While the Government favours identifying leaders by means of elections, it is also said to be open to other suggestions. Meanwhile, development within the ANC are being closely watched. The movement's old-school leader, Mr Oliver Tambo, is thought to be more serious-minded than has been concluded.

Much interest surrounds the ascension. Strategies are anxious to assess the prospects of Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC foreign secretary, who has figured prominently in discussions with various delegations of South Africans.

He is widely regarded as a "diffident but reasonable" negotiator.

Government officials say "delicate diplomacy" will be undertaken to establish whether others, like Mr Mbeki, "cannot be persuaded by the means of rhetoric to make some contributions,"

Justified

The aim of the strategy is to gain acceptance of the Government's bona fides in its willingness to talk with "genuine black leaders."

In return, Pretoria expects acceptance of its view that these leaders should prove their standing.

The Government is placing high store on intensive research it has undertaken in the past 24 months. This is said to have revealed a major body of black opinion that rejects radical solutions.

If some black leaders who have gained ground domestically and internationally recognise refuse to participate in talks, sources say the Government would feel justified in going ahead with those black leaders who do.


defiant cop says: 'they won't silence this hotnot'

DEFIANT police officer Gregory Rockman, the man who warned riot squad policemen of using brutal tactics, said yesterday he would not how to pressure him to his superiority to silence him the "Hotnot."

Shouting an order to keep plod stones to the scene, Rockman, 26, said since he had warned his colleagues, other policemen had called him to support his claims. He said that he had refused a request by his Cape Town area chief to present him to Pretoria to be interviewed by SAP.

"He has no right to go to the police," Rockman said. "I don't care whether they sack me or what they do. They can do as they please."

OUTRAGE over the slaying of 20 rolls raid on British consulate

violent confrontations with authorities in recent years. BZ is believed to be responsible for a series of attacks on Shell oil stations in Denmark, presumably to protest against the oil company's links with South Africa.

South Africa's Foreign Affair spokesman said the Danish Government has been requested to provide more adequate protection for the South African consulate.

Damage

Preliminary indications are that extensive damage has been undertaken, after which the Danish government will be approached for appropriate compensation or to make some contributions."

ultra mile

move to even mil cigarette

OFFICER dies

SAMBURG Det-Constable K S Badebe was killed and another constable seriously injured when their car crashed off the Schoenburg- Vandelshof road. The car was involved in an accident around 10am on Tuesday.

"BENSON & HED"
SA outrage over activists' raid on Danish consulate

Sunday Times Reporter

THE South African Government has reacted strongly to an attack by 30 to 35 activists who broke down the doors and rampaged through the South African consulate in Denmark.

The mob — apparently protesting against Wednesday's election — stormed the consulate in Copenhagen late on Friday night, causing extensive damage.

In a statement after the attack, a spokesman said the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha had instructed the SA consul-general in Denmark, Mr Anton Lauber, to object to the strongest possible terms to the senseless violence and damage.

The mob arrived in front of the consulate in a truck, jumped out and smashed through the doors of the building with wooden rams and crowbars.

Puncture

The intruders then vandalised the consulate offices by pouring acid on the floor, smashing filing cabinets and scattering and burning papers.

Riot police arrived on the scene within minutes of the break-in but failed to make any arrests after steel blades were strewn across the road to puncture police cars' tyres.

Police said the raiders were members of a squatter movement known as BZ that had been in numerous violent confrontations with authorities in recent years.

BZ is believed to be responsible for a series of attacks on Shell petrol stations in Denmark, presumably to protest against the oil company's links with South Africa.

South Africa's Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "The Danish Government has been requested to provide more adequate protection for the South African consulate."

Damage

"Preliminary indications are that extreme damage has been caused to the building as well as to furniture and equipment.

"A thorough survey of the extent of the damage is being undertaken, after which the Danish government will be approached for appropriate compensation in terms of consular and diplomatic practice," the spokesman said.

Three die in...
Five years for change?
That's a bit optimistic!

THE pitifully low polls in the coloured and Indian elections once again bring into question the relevance of a political system that is artificially sustained by large dollops of government patronage.

A question that must be answered is whether South Africa really does still have “five years” in which to keep the lid from flying off the simmering cauldron of mass resistance to apartheid.

The greatest challenge to Mr P W de Klerk after his inauguration could be how soon to pull the plug on a system stigmatised and ridiculed by an average of 80 percent of the so-called coloured and Indian population and an even bigger majority of white blacks.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendriks said after the elections that he was “enlightened and encouraged” because the LP captured 60 out of 80 seats.

“It does indicate,” he said, that “the people the LP represents” are satisfied that the LP is doing what the people want in striving to dismantle apartheid and the upliftment of a community that has been left behind over the years.

That may be true — but the operative phrase is “the people the LP represents”.

In Mitchell’s Plain that means, in cold figures, 700 out of 41 000 voters. In Strandfontein it means 900 out of 41 000.

Unofficial estimates show that the House of Delegates had 23 percent, slightly above the 20.2 percent recorded in 1984, while the House of Representatives polled about 23 percent, decided down on the 28 percent recorded in 1984.

There were one or two odd occasions where the percentage polls were unreasonable, such as in Eersterust (Pretoria) where the turnout was 44.1 percent and in Athlone where the poll was 12.8.

Special votes could be cast over a period of one month — from August 3 to the afternoon before official polling day.

In Cape Town’s urban constituencies, the percentages bordered on the farcical. In the greatest coloured dormitory suburb of Mitchell’s Plain, part of a metropolitan area of 250 000 “coloured” people, only 721 out of 41 274 registered voters, representing 1.74 percent, cast their votes for the Labour Party’s Mr Stanley Fisher.

In the other part of Mitchell’s Plain, for delimitation purposes called Strandfontein, the winning candidate, Mr Peter Harris, of the LP, received only 931 votes in his favour out of 40 502 voters — and it took him one month to secure them.

The LP has been scorned heaped upon its much-vaulted ideals of helping to shape a new South Africa — in spite of knowing from past experience that it is virtually impotent when it comes to removing laws to break down apartheid.

Negative

So far, the LP’s only high-profile demonstration of political clout was its obstruction of amendments to the constitution that would have made it possible for whites to postpone the past elections to 1985.

This was its reply to former State President P W Botha’s refusal to scrap the trilogy of apartheid laws, the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities Act and Population Registration Act.

But such negative power did not change the laws and the junior partners of Mr De Klerk are returning to the same system for another five years, they know they will not be able to bring about changes of a fundamental nature which Mr De Klerk does not consent to.

There are many other examples of rejection of the tripartite elections and, indeed, of tricenmoralism itself. One wonders, therefore, how Mr De Klerk can proclaim that he was “chosen” to preside over the tripartite Parliament with a “clear mandate” from “the people”.

From the white electorate, yes. But he must know that his junior partners in that Parliament were soundly rejected by the majority of eligible coloured and Indian voters.

Their frustration manifested itself in mass work stoppages and stayaways, burning barricades, rioting and the arrest of thousands.

In the process, people died. The black masses were shut off in their townships, far away from tranquil white suburbs where privileged citizens sat glued to their TV sets following the results of the polls, unaware that the townships on their doorsteps were virtually being turned into burning war zones.

The Saturday before polling day, police used water cannons against protesters.

Yet Mr Hendriks talks euphorically about “after the next five years” and Mr De Klerk of “the crucial next five years”.

All of this sounds rather unreal, expressed as it is against a backdrop of such energetic protest by a majority of people, both voters and voteless.

Five years? Is that possible when, in reality, the clock stands at five to 12?
ANC man agrees talks about talks are not impossible

At the same time, however, he reaffirmed the negotiating position of the ANC that has now also been adopted by the OAU — that the ANC should maintain pressure on Pretoria as long as the structures of apartheid remained and Mr De Klerk insisted on ethnic groupings.

The lively, but generally amicable, exchanges between the two men were favourably received in London yesterday, with one ANC source saying that, if Mr Myburgh's attitude was an accurate reflection of current South African thinking, there was "causa for optimism".

Also appearing on the programme, in a separate interview, was Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe who said if a peacefully negotiated settlement in SA was possible, it had to be tried.

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By JAYNE LA MONT
London

THE ANC negotiating with the new F W de Klerk Government?

The prospects were canvassed in a lively debate before millions of British TV viewers this week between Sunday Times editor Tertius Myburgh and ANC foreign secretary Thabo Mheki.

The two "met" via satellite link between Johannesburg and London for a live debate on BBC's Newsnight programme on Friday.

Ultimately both agreed — the banned organisation and Pretoria should not find it impossible to set terms for "talks about talks".

Mr Myburgh — who agreed that Mr Nelson Mandela's prompt release was necessary to take the peace process further — said the ANC leader had already broken the ice by talking to Mr PW Botha.

Why didn't Mr Mheki follow his leader's example? Mr De Klerk said he wanted to negotiate about a new SA; so why didn't Mr Mheki take him at his word?

Mr Mheki's reply was interesting and seemed to reflect a measure of flexibility not hitherto discernible in the ANC's position — but his remarks may not be reported in SA, because he is a "listed" person.

Mr Myburgh called on the ANC at least to agree to suspend — if it could not yet renounce — the armed struggle.

Again Mr Mheki's reply — also unreportable — suggested a degree of flexibility.
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Reform, realism and the need for patience

Bruce Anderson

In the advice to the recent additions to the "Tell-Us-We-Care" database of the Department of Social Services, the Department has attempted to provide advice to those seeking help in their daily lives. The advice is presented in a clear and concise manner, with guidelines and tips to help individuals navigate through difficult situations.

Simon Barber

Washington Diary

What do the recent events in the Middle East mean for the future of the region? Will there be a resolution to the conflict between Israel and Palestine? What impact will the ongoing conflict have on the global economy?

William Deedes

Index of the decile of cricket in England

If you want to test your knowledge of cricket, this index will help you assess the quality of matches played in the English county championship. It ranks teams based on their performance in the last five years, providing a useful tool for predicting future results.

England's ducking cricket

Is it true that cricket is a niche sport in England? How has the popularity of the game changed over time? This article explores the history of cricket in England, from its origins to modern-day participation levels.

Welcome

AMID the start of the new school year, the coach, the parents and coaches are all busy setting up teams and getting ready for the season. As an example, the editor of the school newspaper recently joined in a social media thread discussing the excitement of the upcoming season. The topic of conversation was whether the team would be able to compete at a high level and attract more spectators.

Late n

OUT! The new season is here, and the pressure is on. Will your team be able to overcome the challenges and come out on top? Keep an eye on the scores and updates to see how your team performs.

No s

PERISHA election observation: constraints faced is there?

This election observation was conducted by a group of individuals, who aimed to assess the constraints faced by candidates during the campaign period. The observations were made in various locations across the country, providing insights into the challenges faced by political candidates.

Rugby

EMERENT observation: they were all rugby in country work

This Rugby EMERENT observation was conducted to assess the impact of rugby on the local community. The observation was conducted in a rural town, and the results showed a positive impact on local businesses and social cohesion.

No s

ANOTHER January, when the Rugby EMERENT celebration was held. Have the Rugby fans had a good year so far?

Cut

For the best selections, The Daily is a great source of Rugby news and updates. Download the app today!
Election - analysts see confusion ahead
Still
And what about Mandela?

Now dilemma

De Klerk's death

They don't believe me, says cop

by Chris Hedges and Cornell Nolte

On the roof of the house, he held a gun...
They say political prisoners... women — was on ha... (seated) to also left an... was held t...
The right may be reeling but it’s still formidable

Dries van Heerden
still sees a potential danger from the right after the election

The ignominious escapades of AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre Blanche have hurt the CP. The AWB may never have boasted large numbers but they were the activists — also inside the CP.

They were the stormtroopers who disrupted NP meetings and the zealots who provided fire to CP campaigns. Without them, some of the CP efforts looked pretty tame.

The CP made major breakthroughs in the Free State plateau land. This was expected, as those constituencies have similar profiles to rural areas in the Transvaal. But, more importantly, the CP broke the NP’s spotless record in the Free State by cutting it down to size from a full house to exactly half... Fairly unimportant.

The CP had its first successes in the Cape by capturing Kuruman and the workers’ constituency of Uniondale.

In spite of excellent NP campaigns, the CP not only held on to three important seats — Carletonville, Delmas and Outspanberg — but actually increased its majority in all three instances. This says something about the solidity of its support.

The only real disappointment for the right was the East Rand. It was soundly beaten in Bolusburg, trashed in Springs, humiliated in Brentwood and narrowly edged out in Geduld. These were all in areas where the CP had taken over local authorities and started implementing its segregation policies. For the party, this must set warning bells ringing and raise important question marks over both the leadership quality of its representatives at local level and the distaste with which people who have actually been on the receiving end of CP policies view the party.

In the final analysis, the CP has only itself to blame for its setbacks. The party and its leadership pumped itself into a frenzy of bravado.

Threshed

Koeboesport, Geduld, Bethlehem, Klerksdorp and Nelspruit all teetered on a knife-edge all through election day and the NP majority eventually proved to be less than 100.

So for anyone to crow about the imminent demise of the CP — or even a permanent ceiling to its growth — is decidedly premature.

The most important features of the right’s performance in Election ’89 are:

The umpteenth obituary of the Herstigte Nasionale Party must now be written — 23 candidates and 23 deposits forfeited to the State. However, chances are that everybody will desert the party, leaving only Mr Jaap Marais to continue his lone crusade.
It WAS a damned close-run thing, but let's welcome the new politics

by Tertius Myburgh

Still, by reducing NP majorities in places like Durbanville, Westdene and Johannesburg West, the DP demonstrated that it could - in a future election - provide an alternative haven for urbanised, better-off Afrikaners if the NP under Mr De Klerk fails to deliver the goods.

Under present circumstances, the CP has clearly peaked in the Transvaal, and may even be stagnating in a province it hoped so utterly to dominate.

In gains in the Free State and areas of the Cape do not so much indicate organic growth as a to-be-expected spread of support to rural and blue-collar constituencies elsewhere that most resemble, in socio-political terms, the areas in which it has prospered in the north.

The way in which CP support translates into numbers of seats could be affected by a delimitation next year, but not very much since it has now proved its ability to pull support in urban (largely blue-collar) seats as well as in the deep platteland.

Pounce

In an uncomfortably high number of seats it has garnered sufficient support to render them disquietingly marginal.

Thus Dr Treurnicht's CP still lurks in the wings, just offstage, ready to pounce if the NP seems to falter. It is enough to give a lot of Nats the wind-up, but we must accept Mr de Klerk's assurance that his party has forever stopped looking over its right shoulder.

At the Duke of Wellington said after Waterloo, it was a damned close-run thing.

So close, indeed, that Mr De Klerk will be sitting fairly unusually upon his throne.

But he's a smart enough politician to know that he and his party have probably been given what amounts to a last chance. Next time round, voters will either be stampeded by irrational fear into the arms of the CP or - if, as one hopes, they reconcile the need for renewal into the camp of the DP which has made candour and realism its allies.

Only one thing seems certain: September 5 was the last of the post-war white elections to be fought by parties divided along lines that we had come to accept as immutable.

Let us all say welcome to the new politics and pray that the slogan we saw on innumerable posters these past few weeks becomes an early reality: "New leader, new action!"
Bengal Tiger Bares Fangs for Round 2

BY NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter
Ambitions

The two-year-old twins, who are named John and Jane, are being raised in a warm and loving environment. Their parents, John and Mary, are both ambitious and determined to give their children the best possible start in life. They have enrolled them in a local nursery school and are taking them to weekly swimming lessons. John, who works as a sales manager, is always looking for ways to improve his skills and advance his career. Mary, who is a teacher, is passionate about her work and is constantly seeking new opportunities to grow her expertise.

This Class of 98 Made Its Mark

A 2 percent increase in school funding was a major achievement for the class of 1998, who graduated from the prestigious Ivy League university. The students, who were all valedictorians and class presidents, are now making a significant impact in their respective fields. Some have gone on to become successful entrepreneurs, while others have pursued careers in law, medicine, and academia.

Political newcomers... 

The political landscape is changing rapidly with a new generation of leaders stepping into the spotlight. Youngsters like Jane and John are eager to make their mark and are already active in local political campaigns. They believe that their generation can bring fresh perspectives and innovative solutions to the table.

This week, the Green Party is holding a series of meetings in the community to discuss their platform and answer questions from the public. They are working hard to attract supporters and gain traction in the upcoming election. The party's slogan is "Innovative solutions for a better future."
Umhlanga seat A former NNP senator, protégé of former Prime Minister John Vorster, and chief planner of the Department of Constitutional Development, Mr Jordan returns to Parliament with a wealth of experience and political know-how.

A doughty opponent and formidable speaker with an insider knowledge of Nat thinking, Mr Jordan is set to be one of the most valuable members of the new DP caucus.

Also no stranger to politics is former MP Eddie Trent, who retained Port Elizabeth Central for the DP.

Mr Trent, a farmer from Uitenhage, intends to focus much attention on the plight of the elderly and pensioners. "My canvassing has opened my eyes to their problems, and I'm determined to do my bit to correct matters."

Upset

A major upset of the election came in Bertrams where the DP's Geoff Engelbrecht sent the NP's Sam Bloomberg packing. Considered by his colleagues to be "one of the dark horses to watch" in the new DP caucus, Mr Engelbrecht received high marks for the competent and tenacious campaign he waged.

Wine farmer, sports administrator and now politician, Jannie Mombarg romped home with a considerable majority in Simons Town. The ebullient Mr Mombarg is another DP member with an insider's knowledge of Nat thinking, having served on the party's Cape head committee.

An energetic man who serves simultaneously as president of the Boland Cricket Union and the Western Province Athletics Union, Mr Mombarg is sure to make his mark in Parliament.

Elderly

Another upset winner was Mr Rob Haswell, who took Maritzburg South from the Nats in a closely fought battle. The former geography lecturer said his victory was the result of a major effort by the local community and Natal varsity students.

Mr Haswell says he intends to devote himself to Maritzburg's racial, educational and pollution problems, which "require urgent attention."

A face needing little introduction is that of Mrs Carole Charlewood, well-known TV producer and presenter who captured Umbilo for the DP.

In a constituency which has a substantial number of elderly people and pensioners, Mrs Charlewood's background as a former social worker will stand her in good stead.

"I have found it to be a wonderful constituency to canvas in," she said after the results became known. "The people are warm and friendly and I look forward to representing them in Parliament."

Another newcomer from the field of journalism is former Fair Lady editor Dene Smuts who won the safe seat of Groote Schuur.

However, she was not in the mood for champagne when interviewed after her landslide win on Wednesday.

"I'm glad I am going to Parliament, but it's hard to conjure up a smile when people are dying on your doorstep in the Peninsula," she said.

Switch

For her, politics is a serious profession. "I switched from journalism to politics because I am essentially a team player. I have seen and learnt enough to believe that grounds for optimism about the future reside in the DP — and that is why I am here. If the Government can't do their job properly, we'll have to do it for them."

The newcomers will boost an experienced caucus of 16 members who retained their seats on Wednesday.

Furthermore, five former MPs will make welcome comebacks to Parliament — Dr Denis Worrall, who was Nat MP for Gardens before being appointed ambassador Mr Errol Moorcroft who re-captured Albany; Mr Brian Goddall who did likewise in Edenvale; Mr Robin Carlisle who won his rematch in Wynberg; and Mr Mike Tarry, who made a successful switch to Pietermaritzburg North after losing the South in 1987.

NEW WHIRLPOOLS ... Mooi River's Wessel Nel, who is a canoeing fanatic
FW's new look reform team

A BRAND-NEW CABINET will be a priority in the first days of the new NP leader. A PNP leader may get a vote of confidence on the eve of the NP's premiere national convention. But first, there's much to be done to overhaul the power-mad executive presidency team.

Prime Minister and favorite to replace Finance Minister in the reshuffle at the end of the year, Dr. Louis van der Westhuizen, is the man of the hour. His new Cabinet is expected to be announced next week, following the reshuffle.

Strongman

Mr. Robert van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Justice and Security, is expected to be a key player in the upcoming reshuffle. His appointment is seen as a clear signal that the new Cabinet will focus on tackling crime and improving the justice system.

Stopgap Cabinet

Mr. Tony van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Defence, is expected to replace Mr. Louis van der Westhuizen. His appointment is seen as a stopgap measure, as the new Cabinet is expected to announce a full reshuffle shortly.

Mr. Peter van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Finance, is expected to bring in a new fiscal policy to address the country's economic challenges.

Mr. Marius van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Health, is expected to focus on improving the health care system and addressing the country's high number of COVID-19 cases.

Mr. Willem van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Education, is expected to focus on improving the quality of education and addressing the country's high unemployment rate.

Mr. Herman van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Environment, is expected to focus on addressing the country's environmental challenges and promoting sustainable development.

Mr. Frans van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Transport, is expected to focus on improving the country's transport infrastructure and addressing the country's high traffic accidents rate.

Mr. Berdell van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Agriculture, is expected to focus on promoting sustainable agriculture and addressing the country's high food prices.

Mr. Martin van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Trade, is expected to focus on promoting free trade and addressing the country's high inflation rate.

Mr. Hannes van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Energy, is expected to focus on promoting renewable energy and addressing the country's high energy prices.

Mr. Brian van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Labour, is expected to focus on promoting job creation and addressing the country's high unemployment rate.

Mr. John van der Westhuizen, the new Minister of Housing, is expected to focus on promoting affordable housing and addressing the country's high housing prices.
slashed the NP majority in Maitland; Mr Pieter Schoeman, who equally impressively reduced the NP majority in Durbanville; Mr Jan van Gend, the former MP for Groote Schuur, who not only impressed party members by the way he accepted his nomination defeat, but who went on to put up a credible fight in Malmesbury; Mr Douglas Gibson, the former PFP leader in the Transvaal Provincial Council; and Mr Nic Olivier, who gave up his nominated seat in favour of Dr De Beer when he became the leader of the PFP.

But instead of "rewarding" people for their service, the caucus may well make their decision on the basis of strategic grounds. If so, it may decide to appoint MPs in areas where the party expects to show growth and opt for someone from the Border area, such as Mr Andre de Wet, the defeated candidate in East London City, or Dr Theuns Schlebusch, the defeated candidate in Queenstown, and/or someone from the Pretoria region, such as Mr Martin Brink, the defeated candidate in Waterkloof.

Strategic

It could also make its decision on a strategic assessment of which groups were under-represented in the caucus, such as the youth, in which case the DP's national youth chairwoman, Ms Michelle Gutierrez, or Mr Hennie Bestor, the defeated candidate in Stellenbosch, could be considered.

What is clear is that today's caucus meeting will have to take decisions which will influence both its role in Parliament, and its ability to demonstrate that it is a real alternative to the government.
Polling results come under microscope

SA entering era of reform – professor

Staff Reporter

Academics are poring over Wednesday’s election results in an effort to determine major trends such as the growth of the right wing and the performance of the Democratic Party.

Figures show that the Conservative Party did not do as well as it expected, earning 30 percent of the overall vote.

‘Peace breaking out’

That 70 percent of whites voted either for the National Party or the DP has been interpreted as a sign that the country is entering the era of reform, says Professor Willie Breitzenbach of the University of Stellenbosch department of Africa studies.

“Peace is breaking out and the days of ‘total onslaught’ are now dead,” he says.

According to Professor Lawrence Schlemmer of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, there has been a swing from the NP to the DP of 12 percent in Transvaal urban constituencies and 12 percent in Natal. Less than 10 percent of Afrikaans-speaking people support the DP.

With 165 results known, the state of the parties in the House of Assembly is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Seats</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>National Party</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic Party</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall percentage poll</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The NP is likely to increase its representation in the House of Assembly by another eight votes — four nominated by the State President and four indirectly elected MPs chosen by the NP.

Both the CP and the DP are allowed to elect two indirectly elected MPs.

The 166th and final House of Assembly seat is still to be decided. A by-election will be held in Fauersmith, Free State, as there was a tie between the CP and NP.

The NP lost 29 seats — 17 to the CP and 12 to the DP — and made no gains.

The total number of votes cast in the Assembly election for the respective parties was:

<table>
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<th>Party</th>
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<td>NP</td>
<td>1 036 499</td>
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<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>673 302</td>
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<td>DP</td>
<td>441 371</td>
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<td>HNP</td>
<td>5 536</td>
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The breakdown by province is:

- **Transvaal**:
  - NP: 552 911 (46 percent)
  - CP: 462 610 (40 percent)
  - DP: 161 022 (14 percent)

- **Free State**:
  - NP: 93 109 (51 percent)
  - CP: 78 791 (43 percent)
  - DP: 10 278 (6 percent)

- **Natal**:
  - NP: 107 527 (44 percent)
  - CP: 32 809 (13 percent)
  - DP: 103 347 (42 percent)

- **Cape**:
  - NP: 311 952 (54 percent)
  - CP: 99 092 (17 percent)
  - DP: 166 524 (29 percent)

New faces come in, and old ones return

By Peter Fabricius

The general election has brought more new faces into the House of Assembly than it has seen for many years. When Parliament convenes on Wednesday to elect a new State President there will be 81 people in the House who were not there when it dissolved in May. But not all of these will be sitting on the plush green leather benches for the first time. Several will be MPs defeated in previous elections, including three MPs, now Democratic Party members, wiped out in the 1987 slaughter of the old Progressive Federal Party.

They are Mr Brian Goodall, again elected MP for Edenvale, Mr Errol Moorcroft, elected as Albany MP, and Mr Mike Tarr, elected once again to represent Maritzburg North.

For Mr Goodall, it means he will qualify for the parliamentary pension which was snatched from under his nose. He was one day short of qualifying when he lost the seat in May 1987, so that, he will qualify for the pension the day that Parliament reconvenes.

Other previously familiar faces in Parliament include Mr S P Barnard, the Conservative Party’s former MP for Langlaagte who has now been elected MP for Hercules; Dr Rina Venter, the former nominated MP who left Parliament to become a ministerial representative but has now been elected Nat MP for Innesdal; and Mr Jan Hoon, the Cape CP leader and former MP for Kuruman who lost the seat in 1987 but has won it back.

Veteran MP Mr Louis Stoffberg also returns, representing his third party in Parliament. Formerly National Party MP for Worcester, he walked out with Mr Jaap Marais to form the Herstigte Nasionale Party, spent many years in the political wilderness but in 1985 defeated the NP in a by-election in Sasolburg. He lost the 1987 election when the CP split the right-wing vote. He then joined the CP and won the Sasolburg seat last week.

The new Parliament will have five women MPs, including two journalists representing the DP: TV’s Mrs Carole Charlewood, who won an upset victory in Umbilo, Natal, and former Fair Lady editor Ms Dene Smuts, who held Groote Schuur easily.

The others are Nationalists: Dr Venter, Kempton Park MP Dr Tersia King and Rosettenville MP Mrs Sheila Camerer.

Among the new faces in Parliament will be General Bob Rogers, former Air Force chief, who won back the Walmer constituency in Port Elizabeth for the Democratic Party.
De Beer is tipped to lead DP

By Peter Fabricias, Political Correspondent

Dr Zach de Beer seems likely to be chosen as Parliamentary leader of the DP when the party's new caucus meets in Cape Town today.

DP sources said this was the likely outcome of a weekend of intense canvassing of support, mainly for Dr de Beer and co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

If Dr de Beer gets the post it will undoubtedly boost his chances of winning the party leadership which will be decided at a congress on October 7.

Between now and then will be another hectic "election campaign" within the DP among the three leaders.

Though theoretically the congress could decide to continue with the present troika, party sources said this was highly unlikely and that a single leader will be chosen.

The third leader, Mr Wynand Malan, represents the smallest group that went into the DP — the National Democratic Movement — and is understood to support continuation of the troika.

Though Dr Worrall might be the most popular leader among DP supporters at large, Dr de Beer still seems to have support of the party organisation which was largely inherited from the Progressive Federal Party which he led.

Dr de Beer also boosted his leadership chances by doing well in the general election campaign, especially in TV debates and interviews.

The outcome of the leadership election at the congress on October 7 will be determined by the delegates to the congress.
FW faces Vlok poser

The first and most crucial decision facing reform-minded Mr F W de Klerk this week is how to call to order his security establishment.

The question, with far-reaching implications for his leadership and the unity of his election-battered party, is whether to retain Mr Adriaan Vlok as Minister of Law and Order in his Cabinet.

Vlok is in the middle of the row about police action against protest demonstrators.

As Cape Town this week counted its dead from police actions and unrest, church leaders called on De Klerk to repudiate him.

For De Klerk, due to be elected State President on Thursday, the issue is of crucial importance to his image in South Africa and abroad — as a leader committed to constitutional negotiations.

If he chooses to retain Vlok, it would be seen as a sign of weakness and an early failure to face up to the true challenges of reform.

His problem is a serious one.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Seeking to handle security problems with more understanding.

Already during the election campaign, two senior Cabinet members, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Barend du Plessis, expressed their dissatisfaction with the handling of some protests.

Among those who believe De Klerk has no choice but to fire Vlok, is Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zac de Beer.

Tragedy

He said yesterday: "While one cannot ascertain precisely who has done what in the Western Cape, it is clear that we are dealing with a human tragedy of major scale."

"Essentially the unrest is due to an unjust constitution, and De Klerk has the urgent duty to restore peace and then to reform the constitution with all speed."

"It is hard to avoid the conclusion that the dismissal of Mr Vlok would be a gesture of value at a time like this."

"At least it might buy a little time during which the task of constitutional reform can be tackled."

Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok

While having to find ways of getting blacks to join him in negotiations, he seems faced by two conflicting mentalities within his own party — one seeking to knock political demonstrators into place by the hundred methods of the past, and the other..."
Zach may retain DP leadership

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

THE Democratic Party's new parliamentary caucus meets in Cape Town today for the first time since last week's election, amid mounting speculation about who will be chosen as its first leader.

The DP caucus will have to choose a parliamentary leader, and this could turn into a run-off between the two front-runners for the leadership job, Dr Zach de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall.

But there is pressure within the party not to make any decision until the DP congress is held on October 7 in Durban.

Some caucus members believe the leadership issue should be resolved at a representative congress, and that the caucus should not preempt that decision by electing a parliamentary leader today.

Congress decision likely

If this view is supported today — and there were indications last night that this was the most likely decision — Dr De Beer is likely to be asked to remain the DP's parliamentary leader, at least until the congress next month.

Although there is some support in the party for a continuation of the "troika" of three co-leaders — Dr De Beer, Dr Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan — it is expected that the DP will opt for a single leader at its congress.

At one stage, it seemed that Dr Worrall was way out in front in the leadership stakes, but Dr De Beer's strong showing on television during the election campaign, particularly the way he handled aggressive questioning and forced the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, to distance himself from police actions during beach apartheid protests in the Peninsula, has changed the issue.

Today's caucus will also have to decide on who its nominated MP or MPs will be. The DP is entitled to at least one nominated MP and it may well get two, depending on negotiations with the other political parties and the interpretation of the constitution.

If the caucus decides to reward party loyalists, there is a long list of claimants.

They include Mr David Gant, who was defeated in Heidelberg, Dr Esther Lategan, who impressively...
More land may be given to Crossroads

Political Staff

An investigation is to be conducted into the possibility of adding more land to the Crossroads development, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr. Louw, said at the weekend. Mr. Louw, who officially handed over the mayor's chain of office to Mr. S. C. Cross from the Crossroads Town Council, last year, said there was a need for additional land to be made available to the private sector. Mr. Louw said the Crossroads Town Council had an approved establishment of 1,535 units. It was estimated that 210 million rand would be spent on the development, with the construction of houses on the site due to begin in the near future.

In a speech to the community, Mr. Louw said: "The Crossroads development is a fantastic opportunity for the residents of Crossroads. It will provide a better living environment for the people, and it is hoped that the construction will start soon." He assured the residents that the government was committed to the development and that the Crossroads Town Council would be involved in the process.

The overwhelming majority of the residents of Crossroads are supportive of the development, and Mr. Louw said that he hoped the residents would continue to support the Crossroads Town Council and the government in their efforts to improve the community.

Despite the violent intimidation that has been directed at the Crossroads Town Council, Mr. Louw said that the government was determined to continue with the development. He assured the residents that the Crossroads Town Council would be supported in their efforts to improve the community.

In spite of these developments, it was clear that the existing problems were not going to be resolved easily. Mr. Louw said that the government was committed to finding a solution to the problems, and that the Crossroads Town Council would be involved in the process.

Despite the challenges, Mr. Louw said that the government was committed to the development of Crossroads. He assured the residents that the government would continue with the development, and that the Crossroads Town Council would be involved in the process.

The government is committed to providing affordable housing for the people of Crossroads, and Mr. Louw said that the government was determined to make Crossroads a vibrant and prosperous community.

The Crossroads Town Council has expressed its support for the development, and Mr. Louw said that the government was committed to working with the council to improve the community.

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"The ANC is one of several political organizations with substantial support in South Africa. It is difficult to imagine a just and democratic ANC on some of the indices for the political spectrum."

"The ANC is deeply divided with the government."

The spokesman said the Bush administration would not want to run the Bush administration."

By David Bracken

WASHINGTON - Secretary of State James Baker would like to meet de Klerk.

The Star

City Late

Established 1887.
South Africa's largest daily newspaper.

September 11, 1989

MONDAY

34c + 7c GST
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MONDAY
Time to free Mandela
US President

By David Braum
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — One of the first things President George Bush would like to see Mr F.W. de Klerk do when he becomes State President is to free jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. Mr Bush said this in a TV interview with David Frost broadcast in America at the weekend.

Speaking from his Kennebunkport holiday home, he said the release of Mr Mandela "would help things a great deal".

"I'd like to think that he would do that," he told Frost.
Mr Bush said he had heard good things about Mr de Klerk.

REACH OUT

He had also noted Mr de Klerk's statements and the steps the National Party leader had taken, such as going to Zambia to see President Kaunda.

"Good. It's good to reach out to the Frontline countries," he said.

A spokesman for the State Department yesterday declined to comment on Mr de Klerk's election-eve statement that the time had come for apartheid to go.

State Department spokesman Ms Margaret Tutwiler did comment, however, on the detention of Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

She said the United States had long supported the peaceful expression of political ideas.

"We urge the South African Government to permit peaceful expression of political dissent," she said.
Simon Barber in Washington

The canny Crocker

Bush should learn
Suspension of anaesthetist recommended

A CAPE TOWN anaesthetist was yesterday found guilty of causing the death of a patient during surgery. The patient, a 23-year-old man, was pronounced dead on the operating table after a complication during an appendectomy. The committee investigating the case recommended the suspension of the anaesthetist for three years.

The committee said that the anaesthetist did not follow the correct protocols and procedures during the operation. The patient had been under general anaesthesia for two hours when the anaesthetist administered a second dose of the anaesthetic without checking the patient's vital signs first.

In its report, the committee said that the anaesthetist had failed to monitor the patient's blood pressure and heart rate during the operation. The patient's blood pressure had dropped significantly, causing a severe drop in blood flow to the brain. The patient died as a result.

The suspension will go into effect on January 1, 2024, and the anaesthetist will not be allowed to practice medicine for three years. The committee also recommended that the anaesthetist undergo further training and education in anaesthesia.

 Junior doctor found dead

A JUNIOR doctor was found dead in his office last night. The doctor, 32-year-old Dr. John Smith, was last seen alive at 5 p.m. He was reported missing by his colleagues.

The police said that they found the doctor's body with a single gunshot wound to the head. An investigation is underway to determine the cause of death.

The doctor had recently been under stress due to a heavy workload and a lack of support from management. His colleagues said that he was a well-liked and respected member of the team.

Death of shooting suspect

A MURDER suspect was killed in a shoot-out with police last night. The suspect, 28-year-old John Doe, was wanted for the murder of a 35-year-old woman last month. He was last seen in the vicinity of the crime scene.

The police said that they received a tip-off and a surveillance team was deployed. A shootout ensued, and the suspect was shot and killed.

A 40-year-old police officer was wounded in the incident but is expected to recover.

BLOOM COURT turns ugly

A Manattan Court hearing turned ugly today after the defendant, 23-year-old John Smith, appeared in court on charges of assault and battery.

The defendant and the victim, 22-year-old Jane Doe, got into an argument outside the courthouse before the hearing began. The defendant pulled out a knife and attacked the victim, who fought back and pulled out a gun.

A scuffle ensued, and the defendant was shot and killed by a police officer. The victim was also shot but is expected to recover.
Big reward for arson info

Crime Reporter

POLICE are offering a R3 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of people responsible for the fire on the Paarl farm of Democratic Party candidate Mr Graham Retief.

The blaze, which caused about R460 000 damage, was discovered shortly after 2am on Sunday when a farmworker woke to find a barn on fire.

A valuable wine collection, packaging material for winemaking and a computer were destroyed in the blaze, but Mr Retief saved two trucks.
Ousted MPs get big payouts and pensions

SEVEN of the 21 MPs who lost their seats in the election will receive a total gratuity of R716,140 and a total annual pension of R368,070.

NP MP for Kuruman Piet Swanepoel, who has been an MP for 17 years 4 months and lost his seat to the CP's Jan Hoon, will receive an annual pension of R86,688, which is more than his annual salary of R75,000 as an MP.

He will receive a R173,370 gratuity from the State Revenue Fund, which pays all salaries, pensions and gratuities of MPs and political office bearers.

The other 14 MPs, most of whom were elected in 1987, do not have the minimum pensionable service of seven years and six months required by the Members of Parliament and Political Office-bearers Pension Scheme Act of 1984.

Their contributions to the pension fund, 7% of their annual salary, will be refunded, plus 5% interest on the total contribution, amounting to R12,000 each.

Former NP MP for Pietermaritzburg North Danie Schutte, served 11 years five months in Parliament and will receive a R114,170 gratuity and a pension of R57,085.

Calculated at 7% of salary taken as R76,000 for each of the 11 years, he has contributed R57,750 in total.

NP MP Michael Veldman, who lost his seat in Rustenburg, will receive a gratuity of R88,280 and a pension of R49,140 after 9 years 10 months in Parliament.

Piet Pretorius (Maritzburg), Dawie Je Roux (Uitenhage), Steyn Terblanche (Ikelbron) and Willem Odendaal (Sasolburg), all NP MPs, will get a gratuity of R82,580 and a pension of R41,220 after eight years and three and half months in parliament.
Ousted MPs get big payouts and pensions

SEVEN of the 21 MPs who lost their seats in the election will receive a total gratuity of R716 140 and a total annual pension of R356 670.

NP MP for Kuruman Piet Swanepoel, who has been an MP for 17 years 4 months and lost his seat to the CP's Jan Hoorn, will receive an annual pension of R65 685, which is more than his annual salary of R76 000 as an MP.

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Calculated at 7% of salary taken as R76 000 for each of the 11 years, he has contributed R57 750 in total.

NP MP Michael Veldman, who lost his seat in Rostenburg, will receive a gratuity of R68 330 and a pension of R49 140 after 5 years 10 months in Parliament.

Piet Pretorius (Maraisburg), Dawie le Roux (Uitenhage), Steyn Terblanche (Heilbron) and Willem Odendaal (Sasolburg), all NP MPs, will get a gratuity of R82 380 and a pension of R41 250 after eight years and three and half months in parliament.
Show mercy FW FW de Klerk urged
Tough fight expected in Berea poll

Municipal Reporter

A tooth-and-nail fight is in the offing for Johannesburg's Ward 27 (Berea) after the election of sitting Democratic Party councillor Mr Lester Fuchs to Parliament last week.

It is believed Mr Joe Fink, the son of Joubert Park National Party councillor Mrs Desirée Simpson, is a NP front runner for the seat.

But, although she has denied speculation about an election deal whereby she agreed to stay out of the general election if he was given the Berea council seat. Mrs Simpson admitted: "It is no secret that I would like Joe to be the councillor in my neighbouring ward because he has been involved in my major investigation into slum landlords and prostitution over the past three years".

In the October 1988 municipal elections Mr Fuchs held Berea with a majority of 327, obtaining 1 175 votes to the NP's Miss Christine Burgess's 848 in a 35.72 percent poll.

Miss Burgess subsequently joined the DP and it is believed she has made herself available as a candidate for her new party in the coming by-election.

Another DP contender is said to be Miss Hillbrow, Meloni Walker, who extended her interest in the area during her reign by establishing and chairing a committee to investigate problems unique to Hillbrow.

The DP caucus met yesterday afternoon to discuss what DP council leader Mr Ian Davidson termed "literally queues of excellent candidates" for Berea and Highlands North.

Ward 17 (Highlands North) is a DP seat which was held by the party's former council leader Mr Tony Leon, who was elected to Parliament with a 6 301 majority. It is believed unlikely the NP will put up a candidate in this safe DP seat.

In the 1988 municipal elections he won the ward with a majority of 1 599, only 160 fewer than the biggest majority in the election which went to the present DP leader Mr Davidson.
De Beer keeps job

whip to fill the vacancy created by the re-
direment of John Malcomess. Roger Bur-
rows (DP Pinetown) was elected assistant
chief whip, while Peter Soil (DP Johannes-
berg North) and Jannie Momberg (DP
Simonstown) were elected whips.

The election of Momberg, a newcomer
to Parliament, as a whip raised several
eyebrows.

Sources said it had been decided each
province should have representation
among the whips. Jasper Walsh (DP Pin-
lands) withdrew at the last moment leav-
ing Momberg as the only Cape NP who had
been nominated for a whip position.

Malan said last week he did not think it
necessary to elect a parliamentary leader
because Parliament would be sitting for
only a short session.
Faure-Smith: court order for a recount

On Thursday, Faure-Smith's lawyer, David Day, said the court would be the appropriate forum to decide the recount. He argued that the EC's decision to order a recount was invalid and should be quashed by the court. The court agreed and ordered a recount to take place.

The recount was held yesterday and the results showed that Faure-Smith had won the seat by a narrow margin. The court will now determine whether the recount was conducted fairly and whether the results can be accepted.

The court order for a recount was welcomed by Faure-Smith, who said it was a fair and just decision. The opposition leader, however, has said that they will appeal the court's decision if they believe it to be flawed.
**Prince Harry in 'big school'**

**Own Correspondent**

LONDON. — Prince Harry turned up for his first day of school this week like any other new boy, wearing a too-big blazer and an embarrassing lipstick smear on his cheek where his mother had kissed him goodbye.

At the school, Harry, who turns five on Friday, shook hands with the headmistress and then smiled at the battery of cameras present to capture his first day at "big school".

His seven-year-old brother, William, accompanied him through the gates of the R3 700-a-term school.

**Report on girl's death 'changed'**

NAIROBI. — A police pathologist admitted yesterday that a post-mortem report of the remains of Ms Julie Ward, a British woman found in south-western Kenya last year, was altered by his superior.

Dr Abdel Shaker told an inquest into her death that chief police pathologist Dr Jason Kavioti made the alterations on September 21 before examining the woman's remains.

"Only two words were changed and not the whole report," Dr Shaker insisted. — Sapa-AP

**'Deep Throat' claim denied**

WASHINGTON. — Mr Alexander Haig yesterday denied as "totally untrue" a published report saying he would reveal that he was the "Deep Throat" source for many reports about Watergate.

"My efforts then and now have been to preserve the presidency, not to tear it down," said Mr Haig, who was chief of staff to former president Mr Richard Nixon.

The New York Daily News newspaper said

**DP fails to get seat for Gant**

**Political Correspondent**

THE Democratic Party and its unsuccessful Helderberg candidate, Mr David Gant, suffered a setback yesterday when the party failed in its bid to get two indirectly elected MPs.

The DP candidate in East London City, Mr Andre de Wet, was yesterday confirmed as the sole indirectly elected MP for the DP. The DP won 33 seats in the election.

Five additional National Party MPs were confirmed yesterday by the director-general of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl. They are:

Mr Glen Babb, the losing NP candidate in Randburg, Mr David Graaff (Wynberg), Mr Piet Swannepoel (Kuruman), Mr Jacob de Villiers (Barberton) and Mr Renler Schoeman (Umlafrica).

The NP, which won 93 seats in the election, will also be getting another four MPs, to be nominated by Mr F W de Klerk.

The Conservative Party, which won 39 seats in the election, received two additional MPs yesterday: Dr Harold Pauw (Bloomfontein East) and Mr Dan van der Merwe (Gesina).

In the House of Representatives the Labour Party, on the strength of being the leader of the second party in the election, were allowed to decide on all three indirectly elected MPs for the House.

They were: Mr John Douw, the Rev Alwyn Goosen and Mr Sohorub Oosthuizen. The State President is still entitled to nominate another two MPs to the House.

In the House of Delegates, the successful Solidarity candidates were the former Minister of the Budget, Mr Ismael Kathadra, and Mr Yusuf Seetah, who stood for the Progressive Independent Party in the election.

The National People's Party choose Mr Preggie Padyachee as its indirectly elected MP. The State President still has to nominate two further MPs to the House.

**Twist in Nat race in Natal**

THERE was a surprise twist in the race for the leadership of the National Party in Natal yesterday when a snap congress was called for this Saturday in Maritzburg.

A congress to elect a new leader to succeed retiring Mr Stoffel Botha, Minister of Home Affairs, was scheduled for October 6 — after the expected announcement of Mr F W de Klerk's cabinet.

Earlier it was felt the party should not compromise Mr de Klerk's cabinet appointments in any way by electing a provincial leader beforehand. The provincial leadership would virtually ensure promotion to the cabinet.

However, it is understood that Mr De Klerk himself intervened, saying he did not want to prescribe the Natal party who its leader should be and that the party should go ahead with the leadership election.

Mr Botha has led the Natal party for the past five years. There are three main contenders to take over from him — Mr George Bartlett, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and MP for Amanzimtoti, who it is reported by the hierarchy: Mr Con
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“My efforts then and now have been to preserve the presidency, not to tear it down,” said Mr Haig, who was chief of staff to former president Mr Richard Nixon.

The New York Daily News newspaper said Mr Haig would disclose that he was “Deep Throat” in his memoirs, to be published in 1992.
— Sapa-AP

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However, it is understood that Mr De Klerk himself intervened, saying he did not want to prescribe to the Natal party who its leader should be and that the party should go ahead with the leadership election.

Mr Botha has led the Natal party for the past five years. There are three main contenders to take over from him — Mr George Bartlett, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and MP for Amanzimtoti, who it seems is being pushed by the hierarchy; Mr Con Botha, the party’s chief information officer and MP for Umlazi; and Mr Jurie Mentz, chairman of the Commission for Co-operation and Development and MP for Vryheid.
Keep it legal today, De Klerk tells protesters

IN the light of the government's clear commitment to negotiated change, it is not necessary for anyone to give vent to political aspirations through disorderly protest and rioting, says acting-President F W de Klerk.

Speaking at a Press briefing in Cape Town yesterday, he appealed to the organisers of today's planned march in Cape Town to pursue legal means to register their views.

"This is not the time to aggravate the differences that exist in our society," he said.

"This is the time for finding common ground and for peaceful dialogue. I shall make myself available to reasonable approaches to this end."

"MOMENTOUS" ELECTION

He said last week's "momentous" election was not about whether all South Africans should be accommodated in future elections, but how this should be done.

The electorate had declared itself overwhelmingly in favour of further reform and the government would continue towards a new South Africa in which all the people would be fully represented in government.

However, the election was marred by unrest in the Western Cape.

"During the night of the election deliberate attempts, including physical impediments and violent harassment of the people, were made to prevent citizens from voting."

Subsequent violent incidents led to the death of several and he wished to convey his condolences to the bereaved.

"Under these circumstances the police had to respond to restore order, to stop the escalation of violence and to prevent the further killing of innocent people."

The police unquestionably had a duty and the powers to protect lives and property and deserved appreciation for the proper execution of their duties.

"If, however, powers have been or are exceeded, remedial steps will be taken as in the case of any other official."

The same principles applied to anyone who might disregard the law.
NP’s 5-year action plan rooted in group ideology

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

The National Party’s five-year action plan — which it now has been mandated to implement — breathes the air of conciliation. It promises to cut taxes, to relax rigid classification, to enter into real negotiations with the black community about giving it full political participation, and to return South Africa to international respectability.

But at the core remains a commitment to the group-basis for political participation and a promise to maintain segregated residential areas and schools “for those who want them.”

The plan contains no commitment to scrap the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act though it does say that where amenities have been opened to all races, they will not be segregated again.

The main economic promises are:

• To lower personal tax, by reducing marginal rates to a maximum of 40 percent at the income level of R100 000, instead of the present 45 percent at R80 000.
• To reduce company tax from 50 to 40 percent and phase out tax abatements.
• To reduce the deficit before borrowing to 3 percent of the gross domestic product to relieve pressure on interest rates.
• To reduce inflation to single digits.

The plan notes that these goals will be pursued “providing there are no drastic adverse changes in prevailing domestic and foreign circumstances.”

Constitutionally the most important part of the plan is a promise to revive the present system of rigid race classification by law — but without abandoning the principle of political participation through groups and not by individuals.

The plan suggests the following changes to the group-based system: a new definition of groups to be negotiated with the leaders of the existing groups; an individual should be free to choose which group he belongs to — if that group will have him, and a new open and multi-racial “South African group” should be formed.

All of these suggestions imply changes to the Population Registration Act.

There is no hint in the plan of what the new definition of groups might be.

But the plan also makes abundantly clear that the Government has not shifted from its present principle of “own affairs” and “general affairs” whereby all political decisions are made on the basis of groups.

‘Own affairs’

It promises that “group identity” will still be protected, and a separate community life — including separate residential areas and schools — will be maintained for those who want it.

In fact it promises to extend this principle in order to give groups greater autonomy over their “own affairs”.

But it says the NP will negotiate with the leaders of other groups to reach a “mutually acceptable” basis for maintaining own community life, own residential areas and own schools. It also suggests that these negotiations will also be about amendment — rather than abolition of the Separate Amenities Act.

Separate amenities will be further opened “where circumstances require and where this does not cause conflict,” and amenities which have been “successfully” opened shall not be closed again.

The political expression of the group-based policy is that each group will have its own governing body with sole jurisdiction over its “own affairs” and each group will participate as a group in central government to decide on “general affairs.”

As happens now in the tricameral Parliament, there will be no counting of heads when general affairs are decided upon. On the consensus principle, all groups must agree before a decision is taken.

Deadlocks will be broken by an “objective, apolitical” institution, acting within the framework of the values enshrined in the constitution.

Though the plan does not elaborate on this point, Cabinet Ministers have suggested that this institution could be a kind of constitutional court which tests decisions against a Bill of individual and group rights, which is also a feature of the plan.

Implication

The implication is that the present deadlock-breaking body, the President’s Council, will be changed or scrapped.

The plan also commits the NP to consider including a Bill of human rights (defined as group and individual rights) in a new constitution.

It also proposes to examine other methods of preventing group domination including veto powers, entrenched clauses, prescribed majorities, rotation of authority, devolution of power and reducing the powers of the executive presidency.

In the field of international relations the plan sets this basic goal:

• The return of SA to its rightful place in the international community.
• To promote peace and stability in southern Africa.
• To promote economic co-operation among all the countries of southern Africa.

One of the security goals is to limit Citizen Force and Commando camps as much as possible.
FW has not gone far enough – Boesak

Permitting Cape march is seen as sign of hope

Cape Town

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk’s decision to allow the right to peaceful protest has been widely welcomed by opponents of apartheid as a “hopeful sign” of its willingness to negotiate.

But they warned today that the Government would have to go much further to get real negotiations on the ground.

MDM leader Dr Allan Boesak, one of the organisers of the march, said the Government had made progress in that it was now talking to people who “do not fit its political mould”.

But he said Mr de Klerk had not gone far enough to persuade “the people” that its offers of negotiation were serious. “We need some clear proof to show our people the extent of the seriousness of the offer. I hope this will be forthcoming – and soon.”

The concrete signs needed were an end to the state of emergency and the release of detainees. “The initiative to create the climate for negotiations is highly in his hands,” Dr Boesak said.

Mr de Klerk said yesterday he hoped the gesture and the march would prove there was “a new spirit in which people who say they believe in peace will really reach out and start talking to each other.”

The door to a new South Africa is open – it is not necessary to batter it down,” Mr de Klerk added as he appealed to the organisers of protest to come to the negotiation table.

No objection

Mr de Klerk’s decision to allow the protest march today has been welcomed in London.

The BBC news last night said it was “the boldest political decision of his career to allow a protest march against his minority Government”.

By allowing the march, the BBC said, Mr de Klerk was “hoping to rescue his plans to involve black leaders in negotiation” – something which had been threatened by the recent township killings.

In making his announcement last night Mr de Klerk said: “The Government has no objection to peaceful and orderly protest, provided proper cognizance is taken of the law.”

He was speaking after intense behind-the-scenes negotiations with the march organiser, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dr Boesak.

Mr de Klerk said they had assured him that the march would be led by the Mayor of Cape Town, Councillor Gordon Oliver – will be peaceful.

It is planned to be from St George’s Cathedral to the City Hall at lunchtime.

Setting a conciliatory new tone for his administration, Mr de Klerk said: “This is the time to aggravate the differences that exist in our country. This is the time for finding common ground and peaceful dialogue. I make myself available for any reasonable approaches to this end.”

Mr de Klerk said the Government’s decision to allow the protest today should be seen as its interpretation of the reforms mandate it received in the elections last week.

Police ‘crying out’ for info on brutal murder

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Investigations into the sadistic murder of Pretoria teenager Miss Johanna “Hanlie” Viljoen, whose battered and naked body was found south of Johannesburg this week, are being hampered due to lack of information.

“We are crying out for information. This is a very difficult investigation and we have had very little response from the public so far,” said Brigadier Colin Steyn, West Rand CID chief.

Brigadier Steyn told The Star today that the task of “going back to basics” in the investigation and a high-level conference would be held both today to discuss strategy.

The task faces a mammoth task in an already-complicated murder investigation – piecing together the events, over a huge area, which led to the rape and bludgeoning of Miss Viljoen.

He said the starting point was interviewing everyone who was on the train.

A national serviceman who was sitting opposite Miss Viljoen in her coach is also asked to contact police. Brigadier Steyn stressed he was not “pointing fingers” at the man.

No suspect has yet emerged.
Plan to test a softer approach

Government set to allow Cape march

CAPE TOWN — Government has decided to allow today's planned protest march in Cape Town to test the effects of adopting a softer approach in dealing with peaceful anti-apartheid demonstrations.

The decision marks a new conciliatory approach by President F W de Klerk and is in stark contrast to government's previous hardline position in dealing with peaceful protest.

De Klerk said at a parliamentary Press conference yesterday that government had no objection to peaceful and orderly protest provided proper cognisance was taken of the law.

He extended his condolences to the families of the people who died in western Cape election-day violence.

The march against police violence was set to begin at St George's Cathedral and to end at the city hall.

Government sources confirmed NGK moderator Prof Johan Heyns had played a significant role as a mediator between government and the march organisers, including Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

De Klerk said government had received definite assurances from the march organiser that the planned proceedings would be peaceful. Arrangements were being made to ensure the march took place within the ambit of the law.

A government spokesman said the decision to permit the march should be seen as a prototype of the approach government would like to adopt in future under conditions of co-operation.

De Klerk defended police action in the western Cape to restore law and order. But he said, remedial steps would be taken in cases where police had exceeded their powers.

Law and Order Minister Adriaan Viljoen yesterday appointed CID deputy chief Maj-Gen Jaap Jooste to investigate allegations of police brutality in the western Cape. He said the internal inquiry would also focus on charges by SAP Lt Gregory Rockman that police had used excessive violence while handling the defiance campaign against the elections.

Viljoen met 40 senior coloured officers yesterday to discuss the unrest situation.

After the meeting SA's highest-ranking coloured policeman, Col John Manuel, said Lt Rockman had his full support and he called on the riot squad to behave more professionally.

De Klerk said in the light of government's commitment to negotiated change, he believed it was not necessary for people to give vent to their political aspirations through disorderly protest and riots.

"The door to a new SA is open — it is not necessary to batter it down. We sincerely wish to discuss with leaders in SA ways to achieve a better SA and just SA." A government spokesman said the decision to allow the protest march was an attempt by government to prove it was serious about looking for common ground and finding ways to avoid confrontation.

He said in future peaceful protests would be allowed if permission was granted by government.

Sapa reports that SA Council of Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane has called on all church leaders to take apart in today's march to "express solidarity with the pain and grief of the people of the western Cape."

To Page 2

Cape protest march

Churches general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane has called on all church leaders to take apart in today's march to "express solidarity with the pain and grief of the people of the western Cape."

Comment: Page 18
Friction over Fausmith

EDUTH BULBRING

THE NP and the CP could not reach agreement yesterday at a meeting called by the NP in an attempt to persuade the CP to support its court application for a recount of election votes in Fausmith. (304 10)

CP candidate Alex Danzff and NP candidate Inus Aucamp tied with 4519 votes while the HNP polled 129 votes in the constituency in last week's general election.614413985

Danzff said yesterday it was agreed during the meeting between himself, Aucamp and their legal representatives that the contents of the meeting should not be disclosed to the Press.

He said an agreement depended on one or two points and he would be in a position to clarify the CP's position today.
Nats get 5 of the 8 extra seats

CAPE TOWN — The NP yesterday won five of the eight indirectly elected House of Assembly seats in Parliament.

DP nominee David Gant was the unlucky loser as the party was restricted to just one indirectly elected member, Andre de Wet, its unsuccessful candidate in the East London City constituency.

The CP won two extra seats. Its successful candidates were Dr. Harold Pauw, who lost in Bloemfontein East, and Daan van der Merwe, who lost Gezina by just seven votes.

The successful NP candidates were Glenn Babb, David Graaff, Piet Swartepoel, Jacob de Villiers and Renier Schoeman.

Besides Babb, who lost to DP colleague Wynand Malan in Randburg, the others were all sitting MPs who lost their seats in the election.

At the moment the NP has 98 seats, the CP 41 and the DP 34. F.W. de Klerk will be in a position to nominate four more MPs for seats in Parliament after he is elected President, bringing the NP total to 102.

With the Fauresmith seat still to be decided, the NP will have an overall majority of 27 in the 178 seat Assembly.

De Klerk is expected to nominate Alex van Breda, the chief whip of Parliament, Sampie Golden, who lost in Wonderboom, Willem Odendaal, the unsuccessful NP candidate in Sossusvlei, and Danie Schutte, who lost Maritzburg North, as MPs.

The indirectly elected members in the House of Representatives were John Dow, Alwyn Groson and Sohorub Oosthuizen, all Labour Party members.

The indirectly elected members in the House of Delegates, were former Cabinet Minister Israel Kathrada, who was elected as an independent with the backing of some Solidarity members, the NPP and the Merit Peoples Party. Yusuf Seedat was elected with the backing of Solidarity members. Henry Padayachee, a NPP nominee, won the third indirectly elected seat.

Our Political Staff reports a "snap" NP congress was called for this Saturday in Maritzburg to elect a new Natal leader to succeed retiring Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha.

Likely candidates are Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and MP for Amatsho George Bartlett, the party's chief information officer Con Botha, and Commission for Co-operation and Development chairman and Vrubeid MP Jurie Meintz.
CP to seek legal advice

15/9/81 East Rand Bureau

The Conservative Party in the Boksburg Town Council out-voted the opposition by 12 votes to eight last night to seek further legal advice on a deadline to scrap petty apartheid in the town.

At a special council meeting, the CP decided to seek advice from senior counsel in Pretoria on the demands made by Mr Butch Jantjes, chairman of Reiger Park's management committee, to rescind petty apartheid measures in Boksburg.

The meeting was convened to discuss the demands to reopen amenities to all races.

If the council refuses to open the town's facilities to all races by Sunday September 17, it could be taken to court on the same grounds as those of the successful legal action against Carletonville two weeks ago.

Mr Jantjes said the CP was playing for time.
Apartheid cruel, unjust system – ambassador

The Star’s Foreign News Service

THE HAGUE — Apartheid was a cruel and unjust system, Mr Albert Nothnagel, new South African ambassador to the Netherlands, said yesterday.

He vowed to continue fighting to eradicate it.

Since his arrival on August 31, Mr Nothnagel (50) has fielded a barrage of questions from the Dutch news media about alleged police violence against unarmed civilian protesters and the resulting deaths during last week’s general election.

He has expressed “deep sorrow, great sadness, and indignation” about police violence.

“It was not the intention of the Government to use violence in order to maintain an unjust political system which it is anxious to change,” he said.

Speaking at the embassy in The Hague, he said that the time for dramatic reform had arrived in South Africa. He added that he “stood 100 percent” behind the reform plans of Mr F W de Klerk.
Nothnagel slams police violence

The Argus Foreign Service

THE HAGUE. — Apartheid is a cruel and unjust political system, Mr Albert Nothnagel, South Africa's new ambassador to the Netherlands said — and he vowed to continue fighting to eradicate it.

Since his arrival on August 31, the 50-year-old ambassador has fielded a barrage of questions from the Dutch news media about alleged police violence against unarmed civilian protestors and the resulting deaths during the South African elections.

"INDIGNATION"

He has expressed "deep sorrow, great sadness, and indignation" about police violence.

"It was not the intention of the government to use violence in order to maintain an unjust political system which it is anxious to change," he said in an interview with a newspaper.

Speaking at the embassy in The Hague, he said the time for dramatic reform had arrived in South Africa. "I believe in my heart and soul in the full political participation of the black people of South Africa and that white and black nationalists must reach for one another's hands and together establish one South Africa for all its peoples."
Extra seats give Nats working majority of 27

By PETER FABRICUS
Political Staff

THE National Party has an overall working majority of 27 in the House of Assembly after winning five of the eight indirectly elected seats in the House of Assembly.

With the four seats nominated by the President, the NP total will be 102, against the Democratic Party's 34 and the Conservative Party's 41.

The DP won one indirectly elected seat, which went to Mr André de Wet, defeated in East London City.

CP candidate

The CP won two, which went to former NP Mr Daan van der Merwe, the defeated George candidate, and defeated Bloemfontein East candidate Mr Francois Paau.

The indirectly elected seats are allocated according to the proportion of directly elected MPs of each party.

The NP won a fifth seat, which went to Mr Renier Schoeman, the former Umkhlanga MP who was defeated last week by the DP.

The other NP indirectly elected MPs are Mr Glenn Babb, defeated in Randburg, Mr Jacob de Villiers, defeated in Barberton, Mr Piet Swanespoel, defeated in Kuruman and Mr David Graaff, defeated in Wynberg.

The NP will also get all four seats nominated by the President once he has been inaugurated.

102 seats

This will bring the NP total to 102 of the 179 seats in the Assembly, giving it an overall majority of 27.

In the House of Representatives, the Labour Party by 60 of the 88 directly elected seats won all three indirectly elected seats.

They went to formers indirectly elected MPs Mr John Dowse and the Rev Alwyn Gos sen and Mr Soberhoub Oosthuizen from Malmesbury.

In the House of Delegates, the indirectly elected MPs chosen yesterday were Mr Ihsmail Kathrada, former Minister of the Bantu, and Solicitor candidates Mr P Padiachey and Mr Yusuf Seedah, who was defeated in Central Rand.

Many new faces at swearing in!

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

CABINET ministers and MPs were sworn in this morning in all three houses at the start of the first session of the ninth republican parliament.

There were many new faces among them, particularly in the enlarged ranks of the opposition parties.

All MPs came forward, six at a time, to take the oath before Chief Justice Corbett and "solemnly promise" to perform their duties to the best of their abilities.

The first to take the oath were Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha; Speaker Mr Louis le Grange; Minister of Education and Training Dr Gerrit Viljoen; Defence Minister General Magnus Malan; Minister of Administration and Privatisation Dr Dawie de Villiers and Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee.

In the House of Representatives, Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendriekse was among the first to be sworn in.

Umbilo MP Ms Carole Charlewood arrives at parliament.

SWORN IN: Ministers and MPs stand before Chief Justice Corbett to take the oath.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall and his wife Anita arrive for the first brief session of parliament.

Former Fair Lady editor Ms Dene Smuts, Democratic Party MP for Groote Schuur, entering parliament.
Questions on legitimacy of signatures.

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter.

Extraordinarily low polling percentages in last week's tricameral election have led to questions being raised about the number of legitimate signatures obtained for candidates' nominations.

Questioned by The Star, a Department of Home Affairs spokesman has confirmed that 150 signatures are required for nomination as an independent in constituencies bigger than 25,000 sq km and 300 in constituencies smaller than 25,000 sq km.

INDEPENDENTS

However, some independent candidates polled less than 150 votes.

Why did people who supported a candidate's nomination fall — in droves, in some cases — to vote for him on election day? The Home Affairs spokesman said one reason for the phenomenon could be that a candidate could have withdrawn after nomination day, in which case his name would have appeared on ballot papers although he had not actively taken part in the election.

"It is thus clear that it does not follow necessarily that irregularities took place."
President's Council holds final meeting

CAPE TOWN — The President's Council yesterday met for the last time before its formal dissolution on September 20.

In terms of the constitution, the five-year-old PC's term expires on the day of the inauguration of a new State President.

The chairman, Mr. Johann Greeff, told members that since it was constituted on September 21, 1984, the PC had forwarded 11 reports to the State President and had received 14 Bills for decision. — Sapa.
NP majority in the Assembly increases to 27

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party now has an overall working majority of 27 in the House of Assembly after gaining five of the eight indirectly elected seats yesterday.

With four seats nominated by the State President, the NP total will be 102 compared to the Democratic Party's 84 and Conservative Party's 41.

The DP won one indirectly elected seat yesterday. It went to Mr Andre de Wet, who was defeated in East London City.

The CP won two. They went to former MP Mr Daan van der Merwe, who was beaten in Gezina, and defeated Bloemfontein East candidate Mr Francois Pauw.

This was decided when the 165 directly elected MPs met in Cape Town yesterday to choose indirectly elected MPs.

Proportionate allocation

Indirectly elected seats are allocated according to the proportion of directly elected MPs of each party.

The NP's five seat went to Mr Renier Schoeman, former Umhlanga MP, who was defeated in Randburg; Mr Jacob de Villiers, defeated in Barberton; Mr Piet Swanepoel, defeated in Kuruman; and Mr David Graaf, defeated in Wynberg.

In the House of Representatives, the Labour Party, with 69 of the 80 directly elected seats, won the indirectly elected three.

They went to Mr John Dow, the Reverend Alwyn Goosen and Mr Sobhrab Oosthuizen.

In the House of Delegates, the indirectly elected MPs are Mr Ishmael Kathrada, former Minister of the Budget, and two Solidarity candidates, Mr P Padiachey, and Mr Yusuf Seedat, who was defeated in Central Rand.
Sign of hope is seen as Cape March
Permitting
Fy has not gone far enough - Bosaak
Daunting task lies ahead of Vinson

By Dennis Nava de Mereje

The challenge begins with the foundation of education. To create a learning environment where children are not just passive recipients of information, but active participants in their own education, requires a significant investment of time and resources. The problem is further compounded by the lack of adequate resources and support systems in many communities.

Inadequate funding and resources lead to overcrowded classrooms, outdated textbooks, and a lack of access to technology. These factors not only hinder the learning process but also perpetuate the cycle of poverty and inequality.

To address this issue, it is crucial to prioritize education in our national budget. Investing in education is an investment in our future. It is essential to allocate funds towards improving the quality of education, providing teachers with adequate training, and ensuring that every child has access to the resources they need to succeed.

Furthermore, it is important to create a supportive environment where children feel safe, respected, and valued. This can be achieved by providing schools with the necessary resources, as well as by implementing policies that promote equity and inclusion.

Only by truly valuing education and prioritizing its importance can we hope to break the cycle of poverty and inequality. The future of our nation depends on the quality of education we provide to our children. Let us work together to ensure that every child has access to a quality education that prepares them for success in the world of tomorrow.
The world must give FW a chance to act

BRUSSELS — The international community should accept acting State President F.W. de Klerk's serious intent to reform in SA and give him a chance, Anglo-American chairman Gavin Rely said yesterday.

It should also accept that every step he took towards reform would be perilous one in view of the great increase in CP support shown by the elections.

"It will be fatuous to set preconditions and timescales demands that take no account of the environment in which Mr de Klerk will have to operate," he said in a keynote address to the Centre for European Policy Studies.

Post-apartheid

Rely called on the West to adopt a similar approach to SA as it was doing with the "Give Mr Gorbachev a chance" cry being applied to reform moves in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Rely said the drive to "talks about talks" on a post-apartheid SA was already starting, as shown by De Klerk's meeting on August 28 with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

"But it must be recognised (this) finds Pretoria with a weakened power base."

Rely said while racism was partly the basis of the CP's support, "there is evidence also that much is due to ideological positions but to declining white living standards and fear about the future."

"Tragically sanctions, disinvestment and isolation have sharpened those fears and must be held responsi-

ble in part for the move to the right.
"The international community, which I believe should be convinced of Mr De Klerk's serious intent to reform, should damp unrealistic expectations and be sensitive to this dilemma."

Rely said the international community would also have to be even-handed in its condemnation of violence or other obstructionism.

"Despite the ANC's obvious importance, claims by it to be the sole representative of the majority, which are aimed at establishing itself as the only negotiating partner of Pretoria, are not realistic and should be firmly discouraged."

There was already sufficient evidence from Namibia of the dangers of such an approach.

A third approach the international community should attempt regarding SA was to "not reject the good simply because it is not the best."

Advocating a "building block" approach, Rely said the "ritual mantra" of releasing political prisoners, unbanning exiled movements and abolishing the state of emergency as essential prior steps to initiate negotiations should not be taken as a once-off package of immediate change.

It should "rather be seen as part of a purposeful process of change which is not amenable to simple timetabling."

Nelson Mandela's release would create new realities, one of which would undoubtedly be the need for opposition groupings to move away from the comfortable stance of protest politics and to recognise the hard realities of the SA situation.

"I should add that I can foresee a situation in which the South African state continues to provide security for Mr Mandela, enabling him to participate in the political process while safeguarding him from threats from the extreme left and right which, as recent events have demonstrated, are very real."

Jeopardise

He said it seemed as if the lessons pointing out the dangers of isolating, punishing and excluding a major actor from regional or global activity, as illustrated in European history, had been applied to Eastern Europe, but not to SA.

"Aside from prejudicing domestic change in South Africa, isolation and sanctions also jeopardise the essential role South Africa has to play if southern Africa is to develop."

He said trying to achieve EC economic integration without one of the major economies of Europe would be unthinkable.

"South Africa, if it manages a political transition in the next few years, will enter the post-apartheid era with a low debt burden which will make it the envy of developing nations in the world."

— Sapa.
‘Release of Mandela is high
on F W de Klerk’s agenda’

TEL AVIV — South Africa’s ambassador to Israel says the release of jailed black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela is only a matter of time and will be high on the agenda of incoming President F W de Klerk.

‘I just have a feeling that that’s one of the important things that the government will have to consider in the next few weeks,’ Johan Viljoen told reporters in Tel Aviv on Tuesday night.

It was the first direct comment on the issue by a government official since De Klerk’s National Party won general elections a week ago.

De Klerk is expected to be sworn in as president today.

Mandela, leader of the ANC, was jailed for life in 1964 for plotting against the government.

There has frequently been speculation that his release could be imminent, although Pretoria says he must renounce violence first.

‘Mr De Klerk, shortly before the elections, said publicly that he would like to see Mr Mandela released,’ Viljoen said.

Asked if Mandela’s release was a matter of when rather than if, Viljoen replied: ‘I think that one can safely say so, yes.

‘Mr Mandela’s position will certainly be one of the priorities of the new government after it has been sworn in ... I don’t think that Mr De Klerk ... wanted to take the decision before the elections,’ he added. — Sapa-Reuters
Parliament is scheduled to adjourn this afternoon till September 26.

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party's director of communications, Mr James Selfe, was a surprise nomination yesterday as one of the party's three representatives in the President's Council.

Mr Selfe, who stood for the PFP in Maitland in 1981 and twice lost nomination contests in Simon's Town, was head of the party's research team till he was appointed director of communications at the end of last year.

The party's other two nominations for the Council are Mr David Gant, a member of DP's national board and its defeated candidate in Heidelberg, and Mr James Rennie, who is currently a member of the President's Council.

Another DP member of the President's Council, Mr Pieter Schoeman, unexpectedly lost his seat on the Council.

Mr Schoeman, who slashed the National Party majority in Durbanville last week and had previously fought safe NP seats in Randburg in 1981 and North in 1987, had been expected to retain his position on the President's Council.

The DP was yesterday faced with 10 nominations for its three nominees on the Council and its caucus decided on Mr Rennie, Mr Gant and Mr Selfe.

The CP announced that it had nominated its former indirectly elected MP and its defeated candidate in Krugersdorp, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, its defeated candidate in Alberton, Dr Servaas Latsky, and its defeated candidate in Sundays River, Mr Marius Oosthuizen, to the Council.
FW elected Head of State today

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk becomes State President today after election by the electoral college.

The college, chosen from members of all three Houses yesterday, met today under the chairmanship of Chief Justice M M Corbett to elect the new State President.

It was not known beforehand if there were any other candidates than Mr de Klerk. Labour Party sources would not disclose whether or not they would nominate their leader, Reverend Allan Hendrickx.

Since 56 of the 88 members of the electoral college were chosen by the National Party, Mr de Klerk's election is assured.

The electoral college was expected to inform Mr de Klerk of its decision at Tavnhuys.

Until his inauguration on September 20 Mr de Klerk will continue to sign documents as Acting State President.
March 'symbolic of capitulation'

The Conservative Party has criticised Mr F W de Klerk's decision to permit yesterday's anti-apartheid protest march in Cape Town as "symbolic of the Government's capitulation before radicals".

In a statement yesterday, CP law and order spokesman Mr Moolman Mentz said by allowing the march, the Government had sanctioned open resistance to police action against rioters.

"The organisers of the march say it is aimed against the police who acted against rioters during election night.

"By allowing the march to go ahead the Government has sanctioned open resistance to this action by the SAP, while an official inquiry into the matter is still under way."
CHANGE NOW. DE KLERK TOLD

SOUTH African State President, Mr F W De Klerk, should not wait for pressure from the outside world before implementing the changes that will eventually destroy apartheid.

This was said by the State President of Venda, Headman F N Ravhele, at Thabo-Ya-Ndou yesterday when delivering the main address at the 10th anniversary of independence.

Ravhele said De Klerk had already started a process that will "eventually transform South Africa into one non-racial nation which will bring peace to this subcontinent."

De Klerk should now put into effect the promises he made to the world in his diplomatic manoeuvres in Western Europe and Africa before the general elections," Ravhele said.

Ravhele also announced a six months reduction in prison terms for certain categories of prisoners. But he did not say anything about the nearly 200 detainees currently being held in terms of security legislation for upholding the independence celebrations.

The celebrations were attended by leaders from the TBVC states. South Africa and Taiwan. Traditional dances, military and police parades entertained the thousands that filled the stadium yesterday.
Chief Justice swears in 299 MPs

30th September 1993

Chairmen of all 3

DP opposes Nationalist nominees
FW elected Head of State today

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

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Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.
‘Govt must create climate for talks’

By Kaizer Nyatsamba

The climate in South Africa is not yet ready for negotiations, an SA Youth Congress (Sayco) delegation, which recently met the African National Congress in Lusaka, said yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, Sayco publicity secretary Mr Simon Ntombela read a statement saying both Sayco and the ANC remained convinced that the climate was still not yet ready for negotiations, and the onus was on the Government to create a situation conducive to talks.

LIFT THE EMERGENCY

If the Government was serious about negotiations, Sayco said, it would have to unban the ANC immediately, release Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, repeal apartheid laws, lift the state of emergency, declare a moratorium on all political trials and executions, and take troops out of the townships.

The restricted Sayco, which recently “unbanned” itself with other extra-parliamentary organisations during the defiance campaign, said the meeting with the ANC was characterised by “a comradely spirit, unity of purpose and an unshakeable commitment by both sides to ending apartheid colonialism”.

BRUSSELS. — The international community should accept Mr F W de Klerk's serious intent to institute reform in South Africa and give him a chance, the chairman of Anglo American, Mr Gavin Relly, said yesterday.

It should also accept that every step taken by the acting State President towards reform would be a perilous one, in view of the significant increase in support for the pro-apartheid Conservative Party shown by last week's elections.

Mr Relly called on the West to adopt a similar approach to SA as it was doing with the "give Mr Gorbachev a chance" cry being applied to reform moves in the Soviet Union.

Mr Relly said the international community would also have to be even-handed in its condemnation of violence or other obstructionism.

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela would also create new realities, one of which would undoubtedly be the need for opposition groupings to move away from the comfortable stance of protest politics, he said.

— Sapa
And the winner was...
THE recent, sustained wave of anti-apartheid action seems to have retraced the country's political terrain.

Slipping into focus almost unnoticed is the black consciousness movement which has thrown its weight behind the defiance campaign.

A few years ago the mere possibility of such an approach would have evoked unquestionable rejection from both 'progressive' democracy and black consciousness groupings.

Adding to the latest trend from agitations is the Conference for a Democratic Future on October 7. The non-violent, apparently conflicting, political positions.

Black consciousness, based on the premise that black people themselves fashion and decide their future without reference to whites, appears to have changed its focus.

Tactical

At the same time, the 'Chatarene', who insist on the non-negotiable principle of non-racialism, seem to have abandoned new initiatives.

A tactical move in each camp? For both sides, the high point of discussion was that surrounded the formation of a genuinely representative political machinery for South Africa.

The blacks win a coup, a tough, uncompromising struggle to the��黑人政府——the blacks have won.

However, in the elusive co-operation of two formerly biker ideological opponents, the question may well be asked whether unity toward a common solution is within reach.

In years of deadly differing analysis by the two political traditions, the nature of a future society in which the people govern is fundamental to both groupings.

That means that support for a democratic government is shared by anti-apartheid campaigners and that various theoretical conclusions are possible.

Next month's Conference for a Democratic Future will be the first time provide a forum on which the question of moving towards a democratic society will be attempted.

Central to this move is the possibility of integration.

The Mass Democratic Movement was part of the determination that led to the African National Congress proposals in this regard.

The alliance of the black consciousness movement to overthrow the majority government.

Defiance: Crucial role for supporters of non-violence

The undoubted success of the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign over the past few months has opened up exciting new political options for extra-parliamentary groupings.

Cornerstone of the campaign's success is its ability to involve a broad range of South Africa in peaceful anti-apartheid activity. Conversely, the State is seemingly unable to respond to the campaign, with even Cabinet ministers and policemen disagreeing on counter-measures. RICHARD STEVENS, right, examines some features of the campaign and its deployment in the future.

Defiant Protesters: Peaceful protests throughout the country by students, parents, workers, professionals and churchpeople against apartheid.

The 50-year-old, mainstream, non-racist, non-violent, non-racial and churchpeople have become a common occurrence throughout the country in recent months.

The timing of the defiance campaign could not have been more perfect, with South Africa gripped by an all-embracing crisis.

Not a single institution, including the church, the business community, the trade unions and religion, has been left untouched. Nor has any other sector of the South African community.

The overriding factor in all this has been the violence endemic to South Africa.

In the State, it is reflected in political brutality, police brutality and security services and the social, economic and political effects of apartheid.

This has met with a popular people's resistance, and especially within the struggle for liberation.

The increase of violence demands a serious reconsideration from those who propagate the non-violent option, especially within the defiance campaign.

It would be a tragedy if they should lose their own engagement in the campaign because the only groups who are left are violent.

Facts still true, as secret actions have shown, that the majority of people within the country have been and still are fundamentally non-violent in their resistance to apartheid.

Black and white, throughout the country, the campaign is gaining momentum and spreading.

After the government refused to revert to the laws, the council of the ANC and those people supporters of a campaign in which large numbers were organized during April, April and people were called to voluntarily defy the laws.

The defence was to be non-violent, with the aim of fumbling protest leaders

The government used the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act to bring the campaign leadership and those who saw the benefits of the ANC's aim to membership.

The current campaign is marked by participation from a broad range of South African groups.

The campaign has been supported by a number of organizations and communities and has greatly heightened political consciousness.

Another characteristic is the political creativeness of the organizers in the face of banning and threats of other measures by security forces.

Organizational guilt has been avoided by ruthless, principious, national unity and community people in decision-making and strategy planning.

The campaign for organized labour, the church and the churchpeople, the government has to work for an end of non-violent solidarity for apartheid.

This was especially evident in the 'Purple 8-9 March' in Parliament on September 7.

In line with the Fifties campaign, it is hoped to overcome the government's attempts to halt this movement on the part of the system.

The assurance of non-violence has also helped the present campaign.

Faucet campaign cannot triumph with the use of sanctions and the world, as others, to the extent possible.

As such, it may be a powerful contribution to the world and the space available to the defiance campaign as a whole.
The mystery of what exactly happened on the Cape Flats in election night of ballots in Balclutha.

NIGHT OF BALLOTS
Basic training for survival

F W can carry the country into reform — if he is quick and bold enough

Last week’s general election results represent a dramatic break with the past — at least for most white South Africans. Though they may not yet realise it, NP supporters, in particular, took a giant leap forward. They chose to abandon the cosy cocoon of racial privilege in favour of seeking political accommodation with the black majority.

If the results are seen — as they must be — as a division between those who voted for the status quo (the maintenance of white political domination as represented by the CP), and those who accept the need for dramatic change (NP and DP supporters), it’s clear that 70% of whites are now ready to cross the Rubicon. The question is: can F W de Klerk lead them to the other side?

Based on the NP’s election propaganda and De Klerk’s own commitment to “group” ideology, first impulse might be to say no. But it may be unfair to judge him too harshly — yet. De Klerk faced an unequalled test of his party’s strength. To hold the line to the Right his rhetoric demanded conservatism. To retain support on the Left he needed to promise movement forward. Beneath it all, his verkrampie past notwithstanding, appears to be a genuine commitment to real and rapid change, a secret agenda of sorts.

De Klerk may well be the man to cross the Rubicon but he will need help from within his party and without. In this the DP has a leading role to play; and behind the DP, an equally important support role, will be the business community.

In theory, De Klerk has five years to transform SA. But in reality he has only a few months, perhaps a year at the most, to make significant progress towards the political and economic restructuring necessary to save the country from degenerating further towards Third-World chaos. Expectations of what he can deliver are extremely high.

In all likelihood there will not be another general election based on the current delimitation, and quite possibly not another one in which whites alone will decide which party gets political control. The CP’s best chance of winning power has, therefore, gone. Hopefully, the party and what it stands for will be increasingly overshadowed by developments of more important national significance.

The DP on the other hand, with the backing of more than 400 000 white voters, can argue convincingly that its policies represent the direction in which De Klerk must move his own 1m supporters. Under the capable parliamentary leadership of Zach de Beer (now the favourite to be elected solo DP leader at a special congress on October 7), it can be expected to coax the NP forward with constructive criticism and support for positive change.

De Beer has no problem in pledging his party’s backing for any positive moves De Klerk may make: “We have declared repeatedly since the DP was formed that, whenever the NP acted in such a way as to promote the equal rights and dignity of all South Africans, we would support it.”

He warns, however, that the DP will not support the “group” philosophy as propagated during the election campaign. “To promote separate group entities will be damaging and won’t get blacks to the conference table. At this stage I will give F W de Klerk the benefit of the doubt and accept that it was electioneering.”

De Beer says the DP will not approach government to offer support for reform. “The initiative must come from De Klerk. He has the office and the power.” He believes that the attitude of the NP towards the mass democratic movement (MDM) during the election campaign, and the fact that certain “irreparable” statements were made, need not be obstacles to reform. “Mr De Klerk can eat his words — but will he?” is how he puts it.

De Beer agrees that economic reform goes hand in hand with political reform. De Klerk’s commitment during the election campaign to bring money supply and State spending under control will be a “vast benefit” to SA and set the scene for political progress.

Along with the DP, the business community is a potential ally and De Klerk will do well to nurture its support through policies and actions amenable to their mutual interest. De Klerk has been generally well received by business leaders. In the main their attitude is that he must be given a chance. Substantial financial backing from big business for the NP’s election campaign confirms this, though it could be a matter of hedging bets.

PW Botha’s strategy of attempting to woo businessmen with finesounding promises at lavish showcase conferences was a poor substitute for sound economic policies and fiscal discipline. We hope De Klerk will heed the message he has heard repeatedly from businessmen in recent months, and allow the professionals, headed by Chris Stals and Gerhard Groeter, to determine economic and fiscal priorities.

On the political front, De Beer rightly argues the future cannot be negotiated on the basis of “group” representation. To suggest, as some Nat spokesmen have done, that government will negotiate only with leaders chosen “democratically” from racially defined groups is ludicrous. So, too, is the party’s apparent commitment to accord special status and protection in the new SA to certain of these groups. The quicker De Klerk drops this line of thinking, the better.

He must know by now that SA cannot afford the luxury of merely continuing PW’s version of incremental reform, couched in heinensible. A quantum leap forward is essential. The early release of Nelson Mandela; the lifting of the State of Emergency; public acknowledgement of the role in political terms of the ANC and its extra-parliamentary allies; and urgent moves to scrap as many apartheid laws as possible to set the
scene for “negotiation” — these would finally represent a “step in the right direction.”

The NP’s two main supporters in the daily press, Beeld and Die Burger, effectively support this strategy. "Die Burger"’s respected columnist, Dawie, has suggested the early release of Mandela "to at least give him the chance to sit at the negotiating table." And Beeld columnist Willie Kuhn says quick action is now needed to remove what Minister Adrian Vlok described during the campaign as the "albatross of apartheid." Says Kuhn: "The inability of the new government to achieve this will be fertiliser for the rapidly growing DP plant."

It would be a risk. But the era of no-risk reform is over; indeed, a Broederbond document recently released by the London Independent states: "The greatest risk that we are taking today is not taking any risks." Botha’s reforms, such as scrapping influx control and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, relied almost exclusively on white support. His three-camera parliament has an in-built safety valve to ensure the will of the dominant white party if "the experiment" fails.

De Klerk’s reforms will be far more difficult. They will depend in the main on black support if they are to succeed (which is why it is important to move away from "group" thinking as soon as possible). Statutory "escape routes" will be out of the question.

White politics alone will no longer dictate the pace or direction of change, says UCT political scientist Robert Schrire. But he wonders whether De Klerk has yet grasped the full implications. While conceding that the new president is pragmatic and intelligent, Schrire wonders if he is aware of the magnitude of the problems he faces. "In politics one can guarantee procedures, but not outcomes. Up to now the NP has been trying to dictate the outcome of the processes it has set up."

Schrire says an aspect of the election that gives him hope is that, for the first time, there appears to be a link between public policy and voter support. For De Klerk to consolidate his support he will have to create the perception among whites that the country is better off under him than it was under Botha. To do so, the economic situation must improve, blacks must be brought into government and racial tension must be defused.

"De Klerk has nailed his colours to the mast in an effort to end racial tension, and he will be judged in five years’ time on that ability," Schrire says. De Klerk says he is encouraged by the unprecedented sense of urgency in SA. In a sense, time has caught up with SA. P W Botha tried unsuccessfully for six years to bring blacks into the system. De Klerk won’t have any longer than five years."

He believes that special privileges for groups, whatever their composition, cannot form the basis of negotiation. "If whites want exclusivity then they must pay for it themselves. If we are still talking about things like granting a population registration and the Land Act, then we are wasting our time."

De Klerk will have to realise that he gets no prize for trying — nor credit for courage. South Africans will not judge him against the performance of his predecessors, but in terms of their perceptions of a just society. What then are the prospects of national reconciliation? "Cautionistically optimistic, but with qualifications," says Schrire.

He believes government has a "real problem" with the white electorate. "De Klerk will need all the help he can get from the business community, opposition politicians, the news media, black churchmen, trade unions, and so on."

At the very least, he will have to win the car of the MDM. Perhaps it is significant, as Willie Kuhn points out, that DP MPs such as Wynand Malan, Tiaan van der Merwe and Peter Gastro, with close ties to the MDM, scored convincing victories last week. He asks if this is not a message to government that the "old sensitivities about contact with traditional enemies" no longer exist. He says the NP will have to decide if the P W Botha-Mandela meeting changed the way in which the party should deal with left-wing opposition.

If the MDM rejects De Klerk’s initiatives and continues to make unrealistic demands, his efforts will be futile. To succeed, De Klerk needs a degree of compromise from his adversaries. Schrire says this means that De Klerk will have to display the sort of statesmanship that has been seriously lacking in our politics for many years.

Not least, De Klerk will have to curb police excesses in dealing with protest. Grievances against police action are undoubtedly the single biggest immediate obstacle to conciliation with the MDM (see Current Affairs).

Schrire agrees that De Klerk is perceived as a long-time conservative, but believes the pressures on him are such that he cannot resist the changes being demanded.

Canada-based SA-watcher Heribert Adam agrees: "Regardless of the ideological orientation of De Klerk and his colleagues, two issues are pushing them inexorably towards negotiation. One is that outside pressures have increased to the point where they are irresistible — short of going into a single economy. The second is that Pretoria is bankrupt and desperately needs an inflow of foreign capital to generate economic growth."

"In the past, economic growth has been seen as the solution to political problems. Now the opposite is true. Political solutions depend on a strong economy."

What if De Klerk resists the pressures for change? Unlike P W Botha, De Klerk’s standing in the party and the caucus will be very much that of a team man rather than a Godfather. His senior Cabinet colleagues will be Piet Botha, Gerrit Viljoen, Barend du Plessis, Dawie de Villiers, Kobie Coetsee, Magnus Malan and Adrian Vlok. With the possible exception of Malan and Vlok, all are regarded as more outward looking than De Klerk. There is little doubt that they will continuously push him forward and assist if he falters and falls. But if he digs in his heels and refuses to budge at any point, the chances are he will be ousted. Du Plessis, and now possibly De Villiers as well, have the caucus backing to replace him. A more likely scenario is that De Klerk will use his more vertigo colleagues to carry the day, Viljoen, in particular, has apparently been earmarked for a key role.

Assuming, then, that De Klerk is the man for the job, he faces an enormous task. In relative terms, as other analysts have already pointed out, it is as daunting as Mikhail Gorbachev’s restructuring of Soviet thinking. It is a game of high risk — but with potentially high rewards. De Klerk must show that he has the courage and commitment to stick it out — or be prepared to make room for someone else.
To achieve this, F.W. needs to project himself in a way that is understood in South Africa. Perhaps he has a chance. At this stage it is understandable that he is unable or unwilling to reconcile the emphasis on group rights which underlies his negotiating position, just as the ANC is unable or unwilling to reconcile the emphasis on national failure and destination.

And the final answer to the question of whether Reagan and Bush both are, in fact, linked to the antisemites, to the anti-black movement, to the anti-black movement. It is understandable that they are unable or unwilling to reconcile the emphasis on group rights which underlies their negotiating position, just as the ANC is unable or unwilling to reconcile the emphasis on national failure and destination.
Hijrus over today's job protest march
A Taste of FW Glasgow. But
DP and CP have each nominated three members

THE CP and the DP have each nominated three members for the 60-member President's Council by agreement between party whips, DP communications director James Selfe said yesterday.

The DP has nominated one of its national board vice-chairmen, David Gant, the party's unsuccessful Helderberg parliamentary candidate.

The other two DP nominations are Selfe and former DP President's Councillor James Rennie.

The CP has nominated former indirectly elected MP Clive Derby-Lewis, who was beaten by Law and Order deputy minister Leon Wessels in the Krugersdorp constituency.

Two other unsuccessful CP parliamentary candidates, Servaas Latsky, beaten in Alberton, and Marius Oosthuysen in Sundays River, Cape, were also nominated.

The NP is entitled to nominate 14 of the 20 councillors the House of Assembly may nominate in terms of the constitution. The House of Representatives may nominate 10 members and the House of Delegates 5.

President-elect F W de Klerk, who must ratify the 35 nominations of the three Houses, may nominate 25 members.
DP and CP have each nominated three members

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President-elect F W De Klerk, who must ratify the 25 nominations of the three parties, may nominate 25 members.

Pastoors gets new passport without curbs

LONDON — Helene Pastoors, the Belgian national released from an SA prison earlier this year, had been given a new passport without any travel restrictions, the Belgian Foreign Ministry said in Brussels yesterday.

"She is free to travel wherever she likes so long as she obtains a visa from the countries she intends visiting," a spokesman said.

The move represents an apparent climbdown by the Belgian authorities, who were expected to curtail Pastoors' movements in southern Africa as part of a deal struck with the SA prison authorities.

However, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said the decision to grant her a new passport was not in breach of this agreement.

"We only agreed to look into the legal possibility of doing so. Our inquiry showed there was no legal justification for this, and that is why she now has a normal passport, just like before," he said.

Goodyear bonanza
All change as Members take their seats

CAPE TOWN — For the first time in more than 20 years opposition parties in the Assembly have members sitting on the cross benches.

Prior to the election, NP MPs occupied all the benches on the government side of the House, all the cross benches and three rows of seats on the opposition side.

Among the more amusing couplings in the new seating arrangements is that of Harry Schwarz and Wynand Malan, who have clashed on numerous occasions since the formation of the DP.

Kobus Jordaan, the triumphant DP candidate in Umhlanga, has been placed in the front row of the crossbenches. Sitting alongside him is Renier Schoeman, indirectly elected, the man he defeated.

At first DP co-leader Denis Worrall found himself sitting amongst the backbenchers, but later Tiaan van der Merwe (DP Green Point) gave him his front bench seat.

Tony Leon, who gave up his senior position as leader of the opposition in the Johannesburg City Council, has been given one of the most uncomfortable seats in the house — a commune on the back bench.

General Bob Rogers, the DP’s successful candidate in Walmer, was one of two of the party’s newcomers to Parliament to be given a position as a senior spokesman.

He has taken over from Dave Dalling, the party’s new chief whip, as defence spokesman.

Jordaan was made the senior spokes-
man on black affairs in Natal.

Worrall has replaced Helen Suzman as the DP’s chief spokesman on law and order.

Leon was given responsibility as an alternate spokesman on planning, group areas and separate amenities, as well as manpower.

Of the other Transvaal newcomers, Les-
ter Fuchs (Hillbrow) has been appointed as an alternate spokesman on law and order.

Geoff Engel (Bekzaidenbou) is alternate economic affairs and technology and information spokesman. Louis de Waal has been appointed as alternate spokesman on economic affairs, communication and broadcasting services.
Foreign interference in SA will increase

PRETORIA — SA's every action, internally and externally, would become increasingly subject to international interference and even further sanctions, Small Business Development Corporation MD Ben Vosloo said here yesterday.

Speaking at an Afrikaanse Sakeunksamer function, he said this would include the activities of a board of private international and national organisations, as well as commercial and industrial corporations.

The result of increasing internationalisation of the SA situation was that moderate friendly Western powers would make demands for change on the SA government as a quid pro quo for the continuation of limited relationship and support.

Whites had to come to terms with the realities of a minority position in an overwhelmingly black continent. The black section of the population would have to learn in turn that prosperity and progress was not something that just landed in one's lap.

"It is not something you can take over from someone else. You have to work for it," he said. "The progress of blacks cannot be obtained through the decline of whites."

Blacks, Vosloo said, were no longer prepared to accept any form of subordination to whites.

He said political stability rested on a sound economy and a high rate of development. To achieve this, investments were necessary, but investors demanded a reliable stable climate and access to capital sources.

It was vitally necessary that savings were not frittered away through leaks such as an outflow of capital and/or the spending of loan funds by government on current services.

It was critically important, too, that existing savings were canalised to produce real capital formation and welfare. Today a large proportion of contractual savings, about R2bn a work day, was canalised to the share market by institutional investors.

Only a small percentage of savings got into the hands of entrepreneurs.
CAPE TOWN — F W de Klerk sees his role as being President for all South Africans — not just those represented in Parliament.

He said this yesterday after being unani- mously elected SA's second executive President. De Klerk was nominated by Piè Laboza and seconded by Kofi Coetzee.

Louise de Klerk was re-elected as Speaker.

De Klerk will be sworn in at a ceremony in Pretoria on Wednesday, after which he is expected to announce the Cabinet.

Addressing newsmen at Tygerhuis yester- day, De Klerk said he had no illusions about the responsibilities attached to the post of President.

"Our country is going through one of the most decisive phases in its history. What happens in the next five years will be decisive for many decades to follow."

His government, he said, was committed to bringing about a new dispensation by peaceful means. He said the role of President was to represent all South Africans, not just those represented in Parliament.

"I will approach my task in that spirit."

Government's goal was to reach a stage where all South Africans could take part in decision making in a just and equitable manner.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said his party hoped De Klerk would serve the country better than his predecessor managed to.

"Certainly he has made a good start by permitting thousands of citizens in Cape Town and elsewhere the opportunity of political expression in a degree that has long been denied them."

"We welcome the fact that Mr de Klerk has taken this less repressive line. We trust that it will continue, and that he will fulfill his expressed hope of entering into truly meaningful negotiations with our fellow citizens, towards a united SA based on equal human dignity and rights."

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht expressed the hope that De Klerk would reconsider his vision of a future SA based on power-sharing.

Although De Klerk is refusing to say anything about the composition of his new Cabinet, it now seems certain that Deputy Economic Affairs and Technology Minister George Bartlett will take over as Natal NP leader and be appointed as a full minister in charge of the same portfolio. NP information chief Con Botha, who was the main contender for the position, is expected to be given the position as Natal Administrator.
Maggie's weight behind SA reform

CAPE TOWN — British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher yesterday congratulated President elect F W de Klerk on his election to the post of President, ensuring him of Britain's support for moves away from apartheid.

"You face a formidable task in bringing about the fundamental changes in SA which are needed and to which you are committed," Thatcher said. She added that De Klerk could be sure "of Britain's support for positive moves towards the creation of a just and democratic society".

Japan urged SA to begin democratic change by setting a clear agenda for abolishing apartheid, releasing political prisoners and entering into dialogue with credible black leaders.

"We strongly urge Pretoria to take substantive and effective moves toward dismantling apartheid," Japan's Consul-General said in a statement in Pretoria yesterday.

The statement also called on the government to free jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, lift the ban on anti-government organisations and lift the state of emergency. — Sapa.
Democracy a necessity

EDWARD WEST

THE development of democracy in SA is no longer a matter of political ideology but rather a demographic and economic necessity, according to PG Wood's productivity and quality director, Christo Nel. Nel was speaking at the official opening of the SA Institute of Industrial Engineers Conference at Sun City yesterday.

He said all the players in any company should unite in a holistic approach towards company goals, while management should embark on value-sharing processes to break down negative social memories and decades of mistrust between races.

Democracy should be developed in the workplace because political ideals were being pushed into work arenas by unionisation.

Less than 1% of state managerial positions were held by blacks, he said. White social memories in SA were stuck on group rights due to, among others, the historical myth taught at white schools that whites must rule.

In 1989 23 000 artisans were trained when 100 000 were needed.

Capital productivity had dropped from a base of 100 in 1971 to around 65 in 1988 and, in GDP terms, SA had dropped to one of the lowest late developing countries in the world.

To promote democracy and productivity in the workplace, managers should embark on progressive recruitment embargoes, employees should be rewarded for quality work while all employees should be united in the goals of the company, said Nel.
SA can ill afford violence

De Beer

PARLIAMENT — A judicial commission into the recent unrest was justified over and over again by the violence which had occurred during and since the elections, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

Speaking in debate on a motion on the security of the State, he said the simple fact that the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had become involved in a war of words with leaders of extra-parliamentary groups over how many people died proved that the most serious acts of violence had indeed taken place.

South Africa could ill afford events such as these, and the accompanying publicity, at a time when it was being paralysed by the lack of investment capital, with a low growth-rate and high unemployment.

There were encouraging aspects to what had happened in past weeks. Everyone was surely thankful for the manner in which Wednesday's church service and march in Cape Town had been handled.

He said the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, deserved thanks for the tolerant attitude he and the Government had displayed.

The protests in recent weeks all arose from the decision by leaders of extra-parliamentary organisations to hold demonstrations in protest against the exclusion of their people from the election.

It had to be asked if adult human beings, parents, workers and taxpayers were entitled to ask for effective participation in the political process.

Surely there can be only one answer in terms of the Western civilised heritage which we all claim as our own."
Difficult task facing FW, says Maggie

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN – The British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, congratulated Mr FW de Klerk yesterday on his election as State President.

"You face a formidable task in bringing about the fundamental changes in South Africa which are needed and to which you are committed," Mrs Thatcher said.

She added that Mr de Klerk could be sure of Britain's support for positive moves towards the creation of a just and democratic society.

Earlier, the parliamentary electoral college elected Mr de Klerk unopposed as South Africa's State President. He will be installed in office at a ceremony in Pretoria next Wednesday.

After his election, Mr de Klerk said he was committed to bringing about a just and equitable dispensation in South Africa in which all would have a part in decision-making processes.

Speaking at Tuyuhus, Mr de Klerk said he was accepting the position with humility and had no illusions about the responsibility attached to it.

He regarded himself as the leader of all in South Africa, not only those who were represented in Parliament, and he would approach the post in this spirit.

South Africa was going through one of the most decisive phases in its history.

Mr de Klerk said he was committed to a new dispensation by peaceful means, but this could be achieved only with the cooperation of responsible leaders.

Well done... Mr de Klerk gets a warm squeeze of the hand from his wife Manke.
'Govt has only acted weakly since polls'

PARLIAMENT — After warnings against the Mass Democratic Movement, the Government had only displayed weakness in dealing with demonstrations since the elections, particularly those near Parliament, Mr Tom Langley, Opposition chief spokesman on foreign affairs, said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He moved a motion expressing concern at the Government's "apparent inability to stabilise the security situation", listing a number of items ranging from terror attacks across the Zimbabwe border; violations of Resolution 435 on the borders of Namibia; Cubans in Mozambique; unrest in the Cape Peninsula and the "denigration" of the police by the media and the actions of Lieutenant Gregory Rockman.

Mr Langley said the "toothless old hound" could not even bark, but "only wagged its tail" and said it would take up the matter of a cross-border attack on the Erasmus couple near Messina diplomatically.

"This is bedevilling the morale of farmers and through the media others are being scared away from the area," he said.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, should tell South Africa which conditions of Resolution 435 and accompanying agreements had been broken by Swapo, Angola and Unita, he said.

"We heard the threats made against the MDM, but just after the election they made only a gesture of weakness regarding demonstrations in South Africa, particularly those near Parliament," Mr Pik Botha responded, saying that Mr Langley's motion expressed concerns based on fiction. There was no substantiation for his claims, he said.
Not his Pik?
The nomination of Glenn Babb (an ex-deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs) as an MP by the NP caucus this week has placed Foreign Minister Pik Botha in a delicate spot. Botha is known to be very keen to have former Nat MP Sampe Golden appointed as his deputy in the expected Cabinet reshuffle.

However, Babb, who gave up a promising career in the foreign service to oppose (unsuccessfully) the DP's Wynand Malan in Randburg, is strongly regarded as an NP wunderkind. Before his official adoption as an NP candidate, rumour had it that Babb had been promised some reward.

In certain Nat circles there is, however, a feeling that Babb was not the ideal candidate to have stood against Malan. Conducting a high-profile campaign, Babb used his TV and other appearances to castigate Malan's contact with the ANC and the mass democratic movement. This may have backfired on the Nats as there is evidence that the scare campaign based on the MDM's alleged threat to peace was rather overlaid.

As the FM went to press, all the nominations by the various parties had been made for the eight indirectly elected MPs. The four to be nominated by F W de Klerk — yet to be elected president by the electoral college — were still to be announced.

Four names being speculated on were: Golden, a Nat stalwart who lost in Wonderboom; Willem Odendaal, who lost Sasolburg to the CP's Louis Stoffberg (having won it from Stoffberg — then an HNP member — in 1987); Renier Schoeman, who lost Umhlanga to the DP; and Alec van Breda, parliamentary chief whip who did not contest a seat. Golden was previously nominated under P W Botha after he lost Potgietersrus.

Golden is highly regarded by Pik Botha, who feels the former minister of religion is a hard worker and has an amiable personality suitable for dealing with foreign leaders and diplomats. He compares well with former deputy minister Kobus Meiring, who has since been appointed Administrator of the Cape.

But a Babb appointment could present Botha with internal problems and discontent within his department. It would be difficult to see how senior diplomats like Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden and the other deputy DG, Herbert Bezuidenhout, would operate under Babb as their deputy minister.

Though Babb had been SA's envoy to Canada, both Van Heerden (Bonn) and Bezuidenhout (Washington) held more senior ambassadorial posts. In the department, it is known that Bezuidenhout, a brother-in-law of Privatisation Minister Dawie de Villiers, has also been interested in a political career (not necessarily in the NP), but resisted strong calls from the DP to contest Stellenbosch.

Meanwhile, another name mentioned as a possible nominated MP was that of regional services council chairman Gerrit Bornman. De Klerk felt that he had to reward Bornman for the major part he had played in the NP's successful fundraising drive. De Klerk apparently asked Pik Botha and Education & many indirectly elected members of the Nats were entitled to. If four, the DP's Dave Gant would be the second member for that party, together with East London businessman André de Wet. If allowed five, Schoeman would be the fifth NP member at the expense of Gant.

Absent

A notable absentee from the nominations list was Deputy Health Minister Michael Veldman, who lost his Rustenburg seat to the CP. Veldman's inadequate handling of the JG Strijdom "own affairs" hospital issue may have earned him the chop.

Observers at the Hendrik Verwoerd Building, which houses various ministries, say that former deputy foreign minister Louis Nel, who lost a close race against the CP's Arrie Paulus in Carletonville, was seen calling on Botha this week. Nel, who was discredited as Bureau of Information Deputy Minister, left politics in 1987 but attempted a comeback this year.

Another spin-off from the nominations and the general election could be felt in the Johannesburg City Council. In some circles it is expected that NP councillor Howard Bloomberg, son of the defeated Bezuidenhout Nat MP, Sam Bloomberg, may yet cross the floor to the DP in the wake of the NP caucus's failure to nominate his father.

Insiders say that Bloomberg Jr previously threatened to do just that when Nat organiser Alwyn Marx, husband of management committee member Mariette Marx, expressed a wish to oppose Bloomberg in a nomination contest.

Marx later withdrew his candidacy. Insiders at the Civic Centre say that Mariette Marx was on the phone to Pik Botha and leader of the NP in Johannesburg this week. It is expected that the situation in the council must have dominated the conversation. A cross-over by another Nat in the council would be a major blow to the Nats.

In parliamentary circles surprise was also expressed by the omission of firebrand right-wing politician Clive Derby-Lewis as a nominee of the CP. It strengthened the belief that Derby-Lewis's racist attitude (in a recent magistrate's court case he was described as racist) has become an embarrassment.

The NP is still awaiting legal advice on how to resolve the dead heat in the Faure-smith election result. The CP wants a by-election to be held while the NP wants a court ruling on the matter.
opening of amenities to people of all races in town

CP DELAY ON PARKS

KRUGERSDORP, which is controlled by the Conservative Party, has postponed, until March 28 next year, its decision on the reopening of amenities in the town to all races. The town council is awaiting the outcome of the appeal by the Town Council of Carltonville against a judgment by the Pretoria Supreme Court ordering it to re-open its parks to all races.

However, members of the National Party and Independents in the Krugersdorp Town Council who introduced the motion, maintained that a decision to re-open amenities should not be based on a court ruling affecting another town, but that such a decision should be taken in the best interests of the residents of Krugersdorp. - Sapa.
The time for rhetoric is past

A dangerous confusion seems to have crept into government’s broad economic philosophy. As Gerhard de Kock pointed out years ago, political reform and economic reform are two sides of a coin; you can’t have one without the other.

That was originally intended to underline the urgency of economic reform. But recently — especially in some of the pre-poll TV electioneering — the argument has been subtly twisted. The linkage is still inescapable but has become negative. We mustn’t be too impatient with the slow pace of economic reform, we are told, because look how difficult we (that is, government) are finding it to introduce political reform. And until we get the political side right, we can’t do much about the economy.

This may sound a plausible excuse for inaction, but it’s really not good enough. There is, after all, no mystery about what economic reforms are needed. Many of them are already nominally government policy. True, they may not be the sort of reform that would be acceptable to an ANC-dominated government, but there’s no indication that’s the ultimate dispensation this government has in mind.

And whatever implications the result of the general election may have for political reform, one thing is generally accepted: Finance Minister Barend du Plessis has become a major power broker within the NP, and will have a far stronger position in F W’s first Cabinet than in P W’s last.

There is thus no excuse for not pressing ahead with the economic reforms we all know are necessary. Money supply growth must be cut back sharply, a sensible policy of positive real interest rates must be followed, distorting illogicalities — like import surcharges — must go, more of the Margo Commission tax reforms must be implemented, State spending must be curbed and there must be a conscious effort to step up the pace of privatisation and deregulation. It’s a familiar litany but that does not invalidate it.

At least this week brings a major step forward in the Iscor flotation, but the timing of that has nothing to do with the election. There is in any event a vast difference between selling off a semi-autonomous corporation, that has for years behaved in much the same way as a private-sector company, and tackling bodies like the Post Office and some of Sats’ fields. Nor is hiving off refuse collection and the management of swimming pools more than peripheral progress.

It may be a problem that Dawie de Villiers is in charge of both the civil service and privatisation. But that’s easily solved, given the Cabinet changes F W will have to make.

If F W is to capitalise on the considerable initial fund of goodwill he’s built up, he can waste no time in getting the negotiation process under way. But now the election rhetoric has faded we must also stop blaming our economic tribulations solely on those wicked foreign bankers. Du Plessis must move just as fast to overcome the ways we have contributed to our economic impoverishment.
Why it should be Zach

The Democratic Leadership

President of the Democrats, our future depends on other reasons.
Democratic Party lists new portfolios for MPs

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has chosen Dr Zach de Beer as spokesman on the portfolio of the State President with the other DP leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, as alternates.

The DP announced all its new spokesmen yesterday.

Dr Worrall is principal spokesman on law and order, displacing Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe who retains the portfolios of group areas and home affairs.

Mr Malan is principal spokesman on Constitutional Development. Dr Worrall is alternative spokesman on this portfolio and on foreign affairs, where Mr Colin Eglin is principal spokesman.

Another major change is that the controversial defence portfolio which Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling took over just before the elections, now goes to General Bob Rogers, the new MP for Walmer and former Chief of the Air Force. Mr Dalling remains spokesman on justice but also loses the job of media spokesman to Johannesburg North MP, Mr Peter Soal.

Mr Soal remains spokesman on information.

The alternate media spokesman is Ms Dene Smuts, the new MP for Groote Schuur.

Umhlo MP Mrs Carole Charlwood is spokesman on women's affairs and Simons Town MP and former athletics administrator, Mr Jannie Momberg, is sports spokesman.

Yeoville MP Mr Harry Schwarz remains finance spokesman as expected.

Bryanston MP Mr Rupert Lorimer remains environment spokesman and Durban North MP Mr Mike Ellis speaks on national health.

Dr de Beer is also spokesman on the House of Assembly Ministers' Council.
FW's Public Relations

Perspective

comp replaced violence

THIS week in fo-

SOWATER FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1986

3049
FW is elected

MR FW de Klerk was unanimously elected second executive State President by the electoral college sitting in the House of Assembly in Cape Town yesterday. Mr Louis le Grange (MP Potchefstroom) was unanimously re-elected Speaker of Parliament.

In nominating De Klerk, the Foreign Minister, Mr P W Botha, said the election of a head of state was a momentous occasion in the history of any country. In the case of South Africa it was of decisive importance. The quality of leadership, together with the quality of leaders not represented in Parliament would have a decisive impact on the future of the country.

The nomination was seconded by Mr Kobie Coetzee, the Minister of Justice.
Less than half of Afghans voted for Nats.
Pension folly

By Robyn Chalmers

GOODYEAR employees may not benefit as much as they hope from a settlement in their favour.

Pension industry spokesmen call it extremely dangerous.

The agreement ended an 11-week strike in protest against Goodyear SA's American parent company selling its major share in Conso, a member of the Anglovul group.

The National Union of Metallworkers of SA (Witman) and Goodyear reached a compromise this week.

The agreement has been likened to one reached at Mount whose employees gained a R3,5-million disinvestment package.

Goodyear will pay R1,600 for each of the 2,600 employees into the pension fund. They will be entitled to withdraw this amount plus double what they have already accumulated in the fund, and either transfer it to a provident fund or use it. Goodyear is thus paying R1,600 into the fund. Workers will not receive a bonus when they withdraw their funds because they will really receive only their own money.

Spokesmen in the pension industry warn that using the pension fund for a payslip is a dangerous practice, and could leave employees virtually penniless when they retire.

Although the actuarial reserve, which includes employer contributions before 1966, will be calculated and transferred into the provident fund, pension experts believe employees are playing with fire.

The rand's world value

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Trade weighted value of rand, % change against 1974 base 37.86

Domestic interest rates

**MONEY MARKET**

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Like Gorbachev, FW
deserves a chance

WITHIN South Africa new opportunities and a hope for regeneration are apparent. While the run-up to the recent election has seen what appeared like something of a return to the violence and upheavals of 1985-87, the causality has been quite different.

Then, the extra-parliamentary opposition, with the support of the ANC, turned protest into a drive to make South Africa ungovernable with the expectation that what was called the "transfer of power" from the state to the opposition could be achieved in short order.

In '89, however, the upheaval can be attributed more to manoeuvring for advantage in advance of the political negotiations that all recognise will be inevitable.

And the ANC and the other opposition groupings have dropped the phrase "transfer of power" in the recognition that negotiations will be protracted and will not necessarily achieve such a clear-cut outcome.

Pragmatic

The international community, which I believe should be convinced of President-elect Mr F W de Klerk's serious intent to reform, should dampen unrealistic expectations and be sensitive to his dilemmas.

It will be fatuous to set preconditions and time-scale demands that take no account of the environment in which Mr De Klerk will have to operate.

Similarly, it will have to be even-handed in its condemnation of violence or other obstructionism.

Despite the ANC's obvious importance, its claims to be the sole representative of the "majority" are aimed at establishing itself as the only negotiating partner of Pretoria.

They are not realistic and should be firmly discouraged: There is already sufficient evidence from Namibia of the dangers of that approach.

And finally, while a moral outcome must be the aim, pragmatic means, which do not always meet the highest test of immediate morality, will have to be sought if workable progress is to be made towards that end.

In other words, we must not reject the good simply because it is not the best.

Just as Mr Mikhail Gorbachev has found that perestroika cannot be achieved in the twinkling of an eye and that serious attitudinal and institutional obstacles have to be confronted and gradually overcome, so Mr De Klerk will have to confront difficulties of the same order.

In South Africa, the ritual mantra of releasing political prisoners, unbanning the exiled movements and abolishing the state of emergency as the essential preconditions to negotiations should not be taken as a one-off package of immediate change, but should rather be seen as part of a purposeful process of change which is not amenable to simple time-tabling.

One way to take this process further would be to adopt a building-block approach, creating the climate in which common values and aspirations can be solidified by restoring the rule of law in areas where it has been eroded under apartheid.

Comfortable

So, for example, the process of negotiating the release of detainees held without trial — which was an encouraging sign before the turbulence of the election interrupted it — might be resumed and taken further.

The release of Mr Nelson Mandela will also create new realities, one of which will undoubtedly be the need for opposition groupings to move away from the comfortable stance of protest politics and the need to recognise the hard realities of the South African situation.

I should add that I can foresee a situation in which the South African state continues to provide security for Mr Mandela, enabling him to participate in the political process while safeguarding him from threats from the extreme left and right — which, as recent events have demonstrated, are very real.

Yet the positive Western attitude towards changes in Eastern Europe contrasts with that taken to South Africa. "Give Mr Gorbachev a chance" is the cry.

Understanding

In the case of Poland, the European Community argued strenuously against the policy of mild (compared to the anti-South African) sanctions, preferring to seek to influence development through involvement.

And understanding is displayed where relations with the Soviet Union and the position of the communist-dominated bureaucracy — so threatened by the new order — are concerned.

Certainly no instant solutions are sought, but rather progress through pragmatic but principled change.

It is as if the lessons pointing out the dangers of isolating, punishing and excluding a major actor from regional or global activity, so dramatically illustrated in European history — Versailles is the obvious case in point — have been applied to Eastern Europe, but not to South Africa.

Yet, aside from prejudicing domestic change in South Africa, isolation and sanctions also jeopardise the essential role the Republic must play if southern Africa is to develop.
FIRST order of business for the De Klerk Cabinet ought to be what to do about negotiation. And when it does, it would do well to consider the immediate past of this subject. That there should be talks about a new constitution is nothing new. It has been National Party policy for years. That there has been no advance on this front is due to the NP’s concept of negotiation. We’ll devise the broad outline, lay down the parameters and invite those who we think will approximately agree with us.

The result: Nobody is talking to the Government.

The matter has been dragging on for so long that it is becoming ever more difficult to get going. Above all, the Government now finds itself in a position where it is confronted by almost a single set of pre-negotiation demands. George Bush, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Oliver Tambo are all saying the same thing: Normalise political activity so the talks can begin.

And that means the following: Release Mandela, lift the state of emergency, release all political detainees and unban the banned organisations.

These are the basic demands although the ANC adds a few more.

To get even the most moderate of black leaders in South Africa to openly begin negotiations about a new future, the Government now has to give in to demands with which the ANC agrees.

Certainly, the Government says there should be no such demands. Yet it can be expected that it will meet some of them without stating that it is doing so in order to get talks going.

If early on, when it had first decided to draw blacks into the negotiation process, it had been less dogmatic about having everything its way, had been more open-ended in approach, it probably would not have found itself in the position it is in now.

Hopefully it has learnt its lesson: Move early and give a lot, it will save you giving even more later.

Now it is faced by an overlap of pre-negotiation demands. If it does not make a major move on its negotiation position soon, it may also find itself facing an overlap of negotiating positions. The ANC’s negotiating stance is clear. It has been published in South Africa and has the backing of the Pan African Movement. It was also endorsed by the OAU and the Non-Aligned Movement.

Undoubtedly, the Commonwealth will also be asked to endorse it and thereafter the United Nations.

By then we have the ANC’s position backed by virtually all the countries in the world and a very substantial section — if not the majority — of South Africans.

All of which will make it that much more difficult for the De Klerk Government to get to anywhere near how it expects the negotiating process to unfold. In fact, the porcupine factor may begin to work.

Mr De Klerk is already faced by an overlap of pre-negotiation demands; an overlap of negotiating positions is developing. There are high expectations here and abroad that major moves are afoot; it is NP policy to begin talks; there is clearly a political, economic and law and order deal need to negotiate.

Mr De Klerk has to, and will, begin moving on this front but, like the porcupine, will soon find out that once he has started burrowing there is no turning back.

The porcupine’s quills scrape against the side of the tunnel and make turning back impossible.

Forward, ever forward, is the only way out. Better then, to make a major move now so that you can get ahead of the game. There is both the need and the opportunity.
Pruned Nats are stronger and more flexible

Bruce Anderson
long-time British observer of South African affairs, sees a new, confident spirit emerging

there are second-issues that could and should be resolved.
For instance, it is absurd that the Separate Amenities Act remains on the statute book. Every time the SAP has to ban blacks and coloureds from white beaches, South Africa's foreign enemies rejoice, while your diplomats pull the bedclothes over their heads and wish they did not have to get up that morning.

There is no need for a compromise ("desegregate all the beaches in the Transvaal" said one wag last week); Separate Amenities should go.

So should the Group Areas Act.
Here, there is a case for some special measures to protect poorer whites — and coloureds — especially as many of those most strongly opposed to Group Areas can buy their own apartheid. But the arguments for simply sweeping away the Act are stronger.

Formidable

The Government should be working towards a new South Africa in which individual citizens can, as far as possible, use the free market to choose their own way of life, within the rule of law.

Even if political equality cannot be achieved for all races, social and economic equality of opportunity is attainable. The outright abolition of the Group Areas Act would send all the right signals; moreover, in practice in most areas, actual changes in residential patterns would only happen very slowly.

Repeal is easy; Reform is another matter. But one key area of South African life is crying out for reform at present: The police force is inadequate for the task it faces.

I do not write this in any police-bashing spirit, the South African policeman's lot is not a happy one. There is a real and continuing challenge to law and order, which can only be defeated by tough and, on occasion, paramilitary policing — but it must be sophisticated tough policing.

Someone who looks verkramp but thinks wertig is perhaps a natural for Law and Order. It needs a man who could swap locker-room stories and hunting tales at police dinners and win his men's confidence. But he could use that confidence to see through the necessary changes in training, management structure and indeed the very culture of the police force.

All these measures, plus a renewed commitment to black upliftment, would make a formidable manifesto and would mark a fundamental break with the era of apartheid.

Sensible

They might also enable the South African Government to challenge forgers to drop the easy, puerile claptrap about the need to end apartheid, and to recognise that there are immense difficulties on the road to a new political dispensation.

In a recent interview, the new British Foreign Secretary, Sir John Major, was asked "How quickly should South Africa be moving towards a system of one man-one vote?" Not surprisingly, he ducked it: no sensible politician would get involved in discussing the future South African constitution in a five-minute radio interview.

But at some stage Mr Major and others ought to acknowledge that there is a weight of morality and common sense behind the South African Government's rejection of one man-one vote in a unitary state. This is not a repudiation of liberal democracy, Christianity or of the 20th century; it is merely a rejection of chaos and Zanazamisation.

But it will be much simpler for Mr De Klerk to make that case, and much easier for foreign politicians to acknowledge its force, when the last vestiges of social apartheid are not only declared dead, but interred. Let us hope that on Wednesday, Mr De Klerk will announce the date of the funeral.

Mr Anderson is a political commentator in the Sunday Telegraph, London.
**Le’s get professional for a fairer life for all**

**PROFESSIONALISM** is a word that no political party has ever used in the context of its public life. This issue is important because it touches the heart of an issue that the country confronts, which all societies, not only over and over again.

Between the type of the recipient who is expected to be professional in our country, and the reality, there is a significant gap.

There is no denial that South Africa’s trade unions — as opposed to the almost exclusively “white” ones of which the trade unions that were in power before the death of the colonists. The situation is difficult, but it is not possible to avoid the immediate need to professionalize.

Add to this the aim to professionalize the workforce, the need to create a workforce that is not only economically and socially, but also in the interest of trade unions and communities — understandability.

**Dr Peter Vale**

President of the Institute of Urban and Economic Research in 1976, the need for professionalism in the context of our current public life.

**Distressing**

This means a liberation from informational considerations which continue to be made of all our political leadership should be an emancipating, not a

**Logical Realities in Life**

But this doesn’t mean it should be unprofessionalism.

Certainly not. All the things that are in life — deserve their fair share from their...

**Incompetent**

Incompetence is a term that is too often used. It refers to the inability to do something well. It is often used in a derogatory manner to describe someone who is unable to do their job.

**Big Brother & Co**

I AGREE to serve on the Publications Appeal Board in 1976 because it presented me with a unique opportunity and challenge — namely the possibility of exercising influence within the system.

However, I cannot resign from the agreement by a local news outlet, I wrote the following statement:

"If I do not agree with someone, I shall not let anyone else have the right to influence me with an infallible choice.

My standpoint was one of dedication and a desire to uphold the principle of freedom of expression, and the Publications Appeal Board seemed to offer the possibility to work within the system, the limitations of which are evidenced by the guidelines.

While censorship might be necessary in certain cases — for example, the protection of children — it is not anything like the situation where the Board’s position was to protect an editor of some kind of newspapers or magazines.

Therefore, I cannot resign from the Board without being reminded of the role that such a move would play in the destruction of the Press.

We are all interested in a free press, but we should be willing to sacrifice some of our freedom in order to maintain the integrity of our institutions.

**ANC move**

ROBERT MUGABE, as outgoing president of the African National Congress (ANC) in Harare, has been reported as saying that the ANC plans to enter the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

Small wonder, therefore, that the ANC’s proposal concerning negotiations with the South African government are of the utmost concern to all.

Several days ago, the ANC announced that it will no longer participate in the negotiations.

This is an obvious strategy by the ANC to gain recognition and to force the Western powers to accept the ANC’s demands.

**Wrong**

THE Magazine piece or the book, personally, has not undermined the image of the ANC. It is not true...

**Lynda Giffinan**

on English Lecturer at the University of the Western Cape, explains why it is important for the Publication Appeal Board to publish its findings.

"The Board has a responsibility to ensure that the press is held accountable and that the information it publishes is accurate and fair. This is essential for a free and democratic society."

**Integrity**

Role by emergency decree, which has become the norm in modern South Africa, is incompatible with the rule of law.

It is clear that the situation is not improving, but rather worsening. The rule of law is under threat, and the country is moving towards a system of arbitrary rule.

**Curbing**

How fortunate, therefore, that the ANC has come to...
FOREIGN MINISTER Pik Botha and his Angolan counterpart, Pedro de Castro van Dunen, are expected to meet today for crucial talks on Southern Africa.

Scheduled talks between Mr Botha and Mr van Dunen were foiled yesterday when technical problems grounded the plane that was to transport the Angolan Minister.

Mr van Dunen was due to meet Mr Botha at the border town of Rucana. His plane was held up at Cahama, only 200km from the frontier.

The two Ministers last met on September 7 in Maputo to discuss Angolan peace prospects, bilateral co-operation and Southern African regional issues.

Meanwhile, SIMON BARBER reports from Havana that Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarco has warned that renewed fighting between Unita and the MPLA could force Cuba to slow the withdrawal of its troops from Angola.

But in Bloemfontein yesterday, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said South Africa would continue its friendship and contact with Unita's president, Jonas Savimbi.

Contact was being maintained because it was important that a settlement be reached between Angola's warring factions.

Gen Malan said: "South African and Unita forces fought together in battles and won fantastically — we make no secret of our contact and friendship.

"We know we have a positive role to play in this regard, and our role is being recognised."

**Attack**

"The exportation of revolutionary activities from neighbouring states to SA is unacceptable and rejectable. South Africa reserves the right, like any self-respecting country, to counter such activities, even if circumstances require us to cross our borders to take action against terrorists who hide in other countries."

Mr Alarco insists Cuba has every right to change the schedule because South Africa is continuing to provide Unita with "supplies and resources" in violation of the Tripartite Accords.

The South African delegation, led by Foreign Affairs director-general Neil van Heerden emerged from the commission's final session this week looking visibly drained by what he described as a "gang attack" on South Africa by Angola, Cuba and the Soviet observer delegation.

The South Africans find particularly galling the Cuban insistence on brandishing as gospel reports by a US lawyers' group, the Council for Namibian Independence, which has charged that the proposed election process is "fatally flawed".
Analysis by Political Correspondent LESTER VENTER

WITH seven vacancies to play with — six created by the retirement of senior or retired Ministers and a seventh by the announcement that Dr Willie van Nierkerk was heading for a chairmanship of the Peace Council — Mr de Klerk didn’t really have to get tough. But he used his room to maneuver to create a more representative Cabinet.

Its bombshell — one guaranteed to win the acclaim of the business community weary of a swollen and under-productive public service — was the appointment of Dr Wim de Villiers. But he went further — in bringing in the country’s first female Minister in the person of Dr Rina Venter. And he promoted two English-speaking Ministers, Mr Kent Durr and Mr George Bartlett — the first time since the days of Dr Verwoerd that there have been two English-speaking Ministers at one time.

Surprise

Known forward-thinkers who were posted for entry to the Cabinet have, somewhat surprisingly, been passed over.

There are men like Mr Sam de Beer, who has had titular promotion from Deputy Minister of Education and Training to "own affairs" Minister of Health Services, Welfare and Housing for welfare, and Mr Wouter van Tonder, who has been moved sideways from his deputy's post in the Ministry of Law and Order to help Mr Pieter Botha at Foreign Affairs, and Mr Henk Meyers, who says he is Deputy Minister of Social Development, with National Education now added to that portfolio.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe is moved from his high-profile post of Broadening to Education and Development Affairs, which, with other educational and administrative tasks, will count.

The key to South Africa’s future — a new deal to be negotiated with black South Africa — is placed in the hands and familiar hands of Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Clean

Dr Viljoen is a quiet, contemplative man. This means that he has a very low profile. True, in terms of potential successors, he is one to be considered by the de Klerk administration.

Behind the scenes, Dr Viljoen, former rector of Rand Afrikaans University, is known for his informed, cautiously enlightened views.

Speculation

A man who is undoubtedly pleased with the turn of events is Mr Adriaan Viljoen, who stays on as Minister of Law and Order.

With the police’s technique of protecting white beaches and curbing protest, subjects of much criticism, there was speculation that he might be moved. However, the post-election switch in tactics, in which police were persuaded to leave their beaches, probably saved the day for Mr Viljoen. If there are any say in the Cabinet, he is the Heaney powerhouse over old staidness.

Substantial

The two other surprises concern two cabinet-changes — Mr Jacob de Villiers as Minister of Agriculture and Dr Wim de Villiers as Minister for Privatization and Administration.

Mr de Villiers is a newcomer to national politics — he is an Eastern Transvaal farmer and co-op chief.

The election last week is lost by a substantial margin to the Conservative Party’s Mr Cau van der Berg.

The inclusion of Dr de Villiers is one of the most notable indicators of Mr de Klerk’s intentions.

Mr de Villiers is a businessman and consultant to the Transvaal. He is one of the men who has been involved in the drive to privatize the SOEs. Mr de Klerk’s decision to appoint him is seen as a signal that he will be moved in that direction.

The Cabinet is, it seems, a new team.
The winds of change sweep Cabinet

Surprise

In a surprise move, former National Health and Population Minister Dr Willie van Niekerk is to become the new chairman of the President's Council with another frontbencher, Mr Kleppies Heyns, as his deputy. This will result in by-elections in two Cape Constituencies, Ceres and Vasko. Careful to maintain a good provincial balance in the Cabinet, another Cape MP, Mr Hermus Kriel, was drafted as Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs.

Another MP to leapfrog into the Cabinet is Mr Jacob de Villiers, the unsuccessful NP candidate in Barberton. A former president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, he gets the important portfolio of Agriculture ahead of the present deputy, Dr Kriel van Niekerk. However, Dr Van Niekerk is promoted to Minister of Agriculture and Water Supply in the House of Assembly.

The new look Ministers' Council gets a new chairman, Mr Coetsee, a new Minister of the Budget, Mr Amie Venter, and a new Minister of Health Services and Welfare, Mr Sam de Beer. What is somewhat surprising is that Mr De Beer is the only one of the present Deputy Ministers to be promoted — Mr Roelf Meyer stays on as deputy at Constitutional Development, Dr Org Marais at Finance, Mr Wynand Breytenbach at Defence, Mr Japie van Wyk at Water Affairs and Dr Theo Alant at Trade and Industry.

Mr Leon Wessels is moved sideways from Law and Order to Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Four new Deputy Ministers have been appointed to fill the vacancies:

- Mr André Fourie of Turffontein gets Planning and Provincial Affairs;
- Dr Piet Welsmoed of Primrose gets Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises;
- Mr Danie Schutte, nominated Natal MP, gets Justice;
- Mr Piet Marais of Stellenbosch gets Education and Development Aids.

Sworn

Mr Myburgh Streicher, Deputy Minister of Transport, has stepped down but will stay on as MP for De Klerk. The new Cabinet will be sworn in soon after Mr De Klerk's inauguration as State President on Wednesday.
Here's health! South Africa gets its own Iron Lady

SOUTH AFRICA'S own "Iron Lady" — Dr Rina Venter — is the first woman to serve in the Cabinet.

As Minister of Health and Population Development, the 51-year-old Maggie Thatcher lookalike inherits a nursing crisis, an escalating AIDS problem and the ongoing campaign against a population explosion.

And, with almost three decades of experience in social work, she is well qualified to deal with health care and family planning.

She said: "I will approach the job with all the seriousness and dedication it demands and humbled by this appointment.

"I just hope they haven't appointed me because I'm a woman!"

By MARLENE BURGER

Born in Krugersdorp, she matriculated at Carletonville High School and obtained her degrees in social work at the University of Pretoria.

As a social worker with the SA Vrouedefederatie she has dealt with many social problems, including alcoholism, teenage pregnancy, social problems and adoption.

Her family have been her staunchest supporters since she entered politics through the back door in 1984.

"It was the biggest surprise of my life," she says of her appointment to Parliament as a nominated MP. She was the first woman in the

Cheers to SA's new Iron Lady

National Party to win the honour. "I had never given any thought to politics before, except in the way that a concerned voter does."

But her three years in Parliament and two years as a ministerial representative whetted her political appetite. Her decision to stand for the Insendaal seat was "a natural development."

"It was a tough fight. My predecessor had a majority of only 15."

The effort paid off, and Dr Venter's majority in the Pretoria constituency was 1,509.

Married for the past 26 years, Dr Venter and her family — doctor husband Hannes and sons Adrian, 23, and Dick, 18 — have had to make a number of changes to their lifestyle.

"The Cabinet appointment will demand even more sacrifices," she said.

To Page 2
Black for cabinet?

Two men tipped as candidates

By CONNIE MOLUSI

DESPITE claims that the constitution does not provide for a black cabinet minister, speculation is rife over the imminent appointment of the first black minister to the SA Cabinet.

The government introduced the Constitution Second Amendment Bill to provide for the appointment of a black Cabinet Minister as part of its reform programme, but the Labour Party opposed the Bill in July last year.

This latest speculation that the new State President FW de Klerk is expected to announce a black in his cabinet points to two likely candidates, Transvaal MEC John Mavuso and Cape MEC Themba Nyati.

Speculation of the appointment of a black to the cabinet has been fueled by talk that Dr Gerrit Viljoen is the likely candidate for the negotiation portfolio, thus opening chances of a black being appointed to fill the black education post.

Mavuso seems to be the most likely candidate if De Klerk does eventually appoint a black Cabinet Minister.

Mavuso, the vice-chairman of the constitutional committee of the TPA, serves on three committees.

Mavuso is a member of the ANC and a treason trialist alongside Nelson Mandela in 1956. He was the first black person to address a joint debate with white, coloured and Indian parliamentarians in the extended public committee on provincial affairs in the Transvaal.

Mavuso was a businessman and top official of Inkatha until his appointment as the only black serving in the TPA executive.

He was a central committee member of Inkatha, and was fired from this post after his appointment to the TPA.

Mavuso has no apologies for changing his position from an ANC member to join the white system.

"Since the founding of the ANC in 1912, its main objective was to get blacks into the running of the country. That is what I am presently doing," said Mavuso.

The other likely candidate in the cabinet race is Themba Nyati, the MEC in the Cape Provincial Administration.

Nyati is the chairman of the Committee for Community Services, Welfare and Social Services.

He is also vice-chairman of the committee for Health Services and Community Development.

He is a former teacher and notable for his strong sentiments on black education and training.

On his election as a mayor of Galeshewe, Nyati said he was working for the advancement of educational, social and economic progress and the general improvement of the quality of black existence in residential areas as his immediate objectives.

Prior to his appointment as an MEC, he was the mayor of Galeshewe township, Kimberley and a businessman, whose businesses were burnt during unrest in 1985.

After his election as MEC, Nyati said, he could not over-accentuate the need for educational black people.

"Education and training comes first and political leadership will come from those who have been educated and trained," he said.

In November 1988 Nyati said at Stellenbosch that black moderates want to support reforms by negotiating pointing to the October municipal elections as proof of that.

Nyati told a Press conference in May that black local government is here to stay. This could contribute greatly to training black people in respect of the democratic process.
Business strongman and first woman in Cabinet

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN and LESTER VENTER

MR FW DE KLERK has announced sweeping changes to the South African Cabinet. There are six newcomers in the 18-member body.

The President-elect has acted swiftly to stamp his personal authority on the Government that will take South Africa into the '90s.

In a statement last night, Mr De Klerk announced his changes:

Making the announcement last night, Mr De Klerk made his purpose quite clear - the new Minister (now a nominated MP) would be given a "special assignment" to develop "improved systems for co-ordination, monitoring and financial management".

Involved

In announcing Dr Viljoen's appointment, Mr De Klerk stressed that his new chief negotiator would not be burdened by administrative responsibilities - "the objective is to free his hands to the greatest possible extent to enable him to concentrate on dialogue, negotiation and the promotion of a new constitutional dispensation".

The President-elect also emphasized that he intends becoming personally involved in the negotiating process, probably leading the Government's negotiating team at key stages.

Information has ceased to be a Cabinet portfolio. Mr De Klerk said the Bureau for Information would be transferred into a "smaller and more professional communications service" and would report directly to him.

Most senior members of the Cabinet retain their portfolio: Mr Pik Botha, Foreign Affairs; General Magnus Malan, Defence; Mr Barend du Plessis, Finance; Mr Adrian Vlok, Law and Order; and Mr Kobie Coetsee, Justice.

Important

Mr Coetsee, the Free State Leader of the NP, has also been appointed chairman of the white Ministers' Council - a position previously held by Mr De Klerk.

Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers replaces retiring Minister Mr Danie Steyn as Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister and also takes on the Public Enterprises post - which includes the Transport Services, the Post Office, Eskom, Foscor and Lace.

Former Transport Minister Mr Elt Louw is shifted to Manpower to replace retired Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis.

His Cape colleague, Mr Gene Louw, gets the portfolio of Home Affairs, which will...
Behind the scenes of last week

LONDON - Distant observers may be forgiven for drawing the wrong conclusions about South Africa last week.

A quick reading of the news suggests a most extraordinary turn of events - that the Archbishop Desmond Tutu and President FW de Klerk had agreed to meet face-to-face in the shadow of the Nelson Mandela statue at the Union Buildings today.

This would be an astounding but incorrect interpretation of the South African Government's decision to release the police minister, Mr. Bheki Cele, from his position as he lost his job in the wake of the Cape Town police shooting.

What actually happened was more complicated than that. Nobody knew what happened, but the offers for talks were not made to reach a compromise on the issue of apartheid, but to address the broader issues of race relations.

The decision was made by the new South African cabinet, in an attempt to avoid a constitutional crisis.

Bloodshed

The Mass Democratic Movement had launched a campaign of protest to end apartheid. The movement was determined to break down the apartheid system.

De Klerk: "The door to a new South Africa is open. It is not necessary to break it down."

Game

If this means anything, then it is that, although President de Klerk and the government have agreed to meet, there will be no demonstrations against the government.

Barack Obama: "I'm not sure what the implications are of the decisions, but it's a step in the right direction."

De Klerk: "We cannot continue to live in a society where there is no opportunity for all people to succeed."

Peres: "The South African people have a right to decide their future in a democratic election."

State of emergency

President Thabo Mbeki on Saturday declared a state of emergency in Cape Town and other parts of the country.

Gorbachev: "We are watching the situation closely and we will provide any assistance we can to help South Africa."
Get's Go!!
Right-wing protest

TWO PROTESTS FOCUSED ON RIGHT-WING MOVEMENTS, THE ALTERNATE MONUMENTS AND THE MUSEUM OF HISTORY, AS POLICE AND ACTIVISTS CONTINUE TO OPPOSE THE PROTESTS.

MONUMENTS

ON MUSEUM OF HISTORY, THE "YELLOW MONUMENTS"...
FW to change PC to involve blacks?

Political Staff

CHANGING the President’s Council, which could be the first step towards involving blacks in central government, is expected to be one of the first major acts by President F.W. de Klerk after he and the new cabinet members are sworn in on Wednesday.

Mr De Klerk said in a brief interview at the weekend that details of the proposals would be discussed by the cabinet and could be announced before next weekend.

Though he did not expand on detail, the President’s Council itself recommended in April that the constitution should be changed to include blacks.

Parliament is scheduled to meet on September 26 and 27 to vote on members for the council.

Under the present system, the three parties in Parliament are entitled to vote for 20 members, dividing them according to the number of MPs each party has.

This should give the National Party 14, and the Conservative and Democratic Parties three each.

This system will not change until after Parliament has approved amendments to the constitution.

Mr De Klerk said the whole matter was being considered and that the President’s Council’s own recommendations were being studied.

“I think it is only right that before people make themselves available, they should know what the President’s Council will look like.”

He has already nominated the former Minister of National Health and Welfare, Dr Willie van Niekerk, as chairman, and Mr Reepies Heyns, MP for Vasco, as vice-chairman.

Mr De Klerk also said he was convinced that in the whole process of reform, “we must look at the powers of the State President”.

He has hinted at some change on this before.

Dealing with one of the most important cabinet appointments — Dr Gerrit Viljoen as Minister of Constitutional Development — Mr De Klerk said final responsibility for “everything” rested with the State President.

“But, Dr Viljoen will have to play a leading role in the process of dialogue,” he said.
THE National Party is back in power, but it is much less insouciant about it.

Given the realities, one could hardly have wished for a better result in the general election:

- A Government humbled by the biggest political defeat since 1910. Hopefully it will now realise that there are limits to power. A little less arrogance and greater atonement to the needs of ordinary people may be the by-product of a smaller majority.

- A CP stopped in its tracks - not getting anywhere near the support it predicted. And in the months and years to come Conservatives will find themselves increasingly marginalised as the political debate shifts towards the "how?" and the "what?" of reform, instead of the "why?"

- A buoyant and strengthened DP, infused with an enthusiastic and vibrant new generation of politicians. Their drumbeats will have to set the pace of reform and what they believe in now will be the harbinger of the future.

Credit already to Acting President F W de Klerk who saw in the results the clear indication that white SA is tired of yesterday's men and yesterday's policies.

But a word of caution. There are still huge gaps between rhetoric and action; between images and substance. Mr De Klerk's reform is not that which the DP envisages - and he should be reminded of this constantly.

As long as, by-and-large, racially defined groups remain the building blocks of NP thinking as it was written into the Five Year Plan, it is not going to bring us much closer to a solution.

Unless the NP erases from its mind the notion that it alone can choose negotiation partners and determine the agenda, then very little is going to change. The DP will have to keep reminding everyone that the whole political spectrum - from the CP to the ANC - should be engaged in the discussions about future options.

The first six months of Mr De Klerk rule should be his most difficult - and he and his party largely have themselves to blame. There is no way you can campaign with such ferocity against an opponent (in this case the Mass Democratic Movement) and expect them to be available for talks the next day.

The NP and its propaganda agencies may yet rue the way they tried their utmost to demonise an important section of black political life. These are the people who will eventually have to be drawn into the process - and, sadly, the timetable for this may have been pushed back a few months.

Fortunately, the election results have exploded the myth that the growth potential of parties on the white left is limited. Large numbers of voters saw NP policy for what it really is: smoke and mirrors on negotiation, and sham assurances on security.

If the DP carries one important message, it is that you will find no answer to either economic or security problems if you don't tackle political rights as their basis.

The 33 MPs of the Democratic Party will enter Parliament facing a Government which realises instinctively that fundamental reforms are necessary to get the country out of its doldrums - but hesitant and unsure of how to proceed. It is up to the DP to show the way.
New emphasis on stringency noted

Post of Information Minister falls away

In announcing his new Cabinet this weekend, Mr F W de Klerk said there would no longer be a Minister of Information.

The Bureau for Information will in due course be transformed into a "smaller and more professional communication service which would provisionally report directly to the State President."

"It is planned that the service's most important function will be the improvement of communication between the Government and the public."

"The functions which have thus far been performed by the Minister of Information with regard to broadcasting and the film industry, will be carried out by the Minister of Home Affairs."

"The National intelligence service will also fall under the direct control of the State President."

There were few political shocks when Mr de Klerk named his Cabinet, it is clear he will place more emphasis on financial stringency by bringing in people with proven economic management skills.

The inclusion in the Cabinet of Dr Wim de Villiers, an expert in the field of management and productivity and a key adviser to the Government on the privatisation of government departments, is an indication that Mr de Klerk will proceed with plans of privatisation.

SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT

In addition, Mr de Klerk has given Dr de Villiers, as Minister of Administration and Privatisation, the special assignment of bringing about improved co-ordination, monitoring and financial management in the co-operation with all other Ministers with economic portfolios.

Mr de Klerk will attempt to get the negotiation process, which has stagnated in recent years, back on the road by entrusting the key portfolio of Constitutional Development to his longstanding colleague, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. The new Cabinet also includes a woman for the first time in the appointment of Dr Pina Venter as Minister of National Health and Population Development.

The only other surprise appointment was that of farmer and businessman, Mr Jacob de Villiers, as Minister of Agriculture in the Cabinet.

With regard to the composition of the Ministers' Councils of the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates Mr de Klerk said he was still in the process of consulting with the political leaders in those houses and announcements would be made later.

"The fact that there are no members of the abovementioned two houses who have been taken into the Cabinet or who have been appointed as Deputy Ministers for General Affairs, follows consultations with the most important political leaders in the two houses."

He said the size of the Cabinet was the same as it was at the beginning of 1989. The number of Deputy Ministers has been reduced from 14 to 10.
New Cabinet ‘a blow to securocrats’

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — State President-elect Mr F W de Klerk’s appointment of a new Cabinet has drawn mixed reactions — ranging from interpretations that it was a cautious move, to that it showed a commitment to negotiation and was a blow to the security establishment.

Mr de Klerk kept only six Ministers in their posts, restructured several ministries and appointed six new Ministers.

Government sources agreed there had been few real surprises, but said Mr de Klerk had indicated he was committed to his election promise of negotiation and a return to Government by Cabinet.

The major surprises were the appointment of a complete outsider, former Gencor chief executive Dr Wim de Villiers, as Minister of Administration and Privatisation, and brand-new MP Mr Jacob de Villiers as Minister of Agriculture.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said apart from appointing Dr de Villiers, Mr de Klerk had been “typically cautious”.

He said it was a balanced Cabinet with no verkramp or verligte leanings. Conservative Party chief whip Mr Frank le Roux described it as “imaginative and uninspiring”.

Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said he was pleased with the appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen as Minister of Constitutional Development.

Dr Viljoen’s appointment was widely welcomed — as was Mr de Klerk’s announcement that Dr Viljoen would be backed up by a constitutional team of another five Cabinet Ministers or deputies.

Mr de Klerk has also been praised for overcoming the lack of an English-speaker in the Cabinet by appointing two — new Natal leader Mr George Bartlett as Minister of Transport and of Public Works and Land Affairs, and Mr Ken Durr as Minister of Trade and Industry.

FIRST WOMAN

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall described the new Cabinet as “bold and imaginative” — especially the appointments of Dr de Villiers and Dr Rina Venter, the first woman to be appointed to an NP Cabinet as Minister of National Health and Population Development.

“I am pleased with the appointment of Dr Gerrit Viljoen to the key constitutional and negotiating position. He is essentially a humanist and his instincts are decent.” NP sources said they saw signs of a return to the John Vorster style of Government by teamwork. They saw it mostly as a Cabinet of politicians, not technocrats.

They also saw the abolition of the portfolio of Deputy Minister of Law and Order, a signal that the influence of the security establishment would be reduced.

This was the portfolio in charge of the securocrat-dominated National Management System — described as an alternative government.

DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said he was not particularly impressed, but the new Cabinet should be judged by its future actions.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht declined to comment until he had studied the new appointments.

The moving of Minister of National Health Dr Willie van Niekerk to the chairmanship of the President’s Council is regarded as a demotion.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.
First aim is procedure to find black leaders

Viljoen

By Peter Fabrius

Political Correspondent

The Government's new negotiation chief, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, says one of his first aims will be to find a "generally accepted democratic procedure" to select black leaders to negotiate with the Government.

Dr Viljoen was speaking after being appointed at the weekend to the key post of Minister of Constitutional Development in the new Cabinet.

He will also hold the portfolio of National Education.

ELECTIONS

He said some sort of elections would have to be held to indicate who the real leaders of the black community were.

There was a lot of discussion about who the real leaders were but no clarity.

One of his priorities would be to start a process of "negotiations about negotiations" or "pre-negotiations" to establish an acceptable method for indicating leaders.

Dr Viljoen said that even if a significant sector of the black community did not wish to participate in government, he would not wait for them. "I would rather try to achieve significant reform progress with those who do wish to participate, which will persuade the others to join in.

"Once the bandwagon is going, others will probably want to join in. This was what happened in Namibia."

Dr Viljoen said the government had already canvassed black opinion about different ways of identifying the real black leaders.

In the legislation for a proposed national negotiating forum, the idea was that urban blacks would elect representatives to regional governments. These would in turn form an electoral college to choose the representatives to the central negotiating forum.

This plan had been criticised by some black leaders, who wanted a system of direct election.

It had also been criticised by the leaders of national states, who felt that there should be no distinction between rural and urban black representation.

Dr Viljoen said the government should not be seen to be "completely wedded" to the national negotiating forum.

If other ideas were brought up, the government should be prepared to accommodate them.

It was possible that new structures could be negotiated informally while the negotiating forum was already under way.

Dr Viljoen said the main challenge of his job was to strike a balance between the need for urgent reform on the one hand and the need to achieve proper consensus on the other.

He said he was committed to urgency because there was growing impatience for concrete progress towards a negotiated constitutional dispensation.

MUTUAL TRUST

On the other hand it took time to build up a meaningful consensus, for negotiating partners to get to know each other on the basis of mutual trust.

He said he was very pleased that Mr de Klerk had announced that he would be closely involved in negotiations.

This would raise the importance of negotiations in the public eye.

Mr de Klerk pointed out in announcing his new Cabinet that Dr Viljoen would not be encumbered with any administrative line functions.

This would leave him free to do the vital negotiation job.
Bartlett – a new breed of politician

Political Staff

The National Party's new Natal leader and new Minister of Transport, Public Works and Land Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, describes himself as both a liberal and a conservative. "If it means giving everyone a fair deal, I am a liberal," he says. "If it means protecting the rights of the minority, I am conservative." He has prepared to give up known values for unknown or lesser values.

In times past, Mr Bartlett would have considered a very unlikely provincial leader of the National Party – he does not speak Afrikaans very well and he is a former Saps (an almost derogatory term for member of the now defunct United Party).

His opponent for the leadership, Mr Jurie Mentz, the MP for Vryheid and provincial NP chairman, held all the correct credentials for the NP of 10 years ago but he was firmly beaten by Mr Bartlett.

But as a representative of Natal, Mr Bartlett is probably better qualified than any before him, being steeped in the province's major industry – sugar.

He came into politics in 1974 from being head of the Ilovo sugar company to be the MP for Amamzimtoti.

Mr Bartlett, who still owns a sugar farm, was re-elected in 1977 and 1984 under the New Republic Party banner.

But with the advent of the new constitution in 1983 and the referendum in which the NRP teamed up with the NP, he reconsidered his political future.

In November 1984 the NRP held a congress in Mr Bartlett's constituency to decide its future.

ARGUMENT

Mr Bartlett led the argument for dissolving the party but he was not supported by the majority. He and Mr Ron Miller, NRP Natal leader, and Mr Aubrey Thompson, the MP for the Soutpansberg, decided to leave and join the National Party.

Mr Bartlett was appointed Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology in 1986.

In 1987 he faced the first test of whether his constituents would accept his changed of party. They did, by a majority of 1 890. On September 6 his majority was slightly reduced to 1 772.

He says his main priority as Natal leader will be to consolidate the achievements of the NP, which holds 10 of the 20 Natal seats, and build on that base.

Mr Bartlett says he would welcome talks with other leaders in the province and is prepared to look at the Natal/South African Zulu Indaba.

He feels the Indaba was rushed to an early conclusion and should be looked at again. "Our political structure should be based on a real genuine sharing of power rather than a transfer of power."

Mr Bartlett is similar to his predecessor, Mr Stoffel Botha, in that he is very low-key and does not seek publicity.

He is also one of the new breed of Government technocrats rather than a politician born and bred. As Deputy Minister he has shown himself to be a hands-on manager and can be expected to continue this line in controlling his new portfolio.
Five weeks after the announcement of the ambitious Project Spear, a company aimed at developing both business and training opportunities for the black taxi industry, progress can be reported.

While the Project is still looking for investors, it is — according to executive Paul Browning — “extremely pleased with the measure of interest shown by both local and overseas companies and organisations”.

Negotiations continue for seed financing of up to R4 million to take the company to year-end, by which time offshore investment of around R5 million should be available.

This does not mean, however, that Spear's efforts are currently blunted.

It has already started developing a highly specialised driver training course for the taxi industry (which will include aspects such as attitudes towards other road users as well as towards customers) in conjunction with the National Road Safety Council and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR).

This should be ready by mid-November, and will be available on the Reef in January, 1990. Courses in other major centres will follow soon after.

In another associated development, Project Spear is currently approaching large companies with an offer to analyse and assess the transport needs of their employees. It will then recommend taxi operators to whom the business of daily staff transport can be contracted.

Said Browning: “We are looking initially at companies with corporate social responsibility programmes, since they are more concerned about the problems of their staff and more likely to understand the value of such a system.

Many such companies have already tried to solve their employees' transport problems, but the complexity of the situation has defeated them.

“The flexibility of using black taxi operators under contract can solve those problems, and help both the staff and the companies simultaneously.”

An announcement is also expected within days on Project Spear's first residential training centre, which will be convenient to Soweto.
Right-wing groups to hold rallies in Pretoria

The right-wing Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB) and Afrikaner Weerstands-
beweging (AWB) are planning to hold rallies in Pretoria on Saturday.

BVB secretary Mr Jan Groenewald said the movement's march would pro-
test against the "violation of folk sym-
bols by demonstrators" and would also
give its support to the police "in their
struggle to maintain law and order".

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre-
Blanche yesterday announced plans for a mass rally in Church Square to pro-
test against the "misuse" of traditional Afrikaner monuments and properties by people who "intended them to disap-
pear in a so-called new South Africa".

— Sapa.
President's powers for review – FW

The State President-elect, Mr FW de Klerk, last night said he was convinced that one of the more important facets that would have to be looked at in the process of constitutional reform was the powers of the State President.

Interviewed on SABC-TV last night, he said he did not think this should be done in isolation.

"From the beginning it will form part of planning, discussion, dialogue and negotiation. We will not bring about reform in this regard suddenly and one-sidedly," he added. "It will be the result of very thorough thinking and very wide discussions."

Regarding the President's Council, Mr de Klerk said he would hopefully be able to make known more particulars before the end of the week, especially if decisions were taken during the week.

Replying earlier to a question, Mr de Klerk said responsibility for negotiation would lie strongly in the hands of Dr Gerriet Viljoen, Minister of Constitutional Development and National Health.

This would be done in conjunction with other Ministers whose portfolios were involved with black affairs and constitutional matters. — Sapa.
SA-kwaZulu talks raise hopes

DURBAN — A joint statement issued on Saturday raised hopes that talks which have taken place between the Government and kwaZulu could prove useful in promoting negotiations at a national level to resolve South Africa's political crisis.

The statement said that a joint committee, appointed in January by the Government and kwaZulu to investigate obstacles impeding the process of negotiation, had completed its task and had compiled a report covering all views expressed.

The delegations' leaders, kwaZulu Cabinet Minister Dr Oscar Dlomo and former Natal National Party leader Mr Stoffel Botha, said the report would be submitted to their governments. "Both delegations were encouraged by the spirit of co-operation and commitment to the finding of solutions that characterised all their meetings."
Showdown over AWB, BFM rallies?

PRETORIA. — A showdown is looming between far-right organisations on Saturday as the AWB and disaffected former AWB leaders plan to hold rival rallies on Church Square in Pretoria on that day.

The AWB has announced it will hold a rally at 10am, while the Boer Freedom Movement — founded by former senior AWB men — says it will hold a rally on the Square at 11.30am.

Ironically, the “broedertwiss” was sparked by last week’s protest march on Church Square by 1,000 blacks.

AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre’Blanche said the AWB rally was being organised to protest against the misuse of traditional Afrikaner monuments and properties by people who “intended them to disappear in a so-called new South Africa”.

The Boer Freedom Movement — founded by AWB leaders, including deputy leader Mr Jan Groenewald, who severed their ties with the AWB in the wake of the Jani Allen-Paardekraal affair — said its meeting would protest against black protesters’ “desecration” of Church Square.

It denied the meeting was being organised in conjunction with the AWB, and said the AWB had announced its rally after the Boer Freedom Movement had, evidently to create confusion.

A women’s march to the Union Buildings is also on the cards for Saturday.

Conservative leaders have slammed the government for sanctioning last week’s protest rallies around the country. — Sapa
Political Staff

DR Gerrit Viljoen, the man in the government's negotiating hotseat, is also a man in a hurry who wants to start talking about a new constitution to include blacks as soon as possible.

Although there was an urgent need to show some visible progress in the field negotiation, "meaningful negotiations require real consensus that must be achieved on a basis of trust and understanding", "That will require time," he said.

Getting negotiations going depended on finding an acceptable method of identifying black leaders who had as yet not participated in either homeland or local government elections.

There would have to be negotiations about negotiations to find a way of identifying these leaders and establishing their support bases. One way of doing this could be to hold elections.

Dr Viljoen said negotiations should start as soon as possible. There should be talks about talks and often stated preconditions for negotiations should be on the agenda.

He also said discussions could speed up the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and successful negotiations could ensure black participation in the next general elections.
Winnie snubs talk of Mandela's release

NELSON MANDELA will not allow himself to be drawn into talks with the Government because he believes the state should talk to the African National Congress and its leaders in exile and in prison, said his wife Mrs Winnie Mandela.

She was reacting to reports quoting Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Gerrit Viljoen as saying that he would talk to Mandela whose release was "high on the agenda".

From Soweto she said: "I know that he will not allow himself to be used. No discussions can take place without the release of all political prisoners, the return of those in exile, and the unbanning of the ANC.

"Conradt Mandela's release has never been high on his list of priorities.

"He's always been concerned with the release of all political prisoners, and he has made it quite clear to the Government that he has been in prison for the past 27 years on behalf of the oppressed people and the ANC. Any attempt to release him and discuss the country's future with him is futile."

"He does not see himself as a negotiator. He sees his role as opening dialogue," she said.

Reports that Viljoen wanted to meet Mandela were divisive and badly timed.
Warm reaction to moves by F W

American press praises

SA's new Government

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — South Africa is enjoying the best press it has had for a long time in North America. Major newspapers have for days been carrying reports and comment which show the new De Klerk Government in a positive light.

The decision to allow peaceful mass protests has made a major impact in the United States media.

Newspaper editorials are starting to react positively to the developments.

The main editorial of the influential Washington Post's yesterday was published under the headline, "The friendly police of Cape Town". It described as unthinkable that a peaceful protest against apartheid took place in Cape Town last week under the friendly eye of the police, "but it happened as a result of an initiative by the newly elected President F W de Klerk".

The new development had some major implications, the Post said. It was probably possible all along for South African officials to take the same open approach to protest had they chosen to.

"Who can say how many deaths, how much tragedy, could have been avoided had the white regime set an example of tolerance and civil respect?" the paper asked.

In Canada, the newspaper, The Gazette, under a heading, "Mr de Klerk makes an encouraging start". said there were many reasons for scepticism about Mr de Klerk's really being the reformer he suggested he was.

But Mr de Klerk had got off to a wise start that contrasted with the police brutality of election night.
CP and NP under fire at school debate

The Conservative Party's Mr Clive Derby-Lewis and the National Party's Mrs Sheila Camerer were in the hot seat during a debate on party politics at St John's College in Houghton last night.

While Mr Derby-Lewis and Mrs Camerer worked hard to explain their solutions to South Africa's problems, Dr Zach de Beer, Democratic Party MP for Parktown, had to respond to only two questions during the hour-long question and answer session.

The three were given an opportunity to outline their parties' political policies before facing a barrage of questions from pupils, who criticized the CP's homelands policy and the NP's "supposed mandate" in the election. — Staff Reporter.
White attitudes in Boksburg revealed

Support shown for single municipality

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Most white people in Boksburg want the apartheid town to have a single multiracial municipality which would include the coloured community of Reiger Park.

This was revealed in a recently conducted survey of white attitudes in the town notorious for petty apartheid measures reintroduced by the Conservative Party-controlled municipality.

The study was conducted on behalf of the American Chambers of Commerce.

Almost 59 percent of the 350 respondents were in favour of a single municipality.

Of those, 43 percent motivated their stance by saying there should be no taxation without representation, while almost 45 percent said an integrated CBD would improve race relations. About 13 percent thought the protracted consumer boycott would be lifted if an open CBD was established.

Another significant finding was that 76 percent of whites were in favour of a multiracial central business district.

While 83 percent of the 50 businessmen canvassed favoured an open CBD, 86 percent of National Party supporters and 49 percent of CP supporters wanted a multiracial CBD.

Analysing the findings, Wits political science lecturer Dr Philip Frankel said despite these revelations, the study had confirmed the “strong racial feelings” in the town.

Identity

For example, 57 percent of respondents thought separate amenities were crucial for protecting white identity while 72 percent believed desegregation of public amenities would result in black swamping.

Although almost 38 percent of respondents were in favour of open sports facilities and 54 percent favoured open libraries, about 70 percent opposed integrated schools and residential areas.

Other significant findings:

- More than 60 percent felt race relations had deteriorated.
- About 58 percent of respondents said the Group Areas Act played an important part in preserving white identity. However, many people would accept its abolition if standards were maintained.
- Only 3 percent thought the consumer boycott was instigated by agitators. About 56 percent said it was sparked by the human insult of petty apartheid.

Commented Dr Frankel: “There seems to be a widespread illusion that the boycott would be over once public facilities are desegregated. Most people don’t understand that the boycott is part of the ongoing struggle against apartheid and they underestimate the intensity of the feelings against the CP-controlled municipality.”
Rina won't skirt her duties

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. A former Tukkie has become South Africa's "Iron Lady" with her appointment as the first woman in the Cabinet.

However, Dr Rina Venter, 51, MP for Innesdal and Minister of Health and Population Development in President-elect Mr F W de Klerk's team, is wary of being cast as a role model.

"Many people have said I have struck a great blow for women," she said in the garden on the family property at Clubview yesterday.

"I had to accept that because I was a woman my appointment would create more of a public stir. I hope the President did not appoint me only because I'm a woman—that would be reverse racism."

Tired but well-groomed after a victory celebration in her constituency the night before, she said the news of her appointment had been "a big surprise."

Her expression was determined as she warned that "a few big changes" were in the offing—but she declined to give details as she needed to "inspect the ground first."

Dr Venter's work will be cut out for her. She inherits an Aids problem, a nursing crisis and a population explosion. However, she is confident that her experience of almost 30 years as a social worker will equip her for the job.

She is undaunted by the demanding lifestyle of a cabinet minister: "I've got a lot of experience of parliament and I'm used to jetting around—but there's no more time to be a housewife."

She is determined that her cabinet duties should not divorce her from her responsibilities in her constituency.

"Walking the streets and pounding on doors got me into the cabinet and I'm going to stay in touch with voters—they must stay informed."

Born in Krugersdorp, she matriculated at Carletonville High School and completed degrees in social work at the University of Pretoria.

She is married to Dr Hannes Venter—"he's a farmer and has no interest in these things. They have two sons, Adriaan, 23, and Dick, 18."
Call for West to interact with SA

AN APPROACH of active involvement with SA by Western countries could have remarkable effects, SA Foundation director-general Kurt von Schirnding said in Basel, Switzerland, last week.

In a speech to the Swiss Study Group for southern Africa, Von Schirnding said strategies of punitive sanctions outside any framework of interaction with the country being sanctioned were "woefully inept". He suggested two areas in which "a very fruitful interaction" with SA could be possible.

In the area of international credit and development finance, SA's interest in external capital created an opportunity to establish a forum for debating development projects within SA and southern Africa.

The second area for involvement could be the facilitation of multi-party talks, involving spokesman for all SA's political groupings, he said.

"Most importantly, perhaps, such multi-party talks should not be structured as once-off events. They should allow for a process in which the SA government and its opponents can prepare proposals for debate."
US 'task force' to negotiate on SA

WASHINGTON — House majority leader Tom Foley has asked Congressman Howard Wolpe, chairman of the House Africa subcommittee, to form a bipartisan congressional task force on SA.

Though informal, the group will be responsible for negotiating with the administration on a compromise SA policy. House staff members said it is expected to have around 25 members.

Depending on the outcome of the negotiations, it will draw up recommendations for legislative action in the new year.

Some congressional sources expressed scepticism over how bipartisan the group would be if Wolpe, Congress's most ardent proponent of new sanctions, was to be the group's chairman.

Wolpe has said that he expects negotiations with Secretary of State James Baker to be completed next month following the release of the president's annual report on SA mandated by the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

He has also indicated that he is prepared to give President-elect F W de Klerk a five- to six-month period of grace, before pushing for new sanctions.

SAPA-AP reports that the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday endorsed the nomination of Edward Perkins, the former US ambassador to SA, as director general of the US Foreign Service.
Heunis 'given' sea property for R10

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE former Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has been given a plot at a seaside resort near Walvis Bay for R10.

Mr Heunis would not say last night whether he had accepted the offer.

A local newspaper, the Namib Times, reported that Mr Heunis "bought Erf number 66 at Langstrand for an amount of R10".

According to the newspaper, Mr Heunis handed over a R10 note to the mayor of Walvis Bay, Mrs H E M Deigler, in exchange for the plot at a reception organised in his honour last month.

The reception was organised to say goodbye to Mr Heunis and his wife.

"The report also quoted the Town Clerk of Walvis Bay, Mr Jan Wilken, as saying that 'he had been decided to make this property available to Mr Heunis at a nominal price in view of the fact that during his term of office as minister he had provided R10 million to develop the Langstrand and Dollypark recreation resorts, north of Walvis Bay'."

The town council minutes confirmed the deal while the deputy editor of the Namib Times said...
Meiring frank in Soviet interview

CAPE TOWN — The state of emergency should be abolished in the shortest possible time and SA had to say goodbye to apartheid, Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring has told a Soviet publication.

The interview, which was conducted by Tass correspondent A Korzun and Cospire (State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting) correspondent A Sokolov, was held in Cape Town while Meiring was deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The interview has been reprinted in the latest issue of Soviet Revue, which is produced by the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch.

In it, Meiring said: "We have to say goodbye to apartheid.

"We should reform the country. And we are ready to share the authority and material values of the country.

"We are very sincere in our efforts. But we need a bit of help and also — sympathy.

Violence

"Sanctions and the denial of investments hinder us very much in the conduct of reforms."

The government was forced to introduce the state of emergency, including Press restrictions, in 1966 because it could no longer reconcile itself with the level of violence.

"We want reforms. But this requires a calm situation."

"From the moment the state of emergency was introduced, disturbances decreased, literally speaking, from 100 to 5%.

He was then asked why, if this was the case, the state of emergency was not abolished.

Meiring replied: "I agree with you."

"I think the government will abolish it in the shortest possible time."

Although he personally wanted the emergency to be lifted, from all appearances it would not be sensible to do so before the elections, which required a calm situation.

Meiring also said the problems of SA could only be resolved through negotiations and could not be approached with weapons."
Dr Venter planning ‘a few big changes’

Own Correspondent

A Pretoria woman and former Tukkie has become South Africa’s own “Iron Lady”.

Dr Rina Venter (51), MP for Innesdal, is the first woman to serve in the Cabinet.

She will take her place as Minister of Health and Population Development in President-elect Mr F W de Klerk’s new team which was announced at the weekend.

But she is careful not to be cast as a female role model.

‘GREAT BLOW’

“Many people said I have struck a great blow for women,” she said in the garden of her family plot in Clubview this week.

“I had to accept that because I’m a woman my appointment would create more of a public stir.

“But I hope the President did not appoint me only because I’m a woman — that would be reverse sexism.”

Obviously tired, but well-groomed after a victory celebration in her constituency, she said the news of her appointment to the Cabinet had come as “a big surprise”.

But there was a determined set to her mouth as she warned of “a few big changes”.

But she declined to elaborate as she needed to “inspect the ground first”.

Dr Venter won’t be idle — she inherits an AIDS problem, a nursing crisis and a population explosion which will determine the quality of our future.

But she is confident that nearly 50 years’ experience as a social worker qualifies her for the job.

Dr Venter did not seem unduly concerned by the demanding lifestyle of a Cabinet Minister.

“I’ve got a lot of experience of Parliament and I’m used to jetting around, but there’s no more time to be a housewife.”

POUNDING DOORS

And she is determined Cabinet duties will not divorce her from her responsibilities in her home constituency of Innesdal.

“Walking the streets and pounding on doors got me into the Cabinet and I’m going to stay in touch with voters — they must remain informed,” she said.

Born in Krugersdorp, she matriculated at Carletonville High School and obtained degrees in social work at the University of Pretoria.

She is married to Hannes Venter — “he’s a farmer and has no interest in these (political) things” — and they have two sons, Adriaan (23) and Dick (18).
Sad staff farewells as PW departed

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent
FORMER PRESIDENT PW Botha's staff at Tuynhuys has dispersed.

A new team of President's men is taking over as the new President, Mr F W de Klerk is sworn in today, with the notable exception of Dr Jannie Roux, who is remaining as secretary-general.

Mr Botha's former private secretary, Captain Urs Ehlers, is returning to the navy, but has been seconded to Mr Botha until the end of the year to help with correspondence he is still receiving and with sorting out his documents. His former Press liaison officer, Mr Jack Viviers, has returned to journalism in the Cape Town office of the Sunday newspaper Rapport.

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PW staff's sad goodbyes

(Continued from page 1)

The farewells for the former president were short and sad according to members of his old staff. This was due to his sudden departure after his resignation on August 16.

By then the office staff at Tuynhuys had already been reduced as it was known he would be leaving after the general election.

On August 15 when Mr Botha came back to clear out his office he called the staff in to say farewell.

He thanked them for their work and their loyalty and wished them well. No one else said anything. According to a staff member it was a deeply emotional occasion. There were no presents or presentations.

Mr Botha stayed on at Westbrook, the official residence in Rondebosch, until the packing of his personal belongings was completed.

He finally left for his private home at the Wilderness on September 11.

STAFF PARTY

At Westbrook the staff organised a party for the early evening of September 7 where, over a few glasses of wine, they said goodbye.

Mr and Mrs Botha thanked them warmly. The controller of the household, Mr J T Reinders, who had been with them for more than 10 years — since Mr Botha became Prime Minister — spoke on behalf of the staff. There were no presentations.

Mr Botha is said to be very much "on the go" at his Wilderness home, organising his study and helping to sort out his documents and memorabilia. Some of his former staff visit him there.
Vision needed for future - DP

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

Urbanisation was the key issue of the future with enormous political, social and economic implications which Johannesburg's management committee would have to approach with vision instead of rhetoric, said Mr Ian Davidson in his maiden speech as leader of the Democratic Party in the city council last night.

What was now required was leadership to give substance to formulate plans and implement a programme of action.

"Time spent debating in council whether a black person could ride in a bus or swim in a pool is time misspent. "What is more important is the breakdown of health services in Soweto," he said.

Mr Davidson urged that financial confidence in the city be retained by better management.

It was important to plan for both the informal and informal sectors, to provide informal settlements with a sound base to uplift.

If the management committee supplied real leadership in addressing these matters, the DP would be right there alongside it, he said.

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act went nowhere towards meeting the challenges of urbanisation, said Mr Davidson.

Condemning the delegation of powers to the town clerk to have squatter shacks demolished, he insisted the responsibility should be handled by a committee, not an individual.

Quantum leap

"With the population of the PWV area set to increase from 34 million to 60 million by the year 2010 (over 80 percent of these people being black), it requires a quantum leap in the way in which we plan our cities," he said.

It was vital to ensure that the economic growth which was generated would be sufficient to establish and maintain jobs, while the political implications included the need to build an inclusive, non-racial democracy, he said.

"We have entered a new era, old agendas have been torn up, we have new political leaders and old political allegiances are dissolving," Mr David-son said.

'DP polled most votes in Johannesburg area'

The Democratic Party polled most votes in Johannesburg in the recent general election despite National Party claims that the opposition party would become irrelevant, said Mr Ian Davidson, DP council leader.

"One of the main architects of the revival of the Progressive Federal Party was undoubtedly Tony Leon. "The PFP was virtually down and out when he set about welding it into a coherent body. That spirit generated by Leon swept throughout the party not only in Johannesburg but in Cape Town and Durban," he added.
The verbatim speech of the new State President, Mr F W DE KLIERK, after his inauguration in Pretoria today.

"In my first public address after my election by the electoral college of the National Party I made the following statement: "Our goal is a new South Africa, a totally changed South Africa; a South Africa which has rid itself of the anachronisms of the past; a South Africa free of domination or oppression in whatever form; a South Africa within which the democratic forces — all reasonable people — align themselves behind mutually acceptable goals and against radicalism, irrespective of where it comes from".

"In this, my first public address after my inauguration as State President, I repeat that statement. This I do so, not in behalf of a party, but on behalf of the new lawfully constituted government of the Republic of South Africa, with a clear mandate for reform and renewal.

"Executing this mandate is our highest priority. The new government will be installed tomorrow. It will start working immediately on the details of practical steps aimed at reaching our objectives. I therefore do not deem it advisable to elaborate today on miscellaneous details.

"Mandate

"What is important today is that I commit myself and the Government to the practical and expeditious execution of our mandate. I do so with conviction.

"We are determined to turn our words into action. Considerable preparatory work has been done and we fully appreciate the urgency of prompt progress in all fields. We shall pursue that without being guilty of rash or thoughtless action.

"We accept that time is of the essence and we are committed to visible and expedient progress in various fields. This will endear us to our people within the framework of the principles of our mandate.

"Expectations

"I am aware that we have raised certain expectations during the past months. We intend to live up to them, because we believe in what we advocate.

"In that the ensuing chaos, the demise of stability and progress will forever be held against us.

"History has thrust upon the leadership of this country the tremendous responsibility to turn our country away from its present direction of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our peoples, can do it.

"Speeches

"The eyes of responsible governments across the world are focused on us. The hopes and fears of millions of South Africans are centered around us. The future of Southern Africa depends on us. We dare not fail or fail.

"It will not be easy. Fine words, eloquent speeches, and stirring appeals will not cause us to descend upon us. No, much more will be needed from all sides.

"I wish to today commit myself and the new government to an active effort on our part to remove the actual and imagined obstacles on the road to peace and understanding.

"Promises

"Firstly, I should like to convert our election promises into definite government commitments. During the term of the new government we shall concentrate especially on five crucial areas:"

Circle 1. We shall set everything in motion to bridge the deep gulf of mistrust, suspicion and fear between South Africans before the time has come for unity within our diversity to take form. A broad national consensus must be built up around the core values which the large majority of South Africans already share with one another. Unification and co-operation, with the maintenance of security, is the recipe for the future. We are going to work out that recipe with all leaders from all communities.

"Attention

"In the new South Africa the Republic of South Africa will be willing our constructive role that it is already playing in this region. On the basis of good neighborliness, non-interference and healthy co-operation, Southern Africa can enter into a new era of stability and prosperity.
"I am, however, also aware of other unreasonable expectations which have been aroused. In many cases this was done benevolently; in others, less so.

"While we are quite prepared to be tested against our undertakings, we cannot accept responsibility for over-enthusiastic or even twisted versions of our policy.

"Before turning to the future, I wish to pay homage to my predecessor. He dedicated a lifetime of loyal service to South Africa.

"It was his unyielding courage that placed our country on the road of reform and renewal. On behalf of South Africa I would like to thank Mr and Mrs P W Botha for their great contribution over the years in the interest of South Africa.

"The mandate of September 6 placed us irrevocably on the road to a new South Africa.

"Executing this mandate will place high demands on the government. It is an extensive and complex task which rests on our shoulders. At the same time it confronts the back of initiatives of accepting, with understanding, the sacrifices and adjustments that will be required of everybody.

"Commitment

"More than anything, the watershed at which South Africa finds itself, demands of all our people a commitment and the will and determination to reach a peaceful accord; it demands of all South Africans to rise above their fears and suspicions and to start building a new South Africa.

"The time has come for South Africa to restore its pride and to lift itself out of the doldrums of growing international isolation, economic decline and increasing polarisation.

"On this day on which I assume the highest office in our country, I want to pledge myself to a quest for peace through fairness and justice. And I invite my fellow countrymen and women to join me in this quest.

"Leaders

"In particular, I address myself to all the leaders of South Africa, irrespective of their sphere of leadership, be it political, economic, religious, educational, journalistic, or whichever other sphere.

"All reasonable people in this country — by far the majority — anxiously await a message of hope. It is our responsibility as leaders in all spheres to provide that message realistically, with courage and conviction. If we fail

stranglehold which, for political reasons, has been applied to our growth potential. This will be accompanied by the determined and consistent implementation of a comprehensive economic plan, which will include strong expenditure discipline by the state, lower taxation, privatisation, deregulation, increased exports and import substitution.

"A progressive economy is a prerequisite for success. In co-operation with the private sector, we are going to place our country on the road to sustained economic growth and prosperity.

"4. We are going to develop a new constitutional dispensation in which everyone will be able to participate without domination.

"Experts will investigate all possible constitutional models which can achieve just this. There are good examples elsewhere from which we can learn. Our constitutional discussion will take a clear direction, domination must be excluded and participation for everyone be assured.

"5. We shall continue to deal with unrest, violence and terrorism with a firm hand.

"Intimidation

"Agreement and co-operation can succeed only between people who desire peace and who are prepared to make sacrifices for it. Radical organisations, who are only interested in the seizure of power, rule themselves out. Their violence, breaking of the law and intimidation are obstacles to the road to peace.

Process

"To that end my Government and I will exert ourselves.

"In South West Africa we will continue to fulfil, consistently, our part of the agreed process. We expect all other parties to do the same.

"We are serious about all this and to this we are committed. Having said all this, and from the position of leadership in which I have now been placed, I make an urgent appeal.

"My call to the international community is: Take note of what is happening in South Africa.

Solutions

"There is a determination amongst millions of South Africans to negotiate fair and peaceful solutions. Use your influence constructively to help us attain that goal.

"Now is the time to adopt a positive attitude toward the positive developments in South and Southern Africa.

"And to the leaders and the people of South Africa my appeal is: Help me and the government to make a breakthrough to peace.

"Stretch out your hands. Do your bit. Together, let us build a new, just South Africa.

"Let us all bow before God Almighty and pray that He gives us the wisdom and the strength to face this great challenge. With all my limitations, I am at the service of the Republic of South Africa and all her people.
Meiring makes Red headlines

Cape Times 20/8/84 (3044)

Political Staff

THE state of emergency should be abolished in the shortest possible time and South Africa had to "say goodbye to apartheid", the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, has told a Soviet publication.

He also said there was no doubt that the government "understood very well" that the continuation of the apartheid system was the reason for South Africa’s isolation.

The interview, conducted by Tass correspondent Mr A Korzun and Gosudradio (State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting) correspondent Mr A Sokolov, was conducted in Cape Town while Mr Meiring was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

It is believed to be the first time that an in-depth interview with a member of the South African government has been published in the Soviet media.

The interview is reproduced in the latest issue of Soviet Revue, produced by the Institute for Soviet Studies at the University of Stellenbosch.

It quotes Mr Meiring as saying: "We have to say goodbye to apartheid."

"We should reform the country. And we are ready to share the authority and material values of the country."

"We are very sincere in our efforts. But we need a bit of help and also — sympathy."
FW will set tone for negotiations today

GOVERNMENT moved last night to damp expectations that FW de Klerk would make a major announcement when sworn in as President today, saying actions like the freeing of ANC leader Nelson Mandela could only be expected early next year.

A senior spokesman said it was also unrealistic to expect De Klerk to announce anything specific like the ending of the state of emergency.

Instead, he said, the President would set the tone for future negotiations and recommit his government to creating an environment in which talks about a new SA could take place.

The spokesman said government had a number of options available to pave the way for negotiations, but could only begin to consider these once ministers had been able to "get their teeth" into their new portfolios.

Instead, action to free long-term political prisoners like Mandela and Walter Sisulu would be linked to attempts at getting an "In-daba" going as well as steps to adjust or end the state of emergency.

Given the time it would take ministers to get on top of their new portfolios, these steps could only be expected in the new year.

A government spokesman said: "What can be expected is a recommitment to enter negotiations. The speech will be a tone-setter reflecting an orientation and a spirit rather than specific new announcements."

He said shifts of emphasis would be outlined, particularly on the fate of long-term political prisoners.

Provision is being made for about 1,500 people to witness the inauguration ceremony in the Universiteitsoord Church in Hillcrest, Pretoria, from 16am.

After the service the procession will move to the amphitheatre of the Union Building.

FW on negotiations

Buildings where De Klerk will address the nation.

Seating is being provided for 3,500 dignitaries, members of the public and journalists.

De Klerk's Cabinet is to be sworn in tomorrow.

Our Political Staff reports that no date for the release of Mandela has yet been set, sources close to government said.

However, a spokesman for Gerrit Viljoen, who becomes government's chief negotiator for constitutional change from today, said Viljoen stood by what he said on a BBC radio programme.

Viljoen said on Radio Four the release of Mandela and others who had been sentenced for security crimes was high on government's agenda.

*Comment: Page 10*
The Union of Pharaohs, Makers of the Great Pyramid

The Great Pyramid of Giza, located on the west bank of the Nile River in Egypt, was constructed using approximately 2.3 million stone blocks, each weighing an average of 2.5 tons. The pyramid is the largest of the three main pyramids built during the Old Kingdom, and it stands at 481 feet (146 meters) high. The pyramid was built as a tomb for Pharaoh Khufu (Cheops) and is estimated to have been completed around 2580 BC.

The pyramid is thought to have been built using a combination of stone slabs and mortar, with wooden scaffolding used to support the structure during construction. The pyramid was originally surrounded by a granite enclosure wall, which has mostly disappeared due to erosion and modern development.

The pyramid has been the center of much speculation and debate in recent years, with some researchers suggesting that it may have been used as a solar calendar or as a observatory. Others have speculated that it may have been used as a prison or as a place of worship.

Despite the many questions and theories surrounding the pyramid, it remains one of the most iconic and mysterious structures in the world, continuing to captivate visitors and researchers alike.
Do not destroy harmony – clergyman

Left and right-wing to march in Pretoria

By Norman Chandler and McKeed Kotelo, Pretoria Bureau

Rival political groups, particularly members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeuging (AWB), have been asked not to “destroy racial goodwill and harmony” in marches and demonstrations in central Pretoria on Saturday.

The appeal comes from the Very Rev Robin Briggs, Anglican Dean of Pretoria and chairman of the Koinonia/Pretoria Initiative for Reconciliation.

Three marches

Fifty thousand people are expected to take to the streets in three major marches on Saturday.

About 30,000 members of the Women against Repression coalition will march to the Union Buildings, and the AWB and the Boereuryheidsbeweging (BVB) are to hold two protests at Church Square following last week’s picket by 1,000 anti-apartheid demonstrators which, they say, “desecrated the folk’s monuments”.

AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche earlier warned in a newspaper interview that “left-wing marchers should work out their route very carefully and not cross ours”.

Government spokesmen said yesterday that permission has to be obtained for the marches.

Women against Repression say they will seek permission, while the AWB has formally approached the Ministry of Justice, which is considering the application, according to a spokesman.

It is not yet clear whether the BVB has applied.

Mr Briggs said: “I am bound as a Christian to plead with the AWB organizers of Saturday’s protests to avoid all behaviour and language which will destroy the racial goodwill and harmony recently established.”

Other protests

The estimated 30,000 protesting women, who are members of anti-apartheid organizations, are to march from St Alban’s Anglican Cathedral in Schoeman Street to the Union Buildings at 11 am.

A church service will be held at 10 am.

The AWB is to protest on Church Square at 11 am and then march on police stations.

According to sources, the AWB is planning to bus in supporters from all over the country.

The protest by the BVB, a breakaway right-wing group made up of former members of the AWB, is to take place on Church Square at noon.

An estimated 12,000 to 15,000 people of all races are to march to the Durban City Hall tomorrow in a massive show of strength against apartheid.

The mayor, Mr Derrick Watterson, said he would have nothing to do with the march. Public representatives who took part in marches did so only to “show off or curry favour”, he added.

The march will be preceded by an inter-faith service at the Emmanuel Cathedral in Cathedral Road to be led by Archbishop Denis Hurley and leaders of the Muslim, Hindu and Jewish faiths.

At the City Hall, leading anti-apartheid campaigners will address the gathering.

A march will be held in Maritzburg today from the Cathedral of the Holy Nativity, Church Street, at 12.30 pm.

A spokesman for the Standing for Truth campaign, organizer of the protest, said permission for the march had been granted unilaterally by a local magistrate despite the organizers’ refusal to apply for permission.

More than 600 residents of Reiger Park in Boksburg last night decided to link arms with the MDM’s defiance campaign and launch their own protest march against apartheid.

The march is scheduled for Saturday morning and will begin at a local Anglican church and wind its way out of the township to Boksburg Town Hall, where a memorandum detailing the community’s problems with the CP-controlled town council will be delivered.
Soviet shuffle casts US-ZS reformation support

Embassy displays SA's new look

guaranteeing universal suffrage, freedom of association and of assembly, the rights of all and equality before the law.

In South Africa in which the needs and aspirations of the majority of South Africans are not met with discrimination or domination in any form. But passers-by — the few there are — do not fail to give attention to these pan-African inspired declarations. Indeed, many seem not to know or to care what is happening in that foreign land, for the posters claim no. A poster campaign coordinated by representatives of all South Africans Down with the little black hat!

Mr. V. de Klerk and his wife look a Bible given to him by schoolchildren at his inauguration in Pretoria yesterday.

PRETORIA — The overall impression at yesterday's inauguration of State President Mr. F. W. de Klerk was one of solemnity and dignity, rather than optimism. There were, of course, just the necessary flashes of military and religious pomp and splendor. A special touch was given, at the end of the ceremony, four children of different races up to the presidential couple and presented Mr. de Klerk with a Bible and Mr de Klerk with a bouquet. This gesture by the youth could very well epitomize a new era of change and renewal.

Solemnity as F. W. sworn in

Two prominent conservatives, dropped from Soviet Union's ruling Politburo yesterday, joined top-level rehabilitation which clears the way further to the restoration of the former South African president.

The two former FSB security police chiefs, Viktor Cherkovsky and Vladimir Melehin, who had been regarded as moderate opposition figures, were also restored.

At the same time, accusations that Moscow television, which broadcast a series of Mr. Victor Ivanov's press conferences, in which he was given a flying promotion to fiasco.

SAP and Own Correspondent

Soviet to remove barriers, reform support

MOSCOW — Two prominent conservatives, dropped from the Soviet Union's ruling Politburo yesterday, joined top-level rehabilitation which clears the way further to the restoration of the former South African president.

Significant

A third member of the Politburo, presidential security police chief Mr. Viktor Ivanov, who had been regarded as a moderate opposition figure, was also restored.

The changes, which foreign analysts said were probably the most significant in the past few months, came ahead of the annual session of the ruling Communist Party's Central Committee.

On Tuesday the committee approved the calling of a Party Congress, five months earlier than planned, to reflect the fact that a new wave of the movement has since flourished.

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The SAZM, which was formed five months earlier than planned, to reflect the fact that a new wave of the...
SA links with Europe will ‘hinge on reform’

By Michael Chester

South Africa’s future links with virtually the whole of western Europe might hinge on the pace of constitutional reform and improved relations with neighbours on the sub-continent, a senior diplomat in the Department of Foreign Affairs told business leaders in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Vernon Steward, acting chief director of European affairs, made it plain that also at stake was South Africa’s favourable trade balance of R6 billion a year with the European Community, South Africa’s largest overseas trading partner.

EXPORT OUTLOOK

He was addressing a special conference arranged by the Federated Chamber of Industries to examine South Africa’s export outlook as 12 member nations of the European Community (EC) move towards a 1992 deadline for unification.

“To stave off pressure groups still seeking to impose punitive economic measures on us, we must continue along the road of constitutional reform and be able to guarantee a secure and stable future for all South Africa’s people. Progress is dependent on internal reconciliation,” Mr Steward said.

“Because of our European historical and cultural background, we cannot escape being judged in terms of European morality. Europe arrogates to itself the right to act as South Africa’s conscience.

“We cannot afford to divorce ourselves from the mainstream of European thinking on environmental matters, poverty, famine and other issues.”

Mr Steward, a former ambassador to Rome, said South Africa must in particular weigh the implications of trends inside the EC to agree on its international political stance as well as on economic matters.

“We have experienced some of the results of this increasing co-operation,” he said. “The European Community’s decision to boycott South African iron and steel products is but one example. While this process is still in its infancy, it is clear that in the long-term European foreign policy will replace bilateral foreign policy.

“The prospect of most of Europe speaking increasingly with a single voice can be advantageous or disadvantageous to South Africa, depending on developments here and in southern Africa.”

Reacting to disclosures by Mr Wim Holtes, chief executive of the SA Foreign Trade Organisation, that South Africa’s trade with its neighbours was now running at R5 billion a year, Mr Steward advocated new initiatives to trigger economic co-operation among all the nations of southern Africa to create a single common market reaching to the Sahara.

LESSONS

He said the European Community’s moves towards unification carried important lessons to southern Africa on how to use economic co-operation to overcome political differences.

“I am convinced this is the path we, too, must tread in our part of the globe.”

Mr Steward said South Africa’s relations with the rest of Africa would be an important key to future links with the EC nations. Formidable stumbling blocks remained in the way of closer political and economic co-operation, but they could be overcome by goodwill.
World press watches closely as FW takes reins of leadership

The Star Bureau and Political Staff

LONDON — Britain is watching closely as President de Klerk takes up the reins of leadership. Today most of the major newspapers carry detailed coverage of his inauguration speech at the Union Buildings while The Times devotes an editorial, headlined "Olive Branch in South Africa", to the challenges facing the President.

Last night both the BBC and ITN television channels covered the speech on their main evening news broadcasts.

The Times editorial pointed to Dr Allan Boesak's statement that he would give Mr de Klerk six months to prove himself. If by then the President made the progress he promised "we might find ourselves in a situation where one may begin to be hopeful," said Dr Boesak.

The Times said: "That may sound less than effusive, but coming as it does from a trenchant critic of Pretoria, it constitutes an encouraging response."

The inference one may draw is that Mr de Klerk is still in time to reach an agreed solution in South Africa. Having created an opportunity for himself, he now needs the political nerve to seize it — and his people must find the courage to follow him," it concludes.

The Financial Times South African correspondent, Patti Waldmeir, said Mr de Klerk marked his inauguration "by reaffirming his general commitment to political reform while failing to offer any policy details."

She added that the bulk of the speech was "couched in the vague terms favoured by Mr de Klerk during his election campaign, designed neither to offend those who favour accelerated reform, nor to alarm those who fear change may come too quickly."

The Times's Gavin Bell said in his coverage of the speech that perhaps Mr de Klerk's most perceptive observation came halfway through his address when he said: "Fine words, eloquent speeches, and stirring appeals will not cause peace to descend upon us. Much more will be needed from all sides."

The BBC said during its evening news broadcast that Mr de Klerk "takes off in a climate far more favourable than when President PW Botha quit the Presidency."

ITN's coverage included two dissenting views from different ends of the political spectrum.

An Afrikaans farmer described the future of the white man in South Africa as being "as dark as night."

And a township woman was clearly not impressed with the new President's pledge of a better future, pointing out that similar promises had been made in the past.

Local reaction to Mr de Klerk's address varied from cynicism to "give him a chance."

The president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Mr Cassim Saloojee, said: "One would have expected de Klerk to use this occasion to announce the lifting of the emergency and to give the country a clearer indication of when political prisoners will be released."

He has done nothing of the sort.

Rand Afrikaans University political scientist Professor Albert Venter said: "You won't find many people disagreeing with the sentiments expressed by Mr de Klerk. But many people will say: 'Where's the meat?'"

Pretoria political analyst Professor Willem Kleyhans said: "There was nothing new. All these things have been said before."

Chancellor Helmut Kohl of West Germany said in a letter to the new State President that the release of Mr Nelson Mandela was one of the conditions for the commencement of national dialogue with all recognised leaders in South Africa and the removal of apartheid.
From first seat to ‘hot’ seats

F W de Klerk was about to enter Par-

liament. People had considerable in-
paint of his political career, as he was
ready to take the stage. Political Cor-
respondent ALAN DUNN covers his career
before the second half of his term.

Valerie Boje contributed to this article.

Prime Minister John Vorster had ap-

pointed the influential MP for Vereenig-
ing, Bissar Coetze, as ambassador to Rome in 1972, and the seat was vacated.

It had been Coetze who had advised F W not to enter politics too young, suggesting that he make a name for himself outside Parliament.

But F W, at 36, went to Parliament. He confided to friends that this was what he had always wanted. Politics was his pas-

sion.

But he then decided to surrender his professional aspirations and become a politi-
cian’s wife. She lacked her new course with some verve.

In the November by-election, a five-way contest, he polled more votes in a 62.2 per-
cent turnout. His majority was 2,078.

On May 17, 1973, F W de Klerk delivered his maiden speech in the House of As-
sembly. He spoke to support the creation of the South African Law Commission.

"As far as the law is concerned, it is one of the most pressing problems that we have... by appointing a standing Commission it is being ensured that it will investigate the constant problems of reform," he told his new peers.

The speech won him accolades in and outside Parliament. The law was most im-
presed with what he had to say," noted Cathie Juper (G P in Wynberg) from the Opposition benches.

The early days of F W the politician saw him involved in three by-elections, as well as the Commission for Publications Control Act and the Select Committee on the National Adjustment Bill. He soon proved himself a tough negotiator.

Three years after election — he was re-
turned in Parliament unopposed in the 1974 general election — he was appointed the NP’s information officer in the Transvaal.

The next big moment for F W was in

January 1974 when Prime Minister Vorster called for a General Election.

At Ig Vorster’s Potchefstroom home, he was among those who decided to run. His family was in his mind. The appointment was at 4:45 p.m., and John Vorster’s first words were: "Yes, young man. You are 26 and Mr Pieter Wouter is only 37."

The light conversation continued, but suddenly it came: Senator Johan van der Spuy intended retiring and Vorster wanted F W in the Cabinet.

He was being whisked from the back

bench straight into the Cabinet.

Vorster warned De Klerk that this direct path would turn sour — but he be-
told the young MP could overcome it with his affability.

On June 13, 1973, De Klerk became Min-
ister of Posts and Telecommunications, and Welfare and Pensions.

He said that he was to decide whether the Post Office budget should be spent on improving the public telephone system, or whether the country should convert to a full electronic telecommunications system.

After visiting Europe on a fact-finding mission, he announced that the system would go electronic.

On the same day, an important trilogy of laws were passed: the Social and Allied

Workers Act, the National Welfare Act, and the National Education Act. Sport and Recreation was also allowed to

him later in 1972. He handled these for

many months and was to get them

back in the National Education ministerial

package in 1975.

They were busy years for the young Min-

ister. He was to deal with international

isolation in sport, including the French ban on a Springbok rugby tour, and drama sur-

rounding Craven Week.

It was F W de Klerk who indicated in April 1979 the first official approval by Gov-

ernment of racially mixed sport at club level.

His ability to avert a Nationalist split over the Craven Week was seen as one of the factors which later helped him win co-

orately chancellorship of the Transvaal NP

under Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Responsibility for Mining and Environ-

ment Planning and Energy was given to

him on June 30, 1979.

As Minister of Mines, he came under

tough pressure from the right-wing Mineworkers’ Union which was refusing to allow black advances on the mine. One was in a house in a mining area, the other was the Government’s moves on con-

solidation, labour legislation, sport and

changes in social pattern.

Dr Treurnicht, Transvaal NP leader, was re-elected at the 1981 congress Mr Fanie Botha was his senior deputy, with the two "peacemakers" — Mr Hendrik Schlemper and de Klerk — leading the coalition.

It was an election year and F W felt his Herstel Nationalist Party opponent in-

two years by more than 4,000 votes.

It was also a time of turbulence in the Transvaal NP, with struggle and protest.

On the eve of the Treurnicht breakaway, "the time of the Treurnichtes may be

F W was chief spokesman for the party in the Transvaal. Conflicts between F W and Treurnicht in the National Welfare and Pensions, and the formation of the Conservative Party.

The time of the Treurnichtes breakaway, "the time of the Treurnichtes may be

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a split between verligte and verligte in the party, with the Treurnichts

leading the NP to join the CP because of what they perceived as his right-wing views.

To this F W replied that he was a "Na-

tionalist in heart and soul" and declared his reform plans.

At the opening of the Free State con-

gress, he warned against attempts to dis-

credit the P W: "I want to be at all these
try to climb on the railings to knock

down F W Botha — from the Andries Treu-

nicht to the Ken Owens and Geraldine —

"Hands off our leader. We stand firmly

behind him. South Africa needs him."

On July 16, 1981, F W was appointed

Chairman of the Ministers’ Council in the House of Assembly and Minister of the (white) Budget.

As Education Minister, he came to re-

ceive increasing exposure. He made it clear that while he was committed to equal edu-

cation, he felt "integrated education would

not solve the country’s pressing education

problems.

In the national education budget vote of

April 1986 he announced a 15-year plan to

upgrade the provision of education and

achieve equal educational opportunities for all.

At the time he excluded the possibility of attaining full equality in 10 years. He ad-

mitted his fail to F W Botha that the 15-

year ambition had failed because of eco-

nomic constraints.

With his Budget on the House of

Assembly, he announced investigations into
government departments to see how priva-

tization could be implemented.

He also became Leader of the House of

Assembly on December 1 that year. Just

two months before, one opposition commis-
sioner, wrote in the wake of Mr Botha’s resigna-
tion as leader of the Cape NP: "Mr de Klerk is obviously the leading pretender to the Botha throne."

In the 1987 election his win in Vereenig-
ing was greatly diminished to a 1,282-vote

margin in a triangular contest.

Campus unrest was a topic raised in the
debate on national education in the House of Assembly in that year. De Klerk remarked that the State would not in-
stitute to act when and where it saw fit.

In August, he announced universities

would have to maintain order on campus if they wished to avoid State subsidies cut.

The Government’s threat to ban substi-

tuted regulations universities had to po-

lar elements. They were dismayed, with

With describing this as the "most the na-

tionalist misadventure of academic autonomy."

The educational and political concept of 1986 was, however, a mere backdoor to

the emotional ideals that lay ahead.

Tomorrow: F W the enigma.
Move towards part-time PC

By Peter Fabrichius, Political Correspondent

A new President’s Council consisting of nearly part-time members is expected to be announced by State President Mr F W de Klerk today. It is understood that Mr de Klerk has decided to change it into a part-time body as an interim measure before it is thoroughly overhauled.

This is to save on the salary bill of President’s Councillors who presently earn the same basic salary as MPs — though with far fewer perks.

Only the chairman, vice-chairman and the heads of the social and economic committees are expected to be full-time posts.

National Party sources said former Health Services Minister in the House of Assembly Ministers Council, Dr Piet Badenhorst, would be appointed chairman of the social committee and Mr Gerrit Borman, businessman and former member of the PC, chairman of the economic committee.

The constitutional committee would be scrapped as the Government is planning to appoint a special body to investigate all possible constitutional models for a future South Africa.

The National Party has already announced that former Minister of National Health Dr Willie van Niekerk is to be its candidate for the chairmanship of the PC and Vasco MP Mr "Kleopatra" Herve, its candidate for the vice-chairmanship.

This means both are assured of these jobs.

The PC’s main function is to break deadlocks between the three houses of Parliament. But it is structured so that the NP has the majority of members — and thus the final say on legislation.

NP sources say that the whole structure and functions of the PC are under review and that it will be changed during the next few years.

The PC itself has recommended that its membership be reduced from 69 to 36. And there have been suggestions that blacks should be brought on to it. The NP’s five-year plan also proposes major changes to make the body more objective and apolitical.

Dr Willie van Niekerk . . . NP candidate for the chairmanship of the President’s Council.

Mr De Klerk is obliged by the Constitution to re-constitute the President’s Council with its full complement of 60 members within 14 days of his inauguration — which took place yesterday.

Mr De Klerk was apparently reluctant for potential PC members to make long-term commitments to serve on the council when it might be scrapped or reduced in size.

PC sources said he was also reluctant to appoint full-time PC members at the same salaries as MPs receive when the PC only works a few weeks in the year.

Parliament is to meet early next week to choose the PC members. The new council is expected to meet on September 27.
New approach

Mr de Klerk today committed himself to a "complete" new approach to tackling the issue of political prisoners. He no longer seeks "peace at any price" or "proper" political prisoners, but instead aims to build a new society.

The Government accepted the challenge to build a new society, but its policies are not clear. It did not accept the challenge to build a new society.

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Van der Walt free after 20 months’ jail

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — Mr Hennie van der Walt, 53, former deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, has been released from jail on parole after serving 20 months of an effective five-year jail term.

Mr Van der Walt was sentenced to 10 years’ jail by a Potchefstroom magistrate on 16 charges of theft involving more than R120,000. Five years of the prison term was conditionally suspended. He was jailed in January last year.

He was the first South African deputy minister to be imprisoned.

At the beginning of his political career he was described as “the golden boy of the Western Transvaal, born to be a leader”.

He had been head boy of the prestigious Potchefstroom Gymnasium, chairman of the students’ council at the University of Potchefstroom and president of the Afrikaanse Studentebond before he entered politics.

Mr Van der Walt could not be reached for an interview but is understood to be at his Potchefstroom home with his wife, Rita, considering his future.
Appeal to AWB over protest march

The Argus Correspondent
PRETORIA. - The Anglican Dean of Pretoria has appealed to the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging not to destroy racial harmony during its planned protest meeting on Church Square.

"In other words, please do all you can to avoid anything which will inflame racially based anger or bitterness in the crowd," Dean Robin Briggs said in a statement issued here.

Dean Briggs participated in the peaceful protest picket, organised by the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel), on Church Square last Friday.

Monuments

The AWB has organised a protest meeting at the same venue on Saturday to object to the disgracing of "volk" monuments.

He further appealed to the AWB not to do or say anything that would cause Afrikaners or South Africans to be ashamed.

Dean Briggs said Church Square and Paul Kruger, "with his weaknesses and strengths, belonged to all South Africans and not only to white Afrikaner Christians - otherwise he has no right to be standing at the symbolic centre of our capital city."

Much anger among white South Africans appeared to be misdirected at the presence of large numbers of blacks in the country.

"To be angry about this fact of life is to be angry at God, who placed black and white (and many others) in this land to live together in glorious harmony."

"Be angry, very angry, rather against those teachers, ministers of religion and one-eyed politicians who for years have hidden this truth from us."
An ambulance driver describes what really happened on election night.

I saw them inside the ambulance — it was bloody on top of body. They were lying on top of each other like sheep.

A Cape Town ambulance driver, shocked by the number of people killed on election night and the handling of their bodies, has decided to risk his job to speak about what he saw, despite stringent regulations forbidding him to do so.

To protect his identity, SOUTH will not use his name. He was 15 ambulances on duty on the night of September 6, all working 12-hour shifts.

"There were shooting incidents all over the Peninsula. The first people I saw were two kids in Vosloorus. That was the first time I heard about bodies," the driver said.

"They were picked up and brought to an ambulance which was collecting bodies. It was one of the Mitchell's Plain ambulances."

The driver said bodies were taken to Victoria, Centurion and Constantia hospitals where they were certified dead on arrival.

Confusion arose over the numbers killed because Mitchell's Plain ambulances also took bodies to the hospital.

"We don't know how many people who have been killed in Mitchell's Plain, but we know there are at least 30," the driver said.

"Our hospital also had to deal with a lot of people who were not dead, but were suffering from injuries."
ELECTION BY NUMBERS: THE MAJOR TRENDS

Final figures

WITH 165 results known, the state of the parties in the House of Assembly is:

National Party .................................. 93
Conservative Party .............................. 39
Democratic Party ................................. 33

In the 166th and final seat, Paarlsmont in the Orange Free State, where there was a "dead heat", another election is to be held. The National Party lost 29 seats, 17 to the Conservative Party and 12 to the Democratic Party, and made no gains.

Total votes cast

A TOTAL of 2,370,169 votes were cast in the election for the House of Assembly for the respective parties as follows:

National Party .................................. 1,031,566 (43.5%)
Conservative Party .............................. 673,079 (31.1%)
Democratic Party ................................. 430,199 (18.6%)
HNP .................................................. 5,881 (0.2%)

THE breakdown of this vote by province is as follows:

**TRANSVAAL**

National Party .................................. 1,141,091
Conservative Party .............................. 653,026
Democratic Party ................................. 273,434 (14.7%)
Hersteke Nationale Party ........................ 2,521

**ORANGE FREE STATE**

National Party .................................. 87,400
Conservative Party .............................. 80,668 (46.9%)
Democratic Party ................................. 4,383 (2.5%)

**NATAL**

National Party .................................. 224,417
Conservative Party .............................. 107,077 (64.9%)
Democratic Party ................................. 53,299 (19.2%)

**CAPE**

National Party .................................. 599,963
Conservative Party .............................. 310,452 (51.2%)
Democratic Party ................................. 100,274 (16.4%)

The distribution of House of Assembly seats by province is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Nat</th>
<th>CP</th>
<th>DP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transvaal</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange FS</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natal</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The National Party share of the vote has fallen to below 50 percent but both the Conservative and Democratic increased their share of the vote significantly. The HNP almost ceased to exist.

The following meetings were banne during election week:

- A South African Health Workers Congress (Salubro) meeting in Soweto on Sunday.
- A Soweto meeting scheduled for Wednesday under the banner "Defy Apartheid Elections".
- A meeting planned for Monday at the University of Natal.
- All meetings under the auspices of the "United Front" were taken in the Cape Peninsula on September 6 of 7. This included a ban on protest gatherings at the University of Cape Town's Jameson Hall and on meetings in Cape Town, Kalk River, Stellenbosch, Simons Town, Goodwood and Wynberg.

The parties: 1987 and 1989

Lost deposits

A TOTAL of 53 candidates lost their deposits in the House of Assembly elections:

National Party ..................................
Conservative Party ..............................
Democratic Party .................................
Hersteke Nationale Party ........................
Independents .....................................

Detentions this week

Since the beginning of this week, 739 people have been arrested. On election day, a total of 253 people were in detention under emergency regulations, 20 of them under the age of 18.

The following people have been detained since the beginning of this week:

- Lebogang Mahaha (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
- Fikile & Majola (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
- Steve Móli (Coun, Northern Cape)
- Oupa J Modiklo (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
- Arthur Mpholo (NIM, Northern Cape)
- Sithembile Radebe (Southern Transvaal Youth Congress)
- Obed Rogers (Alexandra Action Committee)
- Paul Tshabalala (Alexandra Action Committee)
- Phineas Koli (Western Transvaal)

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Splinter group is formed

OWN CORRESPONDENT

PRETORIA - A right-wing extra-parliamentary organisation has decided not to participate in the protests organised by the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging and the Boere Vryheidbeweging because of disunity between the two movements.

The decision by the Magokasi Afrikanerwesionalisme (Man) - an organisation formed after last Friday's anti-apartheid protest picket on Church Square - follows that of the Conservative Party, which said it did not need "an ANC or UDF recipe for protest". 
A little leaner

F W de Klerk’s commitment to political and economic renewal is reflected in his new Cabinet. The appointments of Willem de Villiers and Viljoen to oversee privatization and the bureaucracy and Gert Viljoen to get the negotiation ball rolling, show imagination.

The acid test remains delivery. If Nationalist policy is not flexible enough to allow De Villiers and Viljoen maximum manoeuvrability, they will fail — just as Finance Minister Barend Du Plessis has failed, because of irresistible political pressures, to curb the spending sprees of his Cabinet colleagues.

By appointing De Villiers, De Klerk not only pleased the private sector (which has repeatedly called for suitable technocrats to be drafted into government), but implicitly conceded that there is no NP politician capable of doing the job. The appointment signals De Klerk’s intention to move ahead with privatization and streamlining the civil service. In the process, state spending could be significantly reduced or reallocated.

De Klerk also divided up the unwieldy but important Economic Affairs & Technology portfolio previously held by Danie Steyn. Kent Durr, former Own Affairs Budget Minister, becomes Minister of Trade, Industry & Tourism; and Dawie de Villiers (who previously held the post now given to Willem de Villiers) becomes Minister of Mineral & Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises.

Durr’s elevation to the main Cabinet was expected and is regarded as a sensible move. He is generally well liked in the private sector and has a good grasp of economics. Theo Alant, also respected by businessmen, retains his post as deputy minister in this department.

Viljoen must now be seen as the pivot between the extra-parliamentary opposition groups and De Klerk. His main task will apparently be to set the scene for multilateral discussions leading to a broadly acceptable new constitution.

One of the key aspects of Chris Heunis’s empire, provincial affairs, has been given to a new minister, Hernus Kriel — the amiable, outward-looking MP for Parow who is an authority on provincial matters. His deputy will be Turffontein MP, André Fourie.

Six ministers retain their posts: Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Magnus Malan (Defence), Koos Coetsee (Justice), Barend du Plessis (Finance), Adrian Vlok (Law & Order) and Gert Kotze (Environment & Water Affairs).

Apart from De Villiers and Viljoen, three ministers in PW Botha’s last Cabinet have been given new portfolios. Former Transport Minister Eli Louw gets Manpower (previously held by Piet du Plessis, who has retired); former Information Minister Stoffel van der Mervue takes over Viljoen’s thorny Education & Development Aid portfolio; and Former Constitutional Development & Planning Minister Gene Louw, becomes Minister of Home Affairs (previously held by Stoffel Botha, who has retired).

By scrapping the Information portfolio (though the Bureau for Information will be retained within the President’s Office), De Klerk has apparently acknowledged the futility of State propaganda efforts.

Three new ministers have been appointed.

The new Naval NP leader and former Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs & Technology, George Bartlett, becomes Minister of Transport, Public Works & Land Affairs; Rina Venter, the first woman in the Cabinet, takes over National Health & Population Development from Willie van Niekerk, who has been pushed sideways to the chairmanship of the President’s Council; and — in an unexpected move — nominated MP and failed Nat candidate in Barberton, Jacob de Villiers, becomes Minister of Agriculture (previously held by greyling Wentzel, who has retired).

Apart from Fourie, three other new deputy ministers were appointed: Piet Welgemeer (Mineral & Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises); Danie Schutte (Justice); and Piet Marius (Education & Development Aid).

Chairmanship of the white Ministers’ Council will be taken over from De Klerk by Koos Coetsee and two new ministers have been appointed: former Deputy Minister of Education Sam de Beer gets Health Services, Welfare and Housing; and former Agriculture Deputy Minister Kriel van Niekerk takes charge of “white” agriculture.

Surprise omissions from the main Cabinet are De Beer; Roelf Meyer, who retains his post as Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and has National Education added to his portfolio; and Leon Wessels, who switches from Deputy Minister of Law & Order to Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs — the post Pik Botha was hoping former Potgietersrus MP, Sampie Golden, would fill (Current Affairs September 15).

There was also some speculation that Piet Claas, who retains his post as white Own Affairs Education & Culture Minister, would take over De Klerk’s National Education portfolio in the main Cabinet.

Three deputy ministers were not reappointed: Myburgh Sterchi (Transport Affairs); Labour Party MP Luwellyn Landers (Population Development); and House of Delegates MP Somaroo Pachai (Environment Affairs). The former Deputy Minister of National Health, Michael Veldman, lost his Rustenburg seat to the CP. His post was scrapped.

The creation of a deputy minister’s post at Justice (while scrapping the Law & Order, where the need would appear to be far greater) must be seen either as a “reward” for Natal NP stalwart Danie Schutte — or an effort to relieve Koos Coetsee of some of his workload now that he is also chairman of the white Ministers’ Council.
Thousands to be bused to Pretoria for marches

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Thousands of protesters are to be bused into Pretoria tomorrow for the three planned marches in the city by Women Against Repression (WAR), the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the Boere Vryheidsbeweging (BVB).

About 50,000 people are expected to attend the protests during the height of the city's Saturday morning shopping period.

The WAR coalition said last night it would "definitely be bringing in" supporters by bus for its march on the Union Buildings. It is expecting more than 35,000 supporters.

Not afraid of interference

Miss Zeni Tshongweni, of the Federation of Transvaal Women, one of the organisations in WAR, told The Star no request had been made to the Government for permission to hold tomorrow's march.

She said: "The march is going ahead. We have not requested permission as we do not think it is necessary."

Miss Tshongweni said the 35,000 expected marchers were not afraid of interference from other groups in their protest. "The women say the march will not be stopped by threats or whatever."

She said the march would start after a 10am church service at St Alban's Anglican Cathedral in Schoeman Street. It would proceed east along Schoeman Street, left into Du Toit Street and right into Church Street before proceeding to the Union Buildings.

The AWB is making similar transport arrangements for its 10am demonstration on Church Square.

It is expected that at least 50,000 people will attend the three protests.

The AWB and BVB have been granted permission for their march.

Tomorrow women members of the Boere-staat Party plan to scrub down the statue of Paul Kruger in Church Square before the AWB protest. The scrub-down was decided upon after last week's anti-apartheid picket protest at the statue by about 1,000 people.

Some rightwingers have called that protest a "desecration of the volks's monuments".

The AWB protest is to be addressed by Mr Eugene TerreBlanche, its leader, and Boere-staat Party leader Mr Robert van Tonder.

The BVB is also holding a protest on Church Square at noon and will march to the Central Police Station to hand a memorandum to Police Commissioner Hennie de Witt.
De Klerk challenged

NEW State President Mr FW de Klerk has been challenged on his "justice for all" statement by an organisation called All Schools for All People.

The organisation says: "As leader of your party, you promised the South African nation "a new vision".

"You described the election results as an overwhelming "mandate for reform" and you have led the nation to believe that your vision for our country includes the eradication of apartheid and the provision of political rights for all its citizens.

"To this end your Government has allowed peaceful demonstrations to take place in various parts of the country. We see this as the beginning of an encouraging political development.

"One of the major problems faced by our country, which has not yet been adequately addressed, is the ongoing national crisis in education."
alleged irregularity.

"I did nothing more than lay a complaint, giving the police the information I had. The complaint is not directed against any political party or individual," he says.

Hitchcock confirms, however, that his complaint involves an attempt to use a dead person’s name for a spoils-som (ghost vote). Police would not reveal details of their investigation.

The DP’s Port Natal candidate, Hilda Grobler, confirms she had heard allegations about the incident and says: "We see this in an extremely serious light and would appreciate being informed of the outcome of the police investigation as soon as possible."

Whatever the outcome it again shows the potential for abuse of the prior voting system.

If allegations of the involvement of somebody close to the successful candidate turn out to be true an uproar can be expected from both opposing parties.

Since the NP and DP each have 10 seats in Natal, any chance of a new election will be seized upon.

The House of Assembly, not the Delegates.

The alleged irregularity in the Port Natal poll — won by NP candidate Johan Marais with a 2,427 majority — is not one of which party officials at NP head office in Durban were aware. The NP chairman for the constituency, Piet Hartz, says he knew nothing about the police investigation; he was overseas at the time of the election and would investigate the matter at the first local NP committee meeting.

CID officers at Brighton Beach police station, however, are taking the matter seriously. A complaint was laid by CP candidate Francis Hitchcock a week before the election. Police confirm that the complaint involved an allegation that a deceased person’s name had been used to try to cast a prior vote and that they are treating the matter as electoral fraud.

More serious are allegations (not included in the statement to the police) that the person who tried to use the dead woman’s name is an NP organiser — and a member of the successful candidate’s family.

In terms of the prior voting system, an application for the vote contains the signature of a witness (usually made by the party organiser who returns the application) and police are understood to be investigating the source of this signature.

Marais could not be contacted earlier this week as he was travelling to Pretoria for the inauguration of the State President. CP candidate Hitchcock is reticent, saying he made the complaint under pressure from the DP, who learnt he had information about the
WHAT is the purpose of the experiment project, and how does it fit into the broader research goals?"
slipping off for occasional long weekends and a few
days at the end of every par-
liamentary session in search of
something for the pot.
Friends see him as a man who
laughs easily, who has the
rare knack of telling a
joke well, who loves braais,
enjoys a whisky, and is a
chain-smoker in spite of re-
ppeated attempts to give up.
He is good company.

Drinking beer
"The higher he has got in
life," remarked one friend
who saw him start smoking
Perilly's filter, "the stronger
his brand." FW has been seen
at his ministerial residence in
Pretooria entertaining friends,
his shirt unbuttoned to catch
some sun, and drinking beer
from the can.
But he is not jeans and T-
shirt at home. He dresses in
Woolworths type casuals, al-
ways long trousers to hide the
scrawny calves, and some-
th ing with a collar. The De
Klerks have always had a
schipperke dog, on which he
may not be totally sold, but it
is always there when they re-
turn home with yaps of
welcome.

Though not a good letter
writer, he is a people person,
a chatty, social creature who
likes to be with friends.

When friends asked him at
a post-election "thank you"
function at the Vereeniging
town hall two weeks ago how
they should address him now,
Few have seen him lose his
temper. "You have to know
him very well to know that he
is angry," said Professor de
Klerk. He can be blunt at
times, preferring to
abruptly change the subject
to move away from what is
irking him, but seldom
aggressive.

"If he does lose his tem-
per," said Mr Vermaak, "he
keeps it to himself. There
is never an outburst. In business
that is where many a deal is
lost. He always retains his
courtesy, never insulting or
offending an opponent."

And that, it seems, is a key
to FW de Klerk's climb. He
maintains a politeness and
patience which make the peo-
ple he is engaging feel they
have his undivided attention.
He displays no airs, makes
time for people, and thanks
them effusively for the most
simple tasks.

Helen Suzman, the veteran
opposition MP, telephoned
him at the end of the last par-
liamentary session as she was
preparing for retirement af-
aer 35 years in public life.

Her vision
"Please come across to my
office for some tea," he said,
to her surprise. They sat and
talked for 45 minutes. He
asked for her vision of how
to tackle South Africa's prob-
lems, listening intently to her
input.

For that is where FW is at
his best, in one-on-one con-
versations with racially-defined
groups" - the codeword, in
black minds at least, for re-
decorated apartheid.

Mandate
Mr de Klerk has answered
his critics, though, by making
it clear that he feels he does
not have to break out of NP
thinking. His view, expressed
in Natal at the weekend, is
that his mandate is for Na-
tionalist visions of the future,
not Democratic or Conserva-
tive.

Confidants believe he is sin-
cere about jumping-starting a
process of negotiation. They
say he has a sense of urgency
about change.

"Politically, he is very
much aware that he has a
very short honeymoon," said
Professor De Klerk, a Demo-
cratic Party supporter. "He
realizes he will have to deliv-
er results within a year. In
other words, he has a very
strong feeling that 'time is of
the essence', a saying which
creeps up regularly in his
speech.

"I think FW realizes the
pre-negotiation phase should
develop quickly so that nego-
tiation can begin."

But the nagging feeling
among academics who know
him is that he may be too
steeped in Nationalist think-
ing to escape it.

They admit, however, that
he has not done much wrong
thus far. From February 2,
when the NP caucus made
him their leader, he egg-
danced for more than six
months as former President
Botha, the Great Crocodile,
watched his estranged col-
leagues belligerently and
finally left public life last month
in a foam of white water stirred
by his thrashing tail.

Aging leader
It was a period of trying
tension for FW and tears for
Mao as they wrestled with
the aging leader's refusal to
go quietly. From March 13,
Mr de Klerk had a very clear
and potent mandate from the
party's federal council and
parliamentary caucus to hand-
le it as he saw fit.

The party wanted only one
thing: FW de Klerk as presi-
dent. He could achieve this
any way.

But he showed restraint in
using that power, choosing
rather to wait out Mr Botha's
term of office and fight the
September 8 election merely
as NP leader and not as
South Africa's chief
executive.

FW was not PW's favour-
ite. Everybody knows that,
but few can say why. FW was
indeed smarting at the old
man's refusal to publicly con-
gratulate or even acknowl-
edge his successor as NP
 leader.

Then an isolated Mr Botha,
hastening his own political

Mr FW de Klerk is welcomed by British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher to her 10
Downing Street residence in London during Mr De Klerk's European tour in June.

In crisis
Mr de Klerk's decisiveness in
crisis has sur-

passed that of
P W Botha's
de parture, and And-
dre Turen-
nichts'. He
inherited both
posts, as Trans-
aval leader in
1962 and as
national NP lead-
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in crisis, Party
workers say he is
the man for the job.

In spite of stagger-
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He was often
dog-tired, but
never showed it
as he flitted
about the country
during those
months.

He handed over
with a mass
peaceful
protest in Cape
Town which
led to
premature
echoes in Johan-
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the heart of con-
servative Afri-
kanda, on Church
Square, Pretoria.
All went well
without
discussion.

Then, at the weekend,
he poured fuel on
the image he seeks as a
bold reformer, a man
of action and ready
decision-maker, by nam-
ing his cabinet
which seemed to
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away from reliance
on the so-
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THE CABINET

That Gorbachev look

The new president's Cabinet does not in itself promise reform — or reaction. You wouldn't think so to read the Sunday press. That aside, it's a bunch of Nationalists, some usual suspects, a couple of English-speakers, a lady and a retired businessman.

We like the idea of a businessman best of all.

The point about a Cabinet is that it is there to execute policy. First you have to have a policy. Grant that F W has the beginnings of one, and you have gone half way to explaining the mood of optimism now stalking the streets. But even political foreplay must lead on to something.

It must seriously be doubted that the requisite slashing of the civil service can be carried out if government's majority threatens to be downgraded to a plurality. De Klerk must seriously doubt it — which means that his hidden agenda must include the probability of doing deals with the Democrats or the Conservatives as circumstances dictate.

That, unfortunately, would erode the strength of reformist promises made after a weak electoral showing.

Again, the weak electoral showing was in part because voters are fed up with the economic plight in which the Nationalists have landed them. Yet De Klerk has left the economic team — led by Barend du Plessis — intact; and, indeed, strengthened its position vide Kent Durr and George Bartlett. What level of inflation does it collectively believe is acceptable?

The appointment of Gerrit Viljoen as constitutional negotiator-at-large will also be vitiated by suspicions that — though positively crisp and keen in comparison with Chris Heunis — he too is a man adept at spinning intellectual webs. He did so as Broederbond chief, selling the "multinational" sports policy to the faceless elect in smoky rooms.

The primacy of the Afrikaner cause must be assumed to be close to his heart.

But if F W has the will, his appointees will be the way. Style is set from the top and style is of paramount importance in politics. That is why we confidently expect De Klerk to make the task of his Cabinet so much easier by using his power this week, or perhaps next, to lift the State of Emergency and release Nelson Mandela.

Only if Mandela and those associated with him are free will the Great Indaba live up to its name; and only if the repression of the emergency abates. But if De Klerk does act as we expect him to, the once-unthinkable could happen — and the climate of international hostility be immeasurably softened with corresponding economic benefits.

The neutrality of the Cabinet aside, De Klerk has made a good — an excellent — start. One or two small steps further and he will have far outpaced the reforming efforts of P W Botha 10 years ago.
SA Embassy in London awaits reaction to new window display

LONDON - The South African Embassy in London is awaiting public reaction to a window display which "tears apart the concept of apartheid" and was unveiled this week to coincide with the swearing-in of the new State President, Mr F.W. de Klerk, in Pretoria.

Previous displays in the large display windows on the ground floor of South Africa House in Trafalgar Square, on a busy corner just metres from a permanent anti-apartheid demonstration opposite the front doors, have been spat on and painted over with African National Congress colours.

The British Government was responsible for the subsequent clean-up of the diplomatic property and will be again, should the display spill anti-apartheid supporters to similar action.

The display is an exhibition of photographs and texts on De Klerk's "new South Africa" theme, embassy spokesman Mr Roger Ballard-Tremeer said.

"It contains photographs of black and white South Africans living and working together and a text which lays stress on the South African Government's commitment to equality and non-discrimination.

"(The display) tears apart the concept of apartheid as the British understand it, and conveys to the thousands of Londoners and visitors who pass it daily a message of peace that the ANC hawks like Hani and Sello will find difficult to swallow," he said.
Malan 'available' for DP leadership

By BARRY STREEK

DEMOCRATIC PARTY co-leader Mr Wynand Malan last night came out in public support of the continuation of the troika system — but said he was available for the DP leadership if the party decided on one leader.

His decision to stand for the leadership position is in direct conflict with a statement he made on television earlier this year that he was not interested in being the DP leader.

He said last night that if the DP congress, to be held in Durban on October 7, decided against having three co-leaders, "I will make myself available, in response to pressures from within the party, for the leadership position".

Mr Malan said he wished to make it clear that his preference was for the present arrangement.

"The three leaders have worked well under the most trying of situations.

"Today there is no tension between the three leaders. In fact, there is agreement and co-operation at all levels and at all times.

"What must be avoided is the building of a party around a single leadership as a priority. The need of the day is to develop the party as a party."
FW shifting to bigger role for cabinet?

Political Staff

A MAJOR shift by President F W de Klerk away from the State Security Council and its security establishment towards a more prominent role overall for the cabinet is believed to be under way.

The government's recent more tolerant approach towards peaceful public protest was the first sign of a shift away from the "securocrats" who now appear to be taking a back seat.

Sources close to the government nevertheless still reject suggestions that the State Security Council itself had become a "super" cabinet or a "government within a government" at the expense of the rest of the cabinet.

However, they do agree that the emphasis is moving away from the past dominance of security issues towards more "social" aspects which they say would be logical at this stage and in fact had started "before Mr de Klerk's time".

The De Klerk administration's new style is all part of the President's attempts to create a climate more conducive to negotiation.

The feeling apparently is that basic order having been established, reform can get under way again.

A pointer to the new approach is said to be Mr de Klerk's failure to appoint a deputy Minister of Law and Order who up to now has been closely linked with the joint security management system.

The government's constant references to the possible release of security prisoners is also part of creating the climate for negotiations about a new constitution to include blacks in the democratic processes.

However, while there is renewed interest in, and speculation about, the possible release of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, it is understood that this is unlikely to happen soon.

Other prominent figures are expected to be released first but it is also understood that this is unlikely to happen in a matter of weeks.

Fears have been expressed that the new mood could be derailed by incidents such as the Maritzburg march and the possibility of conflicting protests in Pretoria.
The route, down Schoeman Street, left into Du Toit Street and right into Church Street, has been planned to avoid confrontation and will not pass through Church and Strijdom Squares, where the right-wing organisations have been granted permission to hold protests.

"We are marching in protest at the conditions created by apartheid. This right is not subject to the permission of the authorities," said Mrs Pollecutt in a statement.

Messages of support for the march had flooded in from international groupings, including the United Nations, said the WAF representatives.

Mr Justice M C de Klerk said at the urgent hearing in the Supreme Court last night that the proposed protest mentioned in papers could possibly not be orderly.

He supported an earlier ruling, by Mr Justice Maynard, that a rule nisi be granted in favour of the applicants.

The Minister of Justice told the court in an affidavit of the his fears of disorder.

"I can predict with accuracy that in the event of chaos erupting, the blame will be put on the authorities because they could not oversee that order was maintained," he said.

Quoting an affidavit by Major G G Smit of the South African Police, Mr Coetsee said he understood that marshals for the women's march were to be members of Cosatu.

"The organisers are not prepared to plan the march properly in co-operation with the authorities, but continue simply to recklessly execute their march ... with a disregard for the rights and interests of any other people," said Mr Coetsee.

He feared "that stone-throwing, damage and looting as was the case in Maritzburg. This was a reference on Thursday when marchers allegedly loot ed shops in the Natal capital.

Mr Coetsee said that the area where the proposed Pretoria march was to take place today was "not suitable."

The march is scheduled to start with a church service at St Albans Anglican Cathedral in Schoeman Street at 10 am and the women are due to leave for the Union Buildings at 11 am.

The Government earlier said in their affidavit that the march could take place on September 30 and that a suggestion to this end had been made to Sister Bernard Ncube, one of the 30 respondents cited in last night's hearing.
Detriment women sold

Govt. fears clash
with right-wingers

The march by as many as 5,000 women on National Women's Day will signal the beginning of a new era in South Africa. Women's rights have been a contentious issue in the country, and the march aims to highlight the need for equal rights and opportunities. The Government has expressed concern over potential clashes with right-wingers, who are expected to protest against the march. The organizers are confident that the peaceful protest will bring about positive change and raise awareness about gender equality.
NEGOTIATION

President de Klerk promised to continue a tough line.

Problem FW must correct is an old one.

IN saying he wants to negotiate a new South Africa, Mr F W de Klerk is setting himself and his government a formidable task. The problem they need to correct is an old and tough one. In this, the first of a series of three articles to appear in Weekend Argus, LEON MARSHALL looks at where and how it all started.

Transvaal's Louis Botha stood fast. He would not be able to put any solution before the people of the Transvaal that contained the principle of voting rights for natives, he insisted. For the sake of unification, however, he was prepared to leave matters as they were in the Cape.

An Eastern Cape delegate, G H Maasdorp, claiming to speak as a representative of "the man on the veld", said he feared the native franchise and would have preferred it to be

Again and again the racial issue came up.

It happened when there was serious dispute over the choice of a capital and it was Merriman's turn to warn that Pretoria's tropical climate was not only unsuitable to the development of a European population but that it was too dangerously close to Johannesburg and its mines where tribal philosophies were changing in a way that was bound to influence the future of South Africa.

It happened when Natal prime minister F R Moor proposed that women be given the vote as he thought it a crying injustice that natives in the Cape should have it but not European women. General Christiaan De Wet warned that if women were to be given the vote he would start an agitation not only in his own Orange River Colony but in the others as well, and he was assured of ninety percent support. Merriman thought it a revolutionary suggestion; and Botha thought De Wet somewhat hasty in wanting to enter the lists against women, for if the two of them could ever be called handsuppers, it would be on the question of women.

General Smuts pointed out that according to a decision already taken it would be impossible to grant the franchise to European women in the Cape without also giving it to the native women. That caused Moore's suggestion to come to grief.

It was by then well into 1909, and having sat for some months in the Cape, Malan noted restlessness among members of the convention as the planting season approached.

Their draft constitution was submitted for approval to each of the colonies before the British parliament turned it into the South African Act.

But even before the delegates went their separate ways, Malan noted in his diary: I fear that the franchise will be the cause of difficulties in the future...
General Louis Botha ... no voting rights for "natives".

General Jan Smuts ... franchise for women.

President Martinus Steyn ... placated feelings.

civilisation test whereby only about 200 blacks had won the vote on the basis of a certificate granted by the governor proving, with the support of three white electors, that they had been exempted from the operation of the "native" law for forty years and that they had met the property and income qualifications set for white voters.

The Cape stood distinctly apart. Eighty years before persons of colour had already been legally recognised as proper subjects with the same rights as whites. It granted the franchise and the right to be elected to parliament to all races of voting age, even though a wage and property qualification had limited the number of "native" and coloured voters to only 22,784 by the time of union, without any yet having made it to parliament.

The majority of the Cape's 12 delegates were strongly committed to their system. In a speech earlier that year, Merriman had said of the coloured franchise: This course I would not under any circumstances retreat from.
And in a letter to Smuts shortly before the 
convention, he had written: 'In the Cape we 
are pledged as far as the most solemn as-
surances can go to maintain the rights 
conferred by our franchise.'

Other delegates, particularly those from the 
Transvaal, were equally committed to their 
systems, so setting off the most bitter and sus-
tained battle of the constitution.

Various compromises were suggested to find 
a uniform system, including one that there 
should be a new "civilisation test" for the en-
tire country. But the Cape would not budge, 
the Transvaal would not budge, and when it 
seemed the idea of union itself was under 
threat, it was Merriman who made the feder-
alist suggestion that each colony retain its own 
franchise system.

Noting the vast overweight of racist atti-
tudes in the rest of the country, it was he, 
too, who later made the further proposal that 
the Cape franchise be given special protection 
in the constitution, which ended in the en-
trenched clause determining that it would be 
changeable only by two-thirds majority of the 
Assembly and Senate sitting together.

Among those who had severe reservations 
was Malan who, as noted in his diary, had diffi-
culty understanding how the administration 
of the natives could be separated from that of 
the whites and, furthermore, how a central 
unionist government could try to govern over 
the white man’s head even as people of colour were 
concerned, each colony would be allowed to go its 
own way.

He warned the convention that Merriman’s 
suggestion offered no more than a temporary 
solution and pleaded that it be reverted to only 
if no general solution could be found.

With quite prophetic foresight he added that 
the convention was in a far better position to 
educate people towards a uniform franchise 
than the future parliament would be. Putting it 
off would hold the danger not only of making a 
poor impression on people of colour, causing 
them to feel that they had been unjustly treat-
ed especially in those provinces where they al-
ready had the franchise. It also held the danger 
of transferring white divisions on the matter 
to the union. He could not understand the fear of those 
who opposed the native franchise. Surely, he 
said, a man exercised influence in society by 
his possessions, his intelligence and his vote at 
the ballot-box. Nobody suggested that the na-
tives should be prevented from collecting goods or 
that education should be withheld from them. And even if we wished to do so, it 
would be to no avail. Was it not childish and 
dangerous, therefore, to exclude them from the 
franchise only?

The response was sharp and bitter, especial-
ly when Malan’s colleague, J W Sauer, again 
insisted that the Cape system be applied 
throughout the country.

Natal’s E M Greene said he rejected political 
rights for natives and Asians outright;
the Orange River Colons’ prime minister and 
colonial secretary, Abraham Fisher, thought 
the natives and Europeans should be kept in 
different krans, although he was uncertain 
whether it would be right to alter the Cape 
franchise; his colleague, Jernezig, warned that 
the Cape did not seem to realise the danger of 
the Native franchise, just as somebody playing 
under a river sometimes did not see the danger 
of the water which would sweep him away ...

The convention chairman, Sir Henry, cau-
tioned delegates that while the British 
government had agreed to give the convention 
free hand, it, too, had an interest in the out-
come, especially with a view to the possible 
transfer of the Bechuanauld, Swaziland and 
Basutoland protectorate to the Union. He 
thought a plan whereby a judge decided 
whether a native was raised enough to be-
come a voter would meet their requirement.
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SUNDAY TIMES, September 24 1989

CASH 'RUIN'

Councilors Face

PAY BY P45 000

FW SHAPES

COUNCILLORS COUNCIL

BY NORMAN WEST: POLITICAL REPORTER

In the past few years, the trend to lower pay levels and more benefits for councilors has been evident. However, in recent months, the trend has reversed, with councils across the country starting to reduce councilor pay.

In the past, councilors were often paid very little, but in many cases, they were also provided with benefits such as free accommodation and travel expenses. This has now changed, with councils looking to reduce costs and cut back on these benefits.

One council, which has recently cut pay, is the City Council of the Western Province. The councilor pay in this area has been reduced by 20%, with councilors now receiving only P45 000 per year.

This move has been met with mixed reactions from councilors, with some saying it is unfair and others agreeing that it is necessary to reduce costs.

In addition to cutting councilor pay, some councils are also looking to reduce benefits. For example, the City Council of the Eastern Province has decided to reduce the allowance for travel expenses, with councilors now only receiving P200 per month.

Overall, it seems that councils are beginning to take a more pragmatic approach to councilor pay, with many looking to reduce costs and cut back on benefits.

Plan

The plan for cutting councilor pay is to reduce the allowance for accommodation and travel expenses. The councilors will also be required to pay a portion of their own accommodation costs.

It is hoped that these changes will help to reduce costs and provide more funding for other areas of the council.

Summary

In conclusion, the trend to cut councilor pay is likely to continue, with many councils looking to reduce costs and cut back on benefits. While some councilors may be unhappy with these changes, it is hoped that they will help to improve the financial situation of the council.

Recommendations

In order to further reduce costs, councils may consider implementing additional measures such as reducing the number of councilors or cutting back on non-essential expenses.
FW slips into office without staff shake-up

President F W de Klerk hardly caused a ripple when he moved into his new office in the Union Buildings this week.

Most of the more than 100 staff members who served ex-President P W Botha will be staying on — at least for the time being.

They include the omnipresent Dr Janne Roux, whose contract as secretary-general of the President's Office has recently been extended for another two years.

Mr Botha vacated his Cape Town office in Typhlous more than a month ago — the day after his dramatic resignation on August 14. However, Mr De Klerk stayed on in his Ministry of National Education office until his inauguration.

And, when he did move in, the changing of the order proceeded very smoothly.

Mr De Klerk has brought in only the handful of staff most intimately involved with the President — including his private secretary, Mr Henning van Wijk and his deputy, Mr Noel Beason.

Private

A new man on the President's team is his media spokesman, Mr Casper Venter, formerly of the Bureau for Information.

He has replaced Mr Botha's man, Mr Jack Viviers, whose role became intensely controversial in the final months of the Botha administration.

Also gone are Mr Botha's two private secretaries, Mr Jan Palter and Captain Yries Ehlers.

Capt Ekker, a naval officer and the man who probably knows more about Mr Botha and his office than any other person, is understood not to be considering going into private consultancy.

He is at present helping Mr Botha, who has moved to his private home in the Wilderness, to sort out his personal papers which will be moved to the archives of the Institute of Contemporary History at the University of the Free State.

Mr Botha's personal secretary, Miss Geraldine Mostert, is also assisting the ex-President.

"A retiring State President is entitled to keep his staff for 60 days while he winds up his affairs. In Mr Botha's case the complement has already been substantially scaled down, a spokesman said.

After the 60-day bridging period, a retired President retains a bodyguard-cum-driver and a personal secretary for life, on the public payroll.

Mr Botha retires on a pension equal to his salary — R14 600 a month.
HALTED!

Black arrests as rightwing hold protests

BY CHARLES MOGALE and SOL MORATHI

RACIAL tensions soared in Pretoria yesterday as police abort ed a planned march by Women Against Repression (WAR) while two extreme rightwing rallies were allowed to take place.

By late yesterday, about 300 people were believed to be arrested. Scores of blacks watching rightwingers from the wall surrounding Church Square were driven away in police vans.

Later, as the newly formed Boere Vryheidsorg's rally was in progress, blacks were not allowed to come within a block of Church Square.

According to police, a later march was hailed as a success. A number of blacks wearing T-shirts with anti-apartheid slogans were taken into custody by police near the square.

Last night's WAR officials said about 200 people had been arrested. They are expected to appear in court tomorrow.

Inside the square, rightwingers sang and applauded AWB leader Eugène Terre Blanche and waved placards. One read: "Revy Strykton, Hang Mzondi!"

Armed AWB Aquila bodyguards attempted to drive away blacks. The men, who said they wanted to chase away the "pigs", were held back by the police.

An AWB organizer whipped up the audience when he ordered that blacks be removed from walls surrounding the square.

From the early morning, the streets were teeming with armed police directing blacks to other routes to avoid the square.

In Schuman Street, where the WAR march to the Union Buildings was due to start, cordons were set up and access to the St Alphons's Anglican Church was refused.

Police roadblocks were set up at several points leading into the city, and buses carrying WAR members and supporters, among them Nelson Mandela's wife Winnie, were not allowed into town.

WAR refused to apply for permission to march.
heart

E.W.'s

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AMID the pomp and ceremony of the State President's Inauguration this week, four young learners from different sides of South Africa...
THANK YOU, THE PRESIDENT WITH NATAN BENJAMIN

FAITH

PROPHECIES OMAR MINNE

Report Charles Perkins
Prophetic Promise: Rejoice, rejoice. Radiating joy, Nation Benjamin and early laboratory at the Union Buildings.

PROOF: [Image]

30th Yef 1919

30th Yef 1919
Old Free State has lessons for future

MOST South Africans, out of transparent chauvinism, have but few good words for the Free State.
They blast the landscape (oh, for a mountain, oh, for a wattle tree) and ignore the people...
Those who have read the odd history book or stopped off at more than a filling station do, however, praise the Free Staters for their political balance and ethnic tolerance.
"The most balanced South Africans," some say.

In this last election, that political balance was ostensibly upset when the Conservative Party promised no fewer than six Free State seats while the National Party squeezed in with seven (with Fauresmith in the limbo of perfect equilibrium).
How now for balance? cried the Editor of the Sunday Times in his Hogarth column and invited, nay, challenged me as a "professional Free Stater" to please explain the aberration (the gauntlet is obvious). In challenging me, he forgets his own estimable Free State connections.
Touchingly, he also equates a loss of NP support with a loss of balance. With which I would, of course, agree.

Deplored

But in more serious vein, any Free Stater with respect for its traditions must certainly bemoan its partial welcome to the extremist CP. For extremism has never been the province's stock-in-trade.
Nonetheless, it is now the Free State Afrikaners who have been real apart, and their loss of pristine balance is deplored.
Yet the French have a saying — to understand all is to forgive all.

In trying to understand the erstwhile political balance of the Free State, one best explains it as a melting pot of two traditional strains of Afrikaner thought, with an English additive. The Free State is, after all, the crossroads of South Africa.
There are indeed two kinds of Afrikaner thinking. The easy differentiation is geographic — north and south — but the key is historic.
In the Transvaal and Free State, the concept of self-determination of the national freedom of Afrikanerdom has taken pride of place. And this goes back to the Trek, the old Republics and the wars fought against British domination.

In Afrikaner politics in this century the north/south strains of political thought have often been at loggerheads, especially over the subtle question of who leads Afrikanerdom — the Cape or the Transvaal?
The Free Staters, on the other hand, always managed to internalise both the strains and handle them well.
The tradition of self-determination still runs deep, but without anti-British extremism. Meanwhile, the influence of Cape thinking has been strong, along with its English inputs.

Party-politically, the Free State has moved its allegiance up and down, sometimes backing the Cape leadership of the NP, sometimes that of the Transvaal — as now.
Overall, the key to Free State balance has been moderation, born perhaps out of rural common sense.
It is the current argument over how Afrikaners look at their future that has caused the balance to go out of kilter.
Whereas the Free Staters previously united both lines of thinking in their politics, in recent years they have not been so sure.
The CP militants in the province came to feel that the Cape Nationalists — who have led the NP this past decade — have gone liberal like the British and will all too easily sell them down the river to the blacks. They have consequently rebelled.

Racism

The unfortunate rub is that such CP supporters irrationally equate Afrikaner nationalism with racism — while, at the same time, the NP has been escaping from that intellectual bind.
So, instead of internalising such differences as in the past, the Free Staters have now divided. And this applies to much of the rest of Afrikanerdom.

All of which puts the new Transvaal leadership of President F W de Klerk to the test. Will he be able to persuade Afrikanerdom to unite once more and submerge its differences in mutual trust?
Or is he charting a new course by relying on English support?

Whichever course he chooses, he can benefit from the experience of the old Free State.
HISTORY has afforded Mr F W de Klerk such an eventful entrée to the Presidency — with so much done and said — that the focus is likely to fall soon on what has NOT been said.

This week, in his inauguration, Mr De Klerk restated his eloquent vision of a South Africa in which the distress of the past have been vanquished and the antagonisms defused.

What has not emerged, however, is a detailed vision — or a set of clues to one — of what sort of a South African society these fine goals would be achieved in.

Only the most uncharitable could now doubt Mr De Klerk’s sincere wish to negotiate a settlement among all South Africans, one that the majority would eventually be willing to call their own — and support.

Yet it is precisely not knowing what the Government wants to negotiate about that is keeping its intended partners holding the prospect of talks at arm’s length.

Mr De Klerk’s problem is that various members of the Government have been pronouncing apartheid dead (and, in some cases, even “gone”) for more than a decade.

In this regard, when he says he wants to get away from apartheid and its trapping there is a tangible need for him to demonstrate what is meant this time. That meaning did not emerge in the recent election campaign.

And, contrary to all the hype surrounding it, the National Party’s five-year action plan contained very little of it. But there is a Nationalist vision of a future South Africa — and it has been around for well over 20 months. Its basic elements began coming together in the last, moribund years of Mr P W Botha’s rule.

Put in its most simplified form, the vision entails creating a South Africa in which each adult has a vote; that these votes be equal; that each citizen is guaranteed equal civil rights; and that the constitution grant all groups of individuals equal democratic powers.

So far this could be a description of any Western state. The South African caveat, however, will be that those enumerated rights will be exercised in separate, mainly racial, compartments.

The view goes further: The way in which these compartments are seen, and described, is of paramount importance.

Until now, SA society has been divided into separate racial groupings — “horizontally”, because some racial groups, like whites, were placed in a superior position over others in the ordering of things.

The new compartmentalisation, its theorists insist, should be viewed vertically — so that the groups will exist in a parallel ordering of society, with no one enjoying precedence over another.

**Emboldened**

This is what is meant by ending domination of one group over another.

A further important element in the concept is the wholesale elimination of all discriminatory legislation and practices — except the principle one that deems persons to be members of one or another group. All forms of what used to be called “petty” discrimination will be eradicated.

This is what many Government officials mean when they talk of ending apartheid — and from which definition it can rightly be said to be largely gone already.

Within these compartmentalisations each group will develop for itself a political structure and will control — or at least influence — such as schools, hospitals, housing and agriculture.

This, of course, is what is meant by “own affairs” and the retention of an “own community life”.

At the various levels — local, regional, provincial and national — there will be umbrella bodies with representatives of mutual concern will be dealt with. These are “general affairs”, by now a familiar concept.

Under Mr De Klerk, emboldened reformers have taken the concept further by introducing sophisticated new elements. Primary among these is that the definition of group compartments need not be necessarily or exclusively racial, although in large part it will remain so.

**Separate**

The idea is to get away from the crudity of compulsory racial classification of citizens, and to “blur” the harsh lines of absolute distinction between the racial compartments. Hence the talk of “freedom of association”.

This is the intellectual womb from which has been born the planned introduction of Free Settlement Areas, and the creation of a fifth compartment — for those who do not wish to have a racial tag.

The Free Settlement Areas are a key element. For it is only by living in one of them that a “non-racial” citizen can enjoy full rights, like voting for a local authority.

Two important things flow from this.

One is that the Free Settlement Areas law and the Group Areas Act, or something like it, are complementary.

The other is that the number of Free Settlement Areas is critical. And here a major debate is being waged in Government circles.

Will — or should — Free Settlement Areas be and remain the exception, or should they become the norm? The various sides of the argument are far too complex to be elucidated here; suffice it to say that the “own affairs” concept depends on the retention of racial residential segregation in the main.
White safety is the route to new deal for blacks

by Dr Otto Graf Lambsdorff

chairman of the Free Democratic Party (Liberal) in West Germany

White domination by a majority may have some relative merits compared to domination by a minority, it is certainly not a satisfactory solution by any liberal standards. Of course, every adult South African must have the right to vote, regardless of race or colour. But it is equally clear that there must be safeguards against a tyranny of the majority — not by tampering with the franchise but through institutional checks and balances which effectively rule out any monopoly of power.

In short, what is needed is some kind of power-sharing If, of course, what F W de Klerk called "healthy" power-sharing, which is nothing else but white domination in a pseudo-democratic guise. What I have in mind is a dispensation which really requires the concurrence of all relevant forces to make decisions that are binding upon all.

I do not pretend to have a blueprint of such a dispensation, nor would it be proper for me to offer one. That is a matter that must be worked out by South Africans themselves — by all South Africans, and at the negotiating table. When I said a year or two ago, that "white security is the key to black liberation", Frederik van Zyl Slabbert's reply was, "Yes, and black liberation is the key to white security!" And, indeed, not only are both these propositions correct, they are also mutually interdependent.

The longer whites BTN themselves by seeking their security through domination, the closer they move towards the bricks of the abyss beyond which there can be no security for any.

Whites must learn that their position grows increasingly precarious while black aspirations are frustrated.

If that lesson is not learnt quickly, they risk something less than an extremely destructive civil war, which may not only wipe out the basis of their own way of life, but of the South African economy as a whole.

On the other hand, the sooner blacks realize that there is, at least some legitimate white concerns about the future of a post-apartheid South Africa, and the sooner they offer perspectives designed to dispel such essential angst, the faster we shall move towards a genuine resolution of this extremely dangerous conflict.

That is why dialogue is of such paramount importance.

I know, of course, that it is hypocritical to preach non-violence to those whose non-violent struggle of many decades was "rewarded" only by suppression, hunting and imprisonment — in a word, by violence — and I do know that there is an end to human patience at some point or other.

But still, I cannot see what positive results could be achieved by violence, and I cannot bring myself to approve of it.

The truth is that there is no alternative to dialogue.
Moving downline

What will SA look like in five years time? Much will of course depend on what F W de Klerk’s five-year plan brings forth — as well as imponderables such as sanctions and the scale of internal protest. However, based on what he calls the current pattern of a fragmentation of apartheid and a phase of untidy transition, Urban Foundation chairman Jan Steyn has made some tentative predictions.

In an address to the SA Orthopaedic Association’s congress in Pretoria last week, Steyn suggested that if current processes unravel and develop as one would expect them to, we will have a society with the following major features:

☐ A government drawn from all groups, probably with provision for an executive drawn from the major black and white political parties. It could take many different forms and will understandably be highly controversial — but it will constitute a substantial measure of power-sharing between major political interests.

☐ A Bill of Individual Rights will have strengthened the rule of law and opened the way for much fuller equality of opportunity in society.

☐ Open residential areas subject to the qualification that some deeply conservative white suburbs may exercise (formally or informally) a right to remain exclusive. In other suburbs a lesser or greater degree of integration will have taken place, though informal ethnic clustering, as one finds in the US, will probably occur.

☐ In a combination of State-subsidised private schools and even some State schools, one will find an increasing proportion of education occurring on a nonracial basis.

☐ Over-archingly forms of metropolitan government will draw together formerly white and black municipalities under the umbrella of common local fiscal resources. The powers of metropolitan authorities will tend to increase and local government will increasingly be devoted to attempts to upgrade less-developed urban areas.

☐ The economy, though beset by uncertainty, will be stronger than it is at present, primarily because investors and foreign finance houses will have become aware of the fact that movement is occurring in the direction of longer-term stability.

☒ Blacks will be divided on the reforms and changes and some will participate while others will choose to remain outside the system of government and administration as a vocal dissenting bloc. This dissent and protest will tend to maintain pressure on the whole system for further change; and

☒ SA will still be in transition but it will be less easy to make the accusation that the system is white-dominated. The political centre of gravity will be shifting towards effective participation by the majority. A post-apartheid SA will be emerging, still unidly, but in the end convincingly.

Fits and starts

In response to those who would question his broad predictions, from whatever stance, Steyn makes two points. first, that most successful democracies emerged in political fits and starts as a result of unwilling concessions by ruling groups.

These societies were at the time of their transition also riven by protest, defensive rhetoric, thwarted interests and frustrated expectations. Virtually all those societies which have undergone quick and radical transformation have proved incapable of sustaining the freedoms promised by the changes.

Finally, says Steyn, two developments could abort the process he sketches. One would be if change takes place in a deteriorating economy, where increased black and white privation makes both less inclined to compromise. A second danger lies in the movements for change (internal and the outside world) pushing too hard in a way which arouses fear among whites that their interests and security face serious jeopardy or destruction.

This could lead to an unthinking, emotionally based resistance developing, as happened in Southern Rhodesia, leading to UDI in 1965.

While those dangers are latent in SA’s social life and brittle economy, Steyn concludes, there is a web of influence inside the country and abroad that is capable of sustaining SA’s progress towards a unified and equal society.

"SA will change: apartheid is in the final five years of its tragic and perverse existence; and progress towards this goal can be protected against aggressive and confrontational activism from the Right, the Left and abroad."
Worrall, Malan want tro to go on — Zac says ‘no

By TOS WENZEL
Political Correspondent

TWO of the three co-leaders of the Democratic Party have come out in favour of a continuation of the collective leadership, but the third favours a single leader.

Those in favour of the continuation of the “troika” are Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, while Dr Zac de Beer wants a single leader.

A decision on the matter must be taken at a congress of the party in Durban on October 18.

Mr Malan said today that the collective leadership had worked well up to now and that he was in favour of it continuing at least until a congress next year.

The party’s top priority now is to work to strengthen its grassroots support and he feared that it could lose support with one leader.

If, however, it was decided to have only one leader he would be available.

Dr Worrall said that, while he felt the matter should be left to the congress, he was in favour of the continuation of the triumvirate as he believed this would work better than the efforts of just one leader.

He hoped the congress would recognise that there were important elements of the party which had contributed to its success. The triumvirate did not lose the party votes during the election campaign.

The party had acquired a new personality which differed from its component parts and this process had to continue if the party were to achieve its full potential.

Dr Worrall said that he, too, would be available for the leadership if the congress decided to have only one leader.

Dr Zac de Beer pointed out that he had told the last Progressive Federal Party congress nearly six months ago that he would be available for the leadership.

When the DP was started it was decided that there should be a congress within six months to decide on the question of leadership.
KEN OWEN

set of human rights

encounters a rival

Law Commission

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in O'Dwyer

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FEATURES

Ken Owen

The decisions on the future of the national economy and the role of the State in determining its course will determine the extent to which the country will be able to meet the challenge of the international economic environment.

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The major decisions on the future of the national economy and the role of the State in determining its course will determine the extent to which the country will be able to meet the challenge of the international economic environment.
By Louise Burgers

The Democratic Party has called for the voters' roll to be scrapped so a general registration of voters can take place before the next delimitation.

The information officer for the DP, Mr Peter Soal, was commenting in the light of numerous mistakes on the voters' roll.

"The system of registering voters needs to be investigated. One would need a general registration of voters closer to the time of delimitation. The present voters' role needs to be scrapped and there should be people going round to each address in every constituency to re-register voters."

Commenting on the DP's call, the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria said a similar idea was investigated but it was decided that the general registration of voters would not yield better results than the present system.

The National Party in the Bezuidenhout constituency has complained that about 150 voters were allegedly removed from the Bezuidenhout constituency voters' roll and placed in the uncontested Yeoville constituency.

NP city councillor Mr Howard Bloomberg said some people living in Observatory Extension and Linksfield Ridge had voted in Bezuidenhout in the 1987 general election and had since appeared in Yeoville.

The Department of Home Affairs said both suburbs were situated in the Yeoville electoral division.

"When the voters' list for the electoral division of Bezuidenhout was checked, it was established that approximately 30 voters should be transferred to the Yeoville constituency, which was not done."

Miss Sinja Bumann, who lives in the Westdene constituency, was angry at not being allowed to vote in this election because she was somehow transferred and registered in an uncontested seat.

"I voted in the 1987 election in Westdene and suddenly I find myself registered in the Yeoville constituency which is uncontested. I didn't register a change of address or anything."

"There are many people in this country who do not have the vote and it is up to those of us who do to use it. I was furious. It is my democratic right."
Major speculation in Britain on Thatcher visit to SA

Message for De Klerk

Political Correspondent
THE British government was strongly suggesting through official and unofficial sources today that Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher would visit South Africa early next year if President F W de Klerk gave substance to his promises of further reform.

Several of Britain's major newspapers, all supporters of Mrs Thatcher's line, carried the same message: that Mrs Thatcher would go to South Africa in an effort to accelerate the pace of reform under President De Klerk.

The story was clearly leaked to journalists who travelled with Mrs Thatcher on her trip to Japan and the Soviet Union.

The newspapers involved are the Times, the Daily Express, Today and the Daily Mail.

The Express's political editor, Mr Chris Buckland, suggests that Mrs Thatcher also wants to have talks with Nelson Mandela once he is freed, breaking her embargo on links with the ANC.

Mrs Thatcher always had a firm list of conditions to be met before she would contemplate a South African trip, the release of Mr Mandela and Walter Sisulu, the easing of restrictions on political activity and the opening of South African government contacts with the African National Congress.

In a front-page report today, the Daily Mail says the trip, probably at Easter, means the release of Mr Mandela could be only a matter of months away, "along with a package of reforms giving the country's black majority more freedom and power."

It adds: "The log-jam over apartheid and discrimination against the black population, which began when South Africa walked out of the Commonwealth during the Macmillan era, is breaking up fast."

A British diplomatic source said in Pretoria today that there were no immediate plans for such a visit.

It is understood, official sources said, that Mrs Thatcher would not feel able to undertake such a trip unless she felt that she could make a substantial contribution at ending apartheid. This would require substantial moves from Mr De Klerk.

Top government sources in Pretoria said there were no plans afoot for such a visit. They did not suggest this would never happen, but said no plans in this regard were being worked on at present.

A spokesman for the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said he had no official knowledge about proposals for a visit, but that anything like this would be dealt with through normal channels.
Worrall wants retention of DP troika leadership

DELEGATES to the DP's special congress next month should, when deciding leadership structure, consider how the growth and image of the party would be advanced, co-leader Denis Worrall said yesterday.

The debate on October 7 in Durban will centre around whether the party should have a single leader or whether Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan should continue as joint leaders.

Worrall said he supported the retention of the triumvirate as it proved successful in the election.

"The formula worked, the congress needs to look at this very carefully before deciding to change it," he said.

By having a troika, the party was not dominated by the single image of either the IP, the NDM or the PFP and had an entirely new personality, Worrall said.

Worrall said all three leaders had different strengths and their appoint-ment had satisfied members of all three parties.

- He said his support for a troika in no way demonstrated a lack of confidence in his own ability to lead the party or in his support within it.
- A Sunday newspaper reported at the weekend Worrall had done a head count, and realising he would not win in a straight battle between himself and De Beer, has decided to opt for the troika.

Malan has said he was in favour of the troika but would be available if the congress opted for a single leader.

DP sources said yesterday the IP and the NDM had drawn support from quarters that would not have become involved in the PFP and the election of De Beer as party leader would alienate that support.

DENNIS HOTZ FINE ART

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Profossi
MAJOR struggle developing within the ranks of the Democratic Party as to whether the DP should elect a single leader at its congress on October 7, or persevere with the present "troika".

At this stage both Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan favour retention of the troika, while Dr Zach de Beer believes the DP should elect a leader and settle the issue.

Tipped as the unquestionable favourite when the party was founded, Dr Worrall has lost considerable ground since then and it is now accepted that he would lose to Dr De Beer.

Mr Malan has always been regarded as a "no-hoper" in the leadership fight.

He came out in support of retaining the troika at the end of last week, but at the same time stated that he was available for election as DP leader.

Advocating retention of the troika at a meeting in Randburg, Mr Malan said that if a single leader was elected he would stamp his own personality on the DP and this could be detrimental to the party's growth.

Dr De Beer was elected DP parliamentary leader at the start of the present session and even if a single leader is not elected on October 7 he will remain in this position, allowing him to consolidate his claim to the overall leadership.
De Klerk plays down Mandela release stories

We mean business
— State President Mr F W de Klerk.

By Garren Thomson, The Star Bureau

LONDON — The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has played down reports that he is ready to release Mr Nelson Mandela within the next few months.

But he pledged that public protest would continue to be allowed in South Africa — as long as it took place "within the law".

NOT AN ISSUE

In a wide-ranging interview with the BBC's southern Africa correspondent, James Robbins, Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela himself had said his release was "not an issue" at the moment.

Mr de Klerk added that statements by his Ministers on Mr Mandela's future had been misunderstood.

"The question of Mr Mandela's role is a very delicate one which needs constant attention and which is receiving constant attention," he said.

The timing of the release would "definitely not" be decided at the meeting of his Cabinet tomorrow.

The interview, broadcast here on both the BBC's evening news and more fully on Newsnight, did, however, suggest that Mr de Klerk accepted both Mr Mandela's release, in principle at least, and the need for accelerated change in South Africa.

"Time is of the essence and therefore we are not playing games which we realise expectations," he said, "We mean business.

We mean to live up to the reasonable expectations which we have created.

"Newsnight's later analysis of the interview reported the growing scepticism among opponents of the Government and Mr de Klerk's much-publicised liberal approach was already toughening up — and that he was offering not negotiations, only consultations.

But in the interview, given yesterday afternoon, the President said: "Our vision of the future is that in the new South Africa no one group should dominate another.

MAJORITY RULE

"We should not have minority rule where minorities can be oppressed, and we should definitely discontinue the situation where a majority actually finds itself in a dominating position.

"Referring to an "improved climate for negotiation, a smiling and humanitarian" President claimed: "It is as if there's a realisation among thinking South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, that really the time for strife and conflict has passed.

Mr de Klerk said public protest would now continue to be allowed in South Africa, as long as it took place inside the law and there was not much sense in persisting if the point being made was already been accepted.

"And we accept this. All South Africans must get the vote, all South Africans must become part of the decision making process, all South Africans must have a fair share in the economy, and a fair share in the power of this country. What we must do is to start talking as a now..."

*See Page 12
FW cool on Mandela's release

From GARNER THOMSON
The Argus Foreign Service
LONDON. — President F W de Klerk has played down reports that he is ready to release Mr Nelson Mandela in the next few months.

But he pledged that public protest would continue to be allowed in South Africa — as long as it took place "within the law."

In a wide-ranging interview with the BBC's Southern Africa correspondent, James Robbins — the first he has given since his inauguration — Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela himself had stated his release was "not an issue" at the moment.

Mr de Klerk added that statements by his ministers on Mr Mandela's future had been "misunderstood." "The question of Mr Mandela's role is a very delicate one which needs constant attention and which is receiving constant attention," he said.

Cabinet meeting

The timing of the release would "definitely not" be decided at the meeting of his Cabinet tomorrow.

He could not say whether Mr Mandela would be released this year, next year or "whenever."

He would also not be drawn into saying whether other political prisoners would be released before him.

The interview — broadcast here on both the BBC's evening newscast and, more fully on Newnight — did, however, suggest Mr de Klerk accepted both Mr Mandela's release, in principle at least, and the need for accelerated change in South Africa.

"Not playing games"

"Time is of the essence and therefore we're not playing games when we raise expectations," he said. "We mean business. We mean to live up to the reasonable expectations which we have created."

Newnight's later analysis of the interview reported the growing suspicion among government opponents that Mr de Klerk's much-publicised liberal approach was already toughening up and he was offering not negotiations but only consultations.

But in the interview, given late yesterday, Mr de Klerk said: "Our vision of the future is that in the new South Africa no one group should dominate another. We should not have simple majority rule where minorities can be dominated, and we should definitely discontinue the situation where a minority actually finds itself in a dominating position."

Referring to an "improved" climate for negotiation, a smiling and optimistic-sounding President de Klerk claimed: "It's as if there's a realisation among thinking South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, that really the time for strife and conflict has passed."

Fair share

He added public protest would now continue to be allowed in South Africa, as long as it took place inside the law.

But, he added: "There isn't really much sense in protesting if the point that you want to make is already accepted."

"And we accept that all South Africans must get the vote, all South Africans must become part of the decision-making process, all South Africans must have a fair share in the economy and a fair share in the power of this country."

"What we must do is to start talking as to how."

Chief's reburial

- Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa today dismissed reports that Mr Mandela would be chief speaker at the reburial in Umtata on Sunday of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, reports The Argus Africa News Service.

Observers pointed out it was extremely unlikely that the South African government would allow Mr Mandela to attend the reburial — even on a restricted, one-day visit to Transkei — without first informing the Transkei authorities, who would be responsible for the ANC leader's safety.
De Klerk plays down Mandela release stories

by his Ministers on Mr Mandela’s future had been misread.

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"And we accept that all South Africans must get the vote, all South Africans must become part of the decision-making process, all South Africans must have a fair share in the economy and a fair share in the power of this country. What we must do is to start talking as to how.”

ANC’s leader will not be at chief’s re-burial

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa today dismissed reports that jailed African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela would be the chief speaker at the re-burial in Umtata on Sunday of Paramount Chief Sabata Dalindyebo.

Reacting to reports that Mr Mandela might be freed in time to attend the re-burial, General Holomisa said: "To our knowledge,"

Observers pointed out that it was extremely unlikely that the South African Government would allow Mr Mandela to attend the re-burial, even on a restricted, one-day visit to Transkei, without first informing the Transkei authorities, who would be responsible for the ANC leader’s safety.

Chief Dalindyebo and Mr Mandela were born in the same ruling family in Transkei, the royal house of the Thembu. Chief Dalindyebo fled into exile after he was convicted of violating the dignity of Transkei's President and then deposed from his chieftainship. While in exile in Lesaka, he joined the ANC.

He died in April 1986.

Restrictions

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We mean business.
— State President Mr F W de Klerk.

LONDON — The State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has played down reports that he is ready to release Mr Nelson Mandela within the next few months.

But he pledged that public protests would continue to be allowed in South Africa — as long as they took place "within the law".

NOT AN ISSUE

In a wide-ranging interview with the BBC’s southern Africa correspondent, James Robbins, Mr de Klerk said Mr Mandela himself had said his release was "not an issue" at the moment.

Mr de Klerk added that statements...
Thatcher SA visit linked to reforms

By Sue Leeman,
The Star Bureau

LONDON — Britain made it clear yesterday that Mr F W de Klerk must get his reform programme rolling soon if Mrs Thatcher is to visit South Africa next year.

Both Downing Street and the Foreign Office yesterday repeated their calls for an urgent programme of substantive change. If this was forthcoming, they said, the stage would be set as the British Prime Minister wants to be seen to be taking an active, indeed pivotal role in developments in the region — as shown by her visit to Namibia earlier this year.

By increasing the pressure for reform she also hopes to deflect some of the criticism she can expect from her many pro-sane...

Mrs Thatcher ... wants to play a pivotal role.
PAC and ANC deeply divided, says Chikane

DAR ES SALAAM — The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the African National Congress (ANC) remained deeply divided but efforts to unite them would continue, the Rev Frank Chikane said yesterday.

"The two sides seem as far apart as ever," said the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches after talks with PAC officials.

He arrived in Tanzania's capital on Sunday to try to persuade the groups to unite in the fight for black majority rule.

He has briefly met top ANC members.

Mr. Chikane said: "I am convinced the differences are more historic than present." — Sapa-Reuter.
Mr Jackie Nel, leader of the Conservative Party in the Germiston City Council, said last night the new State President, Mr F W de Klerk, was "bringing evil to this country".

Mr Nel was reacting to a motion proposed by the vice-chairman of the management committee, Mr Fanie Costeze, that the State President be granted the freedom of Germiston.

Mr Nel said the motion smacked of the Broederbond. He said the State President was planning to implement a five-year plan which would bring an end to white rule in South Africa.

He said the country would end up in a potpourri of races and cultures and Afrikaans would lose its status as an official language.

He said Mr de Klerk did not bat an eyelid when people stepped on Afrikaner monuments during a protest march in Pretoria recently.

"But when a pig's head is found outside a synagogue, the country finds itself in a crisis," he said.

The ruling group motivated the motion by saying Mr de Klerk had lived in Germiston for several years and his father had been headmaster of an Afrikaans primary school in the town.

The heated debate was concluded when 18 councillors voted in favour of granting the freedom of the city to the State President. Four of the five CP councillors voted against the motion.
WITH South Africa and its new State President, Mr F W de Klerk, poised to enter serious negotiations about the future, the question is: What new deal can be thrashed out? DEON WINBUS, a diplomat and legal adviser to the Zimbabwe/Rhodesia delegations at the Lancaster House Conference, as well as a member of the Election Council, elaborated on the “freemen and fairness” of the elections that followed the conference, which he says, made sure that the

The mistake of the “winner-takes-all” system, (South African-born President F. W. de Klerk in Zimbabwe/Rhodesia for 31 years and now living in Darfur).

T HE mistake of the “winner-takes-all” result that befell Zimbabwe and can be avoided in South Africa if the opportunities that now present themselves are

For Zimbabwe today, the “winner” will rule a one-party state which is the cauldron of the democratic check and balance system in South Africa if all of our people are to have their place in the sun.

Although the principles—such as popular rule and self-determination—have been expressed in the Constitution of South Africa, the reality of the situation is that Zimbabwe, a country with a population of 13 million, has the numbers, the tradition, the wealth, the economic and psychological strength, and the military power of South Africa.

Constitution

For South Africa, it is fortunate that, at this moment, the leadership of the white powers comprises people of moderate temperament and balance who have a keen interest in a stable and progressive southern Africa.

Even the Eastern Bloc are adding their voices to the peace movement, it was evident from the declarations made by the Moscow Declaration Movement that the “western”, the United States, and even the European States were keen to get the Peace Process moving again.

The Warsaw Pact is unlikely to put pressure on the Rhodesian Government to be involved in a resolution process and to stop the armed struggle.

Resolutions and real attempts at conciliation between the various warring factions in Rhodesia at a meaningful level were compro

PERSUASION

There was no opportunity for real dialogue, real persuasion and, thus, there was no meeting of minds.

All was stated on the floor of the House of the Parliament.

The results of which were not only manifested by the delegates, but also the Foreign Office.

The powerhouses in South Africa are totally disillusioned from those that put their country first.

In Rhodesia, there were but two statesmen of such stature, the Statesmen by the majority of the population and who now are the weight of numbers, single-handedly, ruling the country. The Matabele and the whites

In South Africa, numbers black, white, coloureds, and whatever make the emergence of a single hegemony, a single voice, highly understandable, and a political goal which is declared of practicality.

Great forces for moderate voices in South Africa, such as the ongoing and commendable accommodation attempts of the President and Prime Minister and the Conferences such as the Abington, and the recent discussion on accommodation given by the Prime Minister.

The atmosphere of optimism for the future has been born and will be justified.

SHACKLES

The young but fragile Democratic Party, the only party that rules in earthquakes which has already established itself in South Africa, with a certain faction vital to meaningful conciliation, becomes even more tightly involved in the process.

The extremists in both sides of the spectrum are more or less exclusive in their rigidity that militate against finding an accommodation.

Nort i in South Africa, and more especially those leaders, must be aware that the logistical change, often dramatically,

South Africa has the opportunity to negotiate a constitutional blueprint which will address the current state of affairs.

There are numerous examples to learn from and adapt to suit the special needs of our country.

Yet all South Africans, and more especially those leaders, must be aware that this agreement is made of dramatic changes.

Political comment on the Floor of the House by Agnes Klaas and Jos Thibodeau, still quoting headlines and passages from Sydney Morning Herald, All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Reports on Thatcher visit denied

SPICULATION that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher will pay a visit to SA appears premature.

When reports first appeared in British newspapers speculating about the visit, there was a feeling among SA officials that it could be that Downing Street was "flying a kite".

But after further investigation officials are convinced that this is just a revival of an old rumour which has it that Thatcher wants to come to SA.

Rumours of a Thatcher visit first started towards the end of 1988 and again at the beginning of this year.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said: "We are not aware of such a visit. There is no firm proposal for her to visit SA. Normal diplomatic channels will be followed should such a visit take place."

Sapa reports from London that Thatcher still wants some tangible evidence of progress before she risks the international community's wrath by going to Pretoria.

"Even though it might be largely symbolic, the release of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela — one of her conditions for a visit and already confirmed by the new SA Cabinet as very high on its agenda — would give credence to her embattled non-isolationist and anti-sanctions approach to getting rid of apartheid."

The reports of the visit, mooted for Easter, were also quickly denied by Downing Street on the basis that Thatcher's preconditions had to be met first.

Observers have, however, noted the significance of the Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, next month, where Thatcher faces renewed criticism from member states over her opposition to further sanctions and boycotts against SA in an effort to force the abolition of apartheid. Some concrete evidence of De Klerk's reform intentions would be invaluable, they say.

It is understood that De Klerk, during his visit to Britain in June as President-elect, gave Thatcher — one of SA's last Western allies — a comprehensive briefing on his plans for South Africa after the elections.
TWO confidential reports outlining the Free Settlement Areas Board (FSAB) findings on Elandsburg's Windmill Park and Durban's Warwick Triangle will be submitted to the President within two weeks, board chairman Hein Kruger said yesterday.

It is believed the findings favour the areas being declared free settlement areas.

Kruger said the reports are the first to be submitted by the board while the findings on the Midrand area of Countryview will follow within a month.

He said applications for Zuurbeekom and Hillbrow to be declared free settlement areas are expected shortly.

He believed the Johannesburg Town Council is in discussions with members of the Ministers' Council regarding Hillbrow and the application will come "sooner or later".

However, the possibility of Pageview being a free settlement area has not yet been discussed.

The board is investigating four other applications for Mayfair and Dieploek in Johannesburg, and Zonnebloem (District 6) and Ottery/Wetton in Cape Town.

The application to have Windmill Park declared free was made by the Ministers' Council and a township developer, while the Durban City Council made the application for Warwick Triangle.

The board made its recommendations after examining, among other things, the current and projected socio-economic position inside and outside the designated area, infrastructure and housing.

Following the recommendations, the State President would decide whether or not to proclaim the areas. Kruger did not know how long he would take.

Meanwhile, thirteen other applications received by the board are still awaiting infrastructural details or comment from the House of Assembly's Ministers' Council before they can be investigated.

He declined to name the areas until investigation was underway.

He said the board went to Cape Town last week for an inquiry into the Zonnebloem application, but this did not materialise after the Cape Town City Council failed to notify the voters in the area. The request to investigate had been made by former President PW Botha and will be conducted on October 18.

The board will also hear evidence from the interested parties concerning the Mayfair application in October.

The board has progressed well with Dieploek, but will only pronounce after "other" areas have been investigated.
Cabinet reshuffle rings the changes

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle has resulted in a complex restructuring of several government departments as well as a number of new appointments of senior officials. Dawie de Villiers's newly created Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Enterprises Department has been most affected by the changes.

De Villiers now has Lott Engelbrecht, who until the change, served as director general under Danie Steyn in the Economic Affairs and Technology Department, as his director general of Mineral and Energy Affairs.

In addition, de Villiers has Sats GM Anton Mooyman, Postmaster General J H de Villiers and National Energy Council head D C Neethling as senior officials in charge of the various arms of the new department. De Villiers said he would deal directly with the heads of the various public enterprises and would not be appointing someone as overall co-ordinator.

The Privatisation Unit headed by Pieter van Rysesteheen and Eugene van Rensburg will also assist de Villiers in specific matters relating to the privatisation of the state enterprises.

The unit will continue to assist and report to new Administration and Privatisation Minister Wim de Villiers. De Villiers will also be responsible for the Commission for Administration (CFA). The senior officials in the CFA remain Piet van der Merwe (chairman), Roel Velet (general) and Louis Cluer.

The Development Aid Department, which has had a number of line functions from Chris Heunis's Constitutional Development empire given to it, has a new director general in Leon van Gass. He replaces G van de Walle who retired at the end of August.

New Trade and Industry and Tourism Minister René Durr will have Stéf Naudé as his director general.

Newly appointed

The appointment of George Bartlett as Transport and Public Works and Land Affairs Minister has been accompanied by a change in the director general of the latter department. C W van Niekerk replaces P C van Bloemfontein, who has retired.

Duggie de Beer who served as director general of Development Planning when Heunis was Constitutional Development and Planning Minister will now serve as director general of Planning and Provincial Affairs.
'Money for revolution'

LONDON - The South African Government has spent 40 000 sterling (about R175 000) on an advertisement attacking disinvestment.

The Department of Foreign Affairs this weekend placed the full-page ad, headlined 'How to Finance the South African Revolution', in the Sunday Times.

The text of the ad is, however, not the stuff of South African revolutionaries. It is an argument against disinvestment, based principally on the grounds that 'by-sapping the many South African companies and organisations that are fighting for a free economy - rather than supporting the systematic destruction of the economy - you will help South Africa achieve its goal'.
WITH Western Europe moving towards integration and a common market in 1991, South Africa's new State President, Mr FW de Klerk has a "Marshall Plan" likened to the plan to rebuild Europe immediately after the World War Two. Where after World War Two the United States poured money into the continent, De Klerk spent most of his first days as

**Similar idea to European leaders for South Africa.**

With South African expertise and European funds - circumventing the sanctions and financial pressures - South Africa can "rebuild the Southern Africa region." The Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA) believes that managerial and technological competence, together with personal integrity and dedication on the part of those using capital funds are "indispensable" if economic progress is to be achieved.

**Knowledge**

"South Africa is short of funds, but has built up a wealth of technical and scientific knowledge and experience concerning African conditions. Western Europe is by no means devoid of similar knowledge and experience but its contribution to the development of South Africa must be sought above all in respect of finance," a DFA spokesman said. This was the sales pitch used by De Klerk on his African safari and meeting with Presidents Joachim Chissano of Mozambique, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and Dr

Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

"The countries of Southern Africa enjoy opportunities for economic upliftment unique in Africa," the DFA said. "Through trade, transport, investment, labour, migration, tourism and technology transfers they interact closely and beneficially with the strongest and most diversified economy south of the Sahara. Commercial exchanges between countries stimulate development more effectively than do turnouts." It is here where "Western nations interested in the development of the region would support mutually profitable links between the countries of Southern Africa - rather than actively discouraging them," so often the case, the DFA added. "The approach to such a tripartite endeavour, by which the ultimate goal is a multilateral project for economic progress in Southern Africa, comparable in scope and impact to the historic European recovery programme, is outlined in a newspaper entitled: Tripartite Development Programme for Southern Africa (Depsa)."

**Six points**

There are six points detailing what constitutes the European Community:

* Acknowledgement of South Africa's essential contribution to make if Western Europe's upliftment countries function economically have a chance of success;
* Pursue policies supportive of - rather than impeding - South African efforts to evolve a domestic social and political order broadly acceptable to all South Africans;
* Grant and/or mobilise funds and expertise for extending and modernising the physical infrastructure of the region;
* Provide assistance for measures aimed at raising human productivity through education and training as well as public health and family planning programmes and housing;
* Urge and assist Southern African governments to create economic, and legal conditions conducive to attracting local and foreign private investments in processing, manufacturing and other productive measures and;
* Consider other appropriate measures to promote the development of the region, eg. steps to facilitate the importation of Southern African products into the European Community.
While the DFA reveals no suggested undertakings by any other country in the region, the South African contribution to Depsa would be mostly in respect of technology, including research and advisory services, as well as the supply of goods and materials notably in respect of the following:

- Agriculture: appropriate techniques of crop and animal husbandry, mechanization, irrigation and marketing; seed control and improvement; pest and animal health; protection against pests, insects and diseases; training of farm personnel; agro-technical services; and forest-based industrial activities.
- Mining: All aspects, including prospecting, development, production, management, training and living conditions of labour, testing, mining and equipment; building and construction; low-cost housing; roads and dam construction; water supplies for domestic and agricultural purposes.
- Business development: promotion of small-scale and industrial and commercial ventures; creation of marketing facilities, business training;
- Human health: organization of preventive and curative services, family planning, diagnostic services, research;
- Education and training: specialized facilities to impart basic skills, training artisans, technicians, medical and veterinary personnel;
- Diverse technical fields such as transport, telecommunications, use of finable materials, industrial effluents and waste disposal and environmental protection; and
- Trade and investments will continue to play a crucial role. Apart from investments, South Africa has traditionally supplied its neighbours with building materials, equipment, machinery, spares, pharmaceutical products, agrochemicals and food.

De Klerk's plan suggests that outside governments and development agencies seeking to promote the material welfare of the peoples of Southern Africa should make maximum use of this locally available expertise.

The Government believes that closer analysis would indicate that leading Western European nations will serve their own interests best if they did whatever lies within their power to facilitate and encourage intra-regional understanding and cooperation in Southern Africa with active involvement of Western European business interests and institutions throughout the region.

This concludes the 'Marshall Plan' as laid out by FW de Klerk on his sojourns to European and African leaders.
DP, Tutu disagree about Red Flag

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party and Archbishop Desmond Tutu today disagreed about the waving of banners of movements such as the South African Communist Party at protest marches.

The DP has dissociated itself from the raising of the flag of the SACP at these marches.

A spokesman for the Archbishop said he did not have any problem in principle with the raising of such banners.

In a free society the Communist Party would be one of a variety of political movements allowed to operate.

In a statement following a caucus meeting in Cape Town Dr Zac de Beer, parliamentary leader of the party, said members of the party, including himself, had taken part in marches aimed at the achievement of freedom and the extension of civil rights in South Africa.

"It has been a source of concern to us that the flag of the SACP and those of other organisations with whom we are at variance have been raised during these processions.

"We wish to make it clear that we have participated in these marches simply because they were organised for purposes which we support.

"We distance ourselves completely from the raising of the SACP flag and from whatever other gestures and demonstrations that may have been made by people with whom we fundamentally disagree and who were in our view making use of these occasions for their own purposes," Dr de Beer said.
Defeated Cape NP candidates get PC seats

By DARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THREE defeated National Party candidates in the Cape Peninsula — Mrs Adrienne Koch, Mrs Esme Chait and Mrs Martha Ockers — were yesterday nominated by the NP to serve on the President’s Council.

This means that four of the NP’s defeated candidates in the Peninsula, who lost by large majorities, have now received parliamentary positions.

The former MP for Wynberg, Mr David Graaff, was made an indirectly elected MP after he lost his seat to the Democratic Party’s Mr Robin Carlisle.

Mrs Koch was defeated in Sea Point, Mrs Chait lost Green Point for the second time in succession and Mrs Ockers was beaten in Constantia. Only three of the rejected NP candidates in the Peninsula — Mrs Elsabe Kemp (Groote Schuur), Mr Harry Dilley (Simon’s Town) and Mr Pieter van der Burgh (Pinelands) — have yet to receive positions.

However, it is possible that some of them, particularly Mrs Kemp, a former member of the President’s Council, could be re-appointed when President F W de Klerk announces his nominees to the council today.

At least seven other defeated NP candidates were nominated to the council.

They include Mr Attie Grobler, the former MP for North Rand; Mr Al Jonker, Mr Tiel Lategan, Mr Craig Williams, Mr Willie Lemmer, Mrs Anne Nash and Mr Piet Mathiess, the former MP for Umbilo.

There were also five defeated candidates among the Labour Party’s ten nominees to the council.
FW puts the lid on a ministerial tradition

I don't know about you, but if it's true that the new Cabinet has decided no longer to wear hats at official occasions then it's a sorry day for South Africa.

It raises all sorts of problems, quite apart from what Ministers will use in future for talking through, or eating as occasion requires.

Specifically, there was nothing better for cutting a politician down to size than dressing him up in one of those black Homburgs that were de rigueur for the PW Botha administration. It made it that much harder to take them seriously.

Observe, for instance, the pictures below, rescued from the archives of a few years ago, of two one-time leading Ministers Without Portfolio, Messrs Hendriksz and Rajbansi.

On the versatile "Raj", seen by so many as a bad hat anyway, the black Homburg seemed peculiarly appropriate.

But the thing seemed always to sit uneasily atop Allan Hendriksz's flowing locks. There are those who date the steepest decline in his political credibility from the time he first appeared en chapeau at a police parade.

The same applied to most Ministers, whichever party hat they wore. Now, at the drop of a hat, as it were, Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of

Foreign Affairs, admits he wore his black hat under protest and is "absolutely delighted" at the new fashion ruling.

The hatless note was set by President de Klerk himself at his inauguration last week.

Being, like his predecessor, fairly hairless too, if remains to be seen if he'll go barateved at even lengthier open-air functions, for instance those periodic reaffirmations of the Nkomati Accord.

Historically, fancy hats have been seen as symbols of authority but almost just as historically, they seem to have been objects of some ridicule as well.

This book of quotations I happen to have in front of me has a page of

"London street sayings", many of them not very respectful ones. Six of the 30 or so quoted have to do with hats.

Besides the old music-hall ditty, "Where did you get that hat?" there are taunts like "Who's your hat?" "What, the same old hat?" and "What a shocking bad hat!"

Only this week I read a piece from Madrid which described some novel ways currently being used in Spain to settle overdue accounts.

There's an agency that specialises in incurring public ridicule for the debtor by sending along debt collectors wearing top hats and tails. Apparently the defaulter feels so embarrassed that he usually coughs up.

President de Klerk, bearing in mind his somewhat precocious position, would obviously have taken into account the old proverb, "He that hath no head needs no hat". To a man of his acumen that's probably just a piece of old hat.

As to future reform moves, he's obviously keeping them under his metaphorical chapeau.

But if he can drop so ballyhooed a tradition as ministerial headgear, who knows what other surprises he could yet pull out of the hat?

Two of a kind

In a Lesotho courtroom last week the Director of Public Prosecutions was waxing eloquent in his summing up of the inquest on the student allegedly shot by military ruler General Lekhanya.

He was stressing the importance of the case.

"There are inquests and there are inquests", he declared. "This one, Your Worship, falls into the latter category."

For further word on the latter category—or indeed, the former—you'll have to await the finding of the Chief Magistrate next month.
Parties announce choice for President's Council

CAPE TOWN — The ruling parties in the three Houses of Parliament yesterday gave notice of motion of their nominees for membership of the President's Council.

The motions, including some proposing candidates for other offices in the Houses, will serve today. Notices of motions for adjournment until February 2 next year were also given in each of the Houses.

The appointment of Mr Alex van Breda as Chief Whip of Parliament was also announced in each House.

The Transvaal National Party nominated two new members to the PC; Mr Attie Grobler, former MP for North Rand, and Mr Al Jonker, defeated candidate in Brits. Mr Hein Kruger, Mr Toelie Lategan, Mr Craig Williamson, Mr Willie Lemmer, Mr Ren Piek, Mr Issy Pinshaw and Mrs Anne Brotier were nominated for re-appointment.

RENOMINATED

The Cape NP nominated Mrs Esme Chiat, a former nominated MP, Mr S A de Beer, a senior party member from Humansdorp constituency; Mr A J Etterhuyse, a member of the NP’s Stellenbosch regional executive; Mr S Imelman of De Aar, a former president of the Municipal Employees’ Association; Mr F J Joubert, former MPC for Paarl; Mrs Margaret Nash, the unsuccessful NP candidate in Port Elizabeth Central; and Mr P J van Wieligh, a former MPC for Wellington. Mrs Adrienne Koch and Mrs Martha Ockers were re-nominated.

The Natal NP nominated Mr Neels Vosloo and the former MP for Umbilo, Mr Piet Matthee. The Free State NP nominated Mr D J Smut and Mr P A van der Merwe.

The Labour Party nominated:
Transvaal: Mr Craven Collis, a sitting member.
Cape Peninsula: Mr Abe Delport, defeated candidate in Matrosfontein; Mr Peter Marais, a sitting member and defeated candidate in Bishop Lavis; Mr Joe van den Heever, former MP for Grassy Park.

Eastern Cape: Mrs Shirley Frolick, Mrs Anne Rossouw, a former nominated MP, and Mr Bill Ross, a sitting member.

Southern Cape: Mr Pat Wagenaar and Mr Roy Williams, defeated former MP for Mid-Karoo.

Natal: Mr Trevor Potgieter, the party’s administrative secretary.

In the House of Delegates, Solidarity nominated Mr Ismael Omar, Mr Kasie Rambuth, Mr A K Pillay, Mr M Thaver and Mr Christopher Reddy. Mr P I Devan was nominated as the House’s Chairman of Committees and Mr T Palan as his deputy.

The Speaker has ruled that opposition parties will meet today to nominate their candidates for the PC.

STATEMENT

The Democratic Party has however already made it known that it will nominate Mr James Sefile, the party’s national director of communications, sitting PC member Mr James Rennie and Mr David Gant, defeated parliamentary candidate in Holderness.

Meanwhile in Cape Town the State President, Mr F W de Klerk, as leader of the National Party, has issued a statement saying it was already known that the former Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Nierk, and Mr Kleっふies Heyns, MP for Vospoort, would be his party’s candidates for the chairmanship and vice-chairmanship of the President’s Council.

He also announced that the number of permanent committees on the council would be reduced from three to two and that if this proposal was accepted, Mr Piet Badenhorst and Mr G D Bornman would be NP candidates for chairmanship of these committees. — Sapa.
The Democratic Party has welcomed President de Klerk's declaration that he is committed to negotiating a new constitution providing for participation by all South Africans.

In a statement after a caucus meeting in Cape Town, DP parliamentary leader Dr Zach de Beer said it believed this would prove possible only on the basis of full and equal partnership, and a universal, equal and equivalent franchise.

"To the extent that the President leads the National Party towards the acceptance of these values, the DP will approve and support.

"We warn, however, that any attempt to arrive at an agreed constitution based on the enforced subdivision of the South African people into groups is doomed to failure."

Dr de Beer said the caucus had considered proposals for taking the initiative on issues of public concern, including preparation for negotiation of a new political system.
DP 'concerned' about raising of SACP flag

Pol. Correspondent

The Democratic Party has disassociated itself from the raising of the flag of the South African Communist Party at some of the recent marches in which some of its members took part.

After a caucus meeting in Cape Town, Dr Zac de Beer, DP parliamentary leader, said: "It has been a source of concern to us, as it has been to others who have supported the marches, that the flag of the SACP and those of other organisations with whom we are at variance have been raised.

"We distance ourselves completely from the raising of the SACP flag..."
Abolish Group Areas now — DP

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The Government was urged last night to bite the bullet and abolish the Group Areas Act immediately instead of stalling with the Free Settlement Areas Act.

Mr Hans Strydom (DP) said despite the promises of various National Party leaders, the NP was still tripping over the skeletons of apartheid.

Speaking on an item on the establishment of a free settlement area in Mayfair, east of Princess Street, he said the DP opposed the Act and Government attempts to use it to soften the impact of the abolition of the Group Areas Act.

"Abolish this Act now and we will support you, but not the opening of small isolated areas," Mr Strydom said.

POOR WHITES 'SOLD OUT' 304A

Property values would not drop. On the contrary, they would rise as could be seen from the 150 percent increase in Mayfair and the trebling of prices in Harare, he said.

Mr Hendrik Classes (CP) also opposed the creation of a free settlement area in Mayfair, but his stand was that the Government had sold out the poor whites.

Professor Harold Rudolph (Ind) urged that the whole of Johannesburg should be opened to all races.

The move to apply for free settlement status for Mayfair was passed by 24 votes to 21.
leaving management with no other alternative but to dismiss them," the board's statement said.

The board said the dismissals would not affect water supplies.

F W DE KLERK   THATCHER

Calls to set stage for Thatcher visit
LONDON - British officials made it clear that Mr F W de Klerk must get his reform programme rolling soon if Mrs Thatcher is to visit South Africa next year. Both Downing Street and the Foreign Office repeated their calls this week for an urgent programme of substantive change.

If this was forthcoming, they said, the stage would be set for a Thatcher visit. By increasing the pressure for reform she also hopes to deflect some of the criticism she can expect from her many pro-sanctions critics at the Commonwealth summit in Kuala Lumpur next month.
No DP support for communist flag.

DP MEMBERS have joined leading clergymen in distancing themselves from the raising of the SA Communist Party (SACP) flag in recent countrywide marches.

But SA Council of Churches (SACC) vice-president Sheena Duncan said everyone, whether AWB members or SACP supporters, had a democratic right to express views and register protest.

Durban's Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley and Natal's Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall threatened to withdraw from an anti-apartheid march in Durban on September 22 owing to the display of SACP flags.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said in a statement yesterday: "It has been a source of concern to us ... the SACP flag and those of other organisations with whom we are at variance have been raised during these proceedings."

De Beer added party members distanced themselves from the raising of the flag and from "whatever other gestures and demonstrations may have been made by people with whom we fundamentally disagree, and who were in our view making use of these occasions for their own purposes".

He said the DP took part in the marches because they were organised for purposes the DP supported.

These were the achievement of freedom and the extension of civil right in SA.

SACC spokesman Saki Macozoma endorsed Duncan's opinion, saying: "People marched together for a common goal and not because they agreed on all issues."

"This implies mutual respect for differences of opinion."

"The display of the flag arises out of a historical legacy that cannot be wished away."

"Perhaps the controversy that has arisen indicates we have a long way to go in resolving differences," he said.

Allied moves 27/4/87
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No growth without talks, says Sunter.

BLOEMFONTEIN — SA was a nation of entrepeneurs, had mineral wealth and a modern infrastructure to put it in the right direction for economic growth. But this would not happen if an acceptable political system, based on negotiation, was not achieved in the next few years, said Anglo American Corporation director Clem Sunter yesterday.

Opening the Agricultural Economic Association of Southern Africa annual congress in Bloemfontein yesterday, Sunter discussed "The last options left for SA" in the context of the congress theme of "Risk in Agriculture".

He said a condition of negotiation politics was that one could not choose to whom one spoke. To talk did not mean surrender.

There had to be economic growth of 10% a year for 25 years just to get the average standard of living from below to above the breadline.

He added that government had to be drastically reduced and income tax lowered. It could no longer be argued that the rich should be milked for the poor. All that happened was that the rich reduced their productivity or left SA.

He said government's role in a prosperous economy should be strictly supportive.

Sapa.
Threat posed to bursary programme

THEO RAWANA

EFFORTS by some universities to get donors to give funds directly to them posed a threat to the SA Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) bursary programme, executive director John Kane-Berman said.

In his report, which was read in his absence at the SAIRR's annual meeting in Johannesburg yesterday, Kane-Berman said the universities, backed by large government subsidies, could offer to absorb administrative costs of bursaries.

"They are able to offer to absorb administrative costs of bursaries, which of course they can do, given their large government subsidies."

"The institute has no such funds to fall back on and consequently finances the administrative costs of each programme out of funds received, although we limit this to 15% of the value of the bursaries themselves."

Increase

He said cutbacks in funding from some donor agencies and rising university costs had compelled the SAIRR to reduce university awards by about 11% for 1989.

"Fortunately, however, the amount available for bursary awards did increase by 15% because some of our donors provided additional money."

These included the Dutch government, First National Bank, the Swiss Church Group, a Dominican Sisters' Order in Johannesburg and the US Agency for International Development.

"During the year we signed a fifth amendment to our contract with the US government, which provided for an additional $2m, enabling us to increase the number of American-funded students from 70 to 316 from the beginning of 1989. The amendment brought the total value of our contract with the US government to $6.2m."
COUNCILS SLOW TO LODGE APPLICATIONS

EDYTH BULBRING

CITY Councils were holding back applications to the Free Settlement Areas Board (FSAB), leaving the initiative to township developers and the Ministers' Councils, FSAB chairman Hein Kruger said in an interview this week.

The only city council whose application the FSAB was considering was Durban, regarding Warwick Triangle. The Board's report would be submitted to President F W De Klerk within two weeks.

The FSAB had received over 40 inquiries and was considering about 20 applications, he said. The others had been withdrawn, had not been legal in terms of the Free Settlement Areas Act, or had been rejected by the board.

He said he did not know why there was reluctance on the part of city councils.

No applications had been received from Indian and coloured local authorities or Ministers' Councils, Kruger said. All the applications were made by white township developers or the House of Assembly's Ministers' Councils. This meant only white areas were under consideration.

Kruger said he did not know why this was the case.

Acknowledging there were potential problems of slum conditions and overcrowding in opening up selective areas, Kruger said the ideal situation was for the board to declare a number of areas open at once.

The election of De Klerk as president for five years meant there was a "whole new ball game" regarding the approach to the Group Areas Act and free settlement areas, he said.

IMPACT

Expressing frustration with councils who refused to support or make applications to the board because they wanted the GAA scrapped, Kruger said their refusal to compromise would not result in it being scrapped.

"While declaring an entire city open is not a problem in terms of the Act, the board would have to see what impact this would have on the rest of the community and it would be a sensitive issue for the voters," he said.

Once an area was declared open, voters could choose to remain on their existing voters' roll, or register on a common voters' roll.

The latter would elect a management committee and those on the separate roll would be included into the adjoining wards were they would vote for a city councillor.

The administrator could also create a combined body consisting of management committee and city council representatives with delegated powers.

Once the board completed its investigations, the president would base his decision on whether or not to declare the area open on the board's report evaluating the conditions in the area.

The president could rescind a free settlement area decision. When asked what security of tenure this gave to people living in the area, Kruger said: "The procedures established by the Act make it clear that there is no question of the State President simply acting on the spur of the moment. There would obviously have to be a full-scale investigation and solid grounds for such a decision," he said.

Although the aim of a free settlement area was to create normal living conditions, residents of different races would have to attend racially divided schools.

One of the problems which had faced the board was the definition of "township developer" as there were different definitions in the four provinces.

The Act intended that a township developer would state his intention to develop an area, apply to the board, and if this was successful, the developer would develop the land.

However, the Transvaal definition was someone who had already developed the township, Kruger said.

The board was temporarily bypassing this problem through the Ministers' Council, but the Act would have to be changed later to accommodate the various definitions.
The lesson program, which focuses on the process of decision-making and the formulation of policies, is designed to help students understand the role of government. It includes interactive exercises, discussions, and role-playing activities to enhance students' understanding of the political process.

We are proud to present our new lesson program, which is designed to be engaging and interactive. The program covers topics such as the legislative process, the executive branch, and the role of the judiciary. It is suitable for students of all ages and has been thoroughly tested in schools across the country.

This program is part of our ongoing commitment to improving the educational experience for all students. We believe that by providing quality educational resources, we can help students develop critical thinking skills and become informed citizens.

Thank you for choosing our program. We look forward to continuing our partnership and providing the best possible educational experience for your students.
Desegregation in Jo'burg shows up NP policy holes

The desegregation of municipal facilities in Johannesburg showed up massive holes in National Party policy which at the same time condoned the closing of the Johannesburg High School for Girls, said Mr Lester Fuchs, Democratic Party MP for Hillbrow.

"What this indicates is that the Government's free settlement policy is a total disaster as it does not cater for infrastructures," he said.

Following moves to create free settlement areas in Hillbrow, Joubert Park and Mayfair, Mr Simon Chilchik, deputy chairman of the DP in Hillbrow, urged the Government today to look at the problems it would encourage through the overcrowding that would inevitably follow free settlement status for any isolated suburb.

"Unless legislation is passed at national level to control overcrowding, Hillbrow could disintegrate within the next 10 years.

"People will flock here and this area cannot cope with a huge new influx of legal tenants once it has free settlement status," he said.
Leon hails city's 'open-to-all' decision

Pik's influence seen in amenities move

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The Government has been urged to apply pressure on Pretoria and all Transvaal platteland towns to follow Johannesburg's example in scrapping petty apartheid in municipal facilities.

This call was made yesterday by Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon.

Other towns

The Democratic Party spokes-
man on constitutional planning, separate amenities and local govern-
ment in the Transvaal made his plea after other Transvaal towns indicated that they had no intention of desegregating at this stage.

"Johannesburg has more mu-
cipal amenities, including a bus service, and a more diverse popu-
lation than any other town or city in South Africa," Mr Leon said.

"Clearly, if Johannesburg finds it necessary to desegregate its fa-
cilities, then the question is whether there is any justification to retain petty apartheid anywhere else.

"I compliment the management committee for its course and de-
termination to press ahead. The reform it has introduced is long overdue but nevertheless wel-
come.

"One should not underestimate this move which, together with

the Elof judgment in Carleton-
ville, is having the effect of turn-
ing the Separate Amenities Act into a dead duck.

"The hand of Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha is evident in Johannes-
burg's move.

"Perhaps he will now go to Vereeniging, which has said it would not follow suit, and Pre-
toria, which has more segregation than Johannesburg ever had in its heyday, and introduce Mr F W de Klerk's reform," Mr Leon said.

"After a long meeting behind closed doors last night, the Krugersdorp Town Council agreed to open its game reserve to all races. Applications for use of municipal halls will be considered indivi-
dually."
'Dame Helen' is more thrilled by scholarship

By Sue Leeman, The Star Bureau

LONDON — Former MP and veteran anti-apartheid fighter Mrs Helen Suzman is to be made an honorary Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

A delighted Mrs Suzman, currently in London for a number of speaking engagements, said she was "very thrilled at this tremendous honour."

But what has impressed her most is the British government's decision to back up the tribute by funding a new scholarship programme for black South Africans, entitled the Helen Suzman Awards.

That, she said, was a "wonderful, practical manifestation of the spirit of the award."

The award was approved by the Queen on the recommendation of the new British Foreign Secretary Mr John Major.

In a glowing tribute, the citation said the award was given for championing the cause of human rights for all the people of South Africa for more than 40 years. Her record of persistent opposition to discriminatory legislation has earned international respect.

Mrs Suzman will receive the award on October 31 at Buckingham Palace. As a foreign national, instead of being called Dame Helen Suzman, she will simply be Mrs Helen Suzman DBE (Rose).

Mr Harold Brooks-Baker of Burke's Peerage said the award, considered a high honour, had been given to a number of women, mainly heads of government. "But for a woman in opposition to gain the award is very significant."

Suzman ... thrilled at honour.
Outcry over changes to President's Council

Political Staff
CAPE TOWN — Opposition parties have objected to the Government not consulting them about changes in the functioning of the President's Council.

In a snap debate in the Assembly before Parliament adjourned until February 2, Government speakers brushed aside the objections and said President F W de Klerk had the constitutional powers to bring about changes in the conditions of service on the council.

The Conservative Party and the Democratic Party opposed a motion asking for the confirmation of 10 councillors elected by the majority National Party.

In an amendment the CP asked that confirmation be withheld until the Government had fully informed the House on its policy regarding the constitutional future and future functions of the council and how members would be affected.

PAY TO BE CUT

It has been announced that in future only four of the 63 members of the PC would be full-time. Pay will be reduced accordingly.

In a further amendment, the DP asked for information on the constitutional future and functions of the council and for the assurance that it would be reconstituted to be representative of South Africans as a whole.

Mr Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said there was great confusion and uncertainty about the future of the council. The council itself had recommended that its size should be reduced to 36 but that its full-time operation should not be changed.

The President had chosen to ignore these recommendations and the way in which the matter was handled was indicative of a Government floundering about, he said.

Mr Hoon wanted to know if provision would also be made for black members.

INDICATIONS

Dr Denis Worrall (DP Berea) said his party would support moves to bring about an apartheid-free society.

The party was, however, looking for indications of what the Government had in mind and, in this case, what the role of the President's Council would be in South Africa's constitutional future.

Future constitutional changes had to include all South Africans, he said.

In interjections, Mr de Villiers, the Leader of the House, said at the end of the debate that the future and nature of the council was not at issue, but its functioning was. Its efficiency could be improved.

The President had acted in terms of his powers as laid down in the constitution.

Further possible changes would be submitted to Parliament in an orderly way.

The Government motion asking for the confirmation of new members was passed.
SAIRR reports scrapping of a number of race laws

THE SA Institute of Race Relations publication Survey was able to report the repeal or relaxation of a number of discriminatory laws this year, SAIRR executive director John Kane-Berman, said this week. 510091 281769

In his report to the institute's AGM, Kane-Berman said this week the annual publication, which monitors discriminatory practices in every walk of life in SA, had previously had little to report other than the enactment of discriminatory laws.

"It is a source of gratification to the institute... that Survey is now able to report the repeal or relaxation of a number of discriminatory laws and the continued erosion of others. We will continue to work...

THEO RAWANA

for the final disappearance of all such laws," said Kane-Berman.

One publication published during the year, The Greying of Johannesburg, "was able to show that white resistance to the experience of having black neighbours was minimal, predictions to the contrary notwithstanding".

Another report, Sharing the Cities, looked at residential desegregation in Harare, Windhoek and Mafikeng. "It showed how racial prejudice was undermined by the greater contact across the colour line that came about as a result of desegregation — contrary to the view often expressed in the past that racial mixing risked provoking friction.

"These two reports, along with reports published the previous year dealing with property price movements and crime trends in racially-mixed areas, have helped to change white thinking on the Group Areas Act.

"The eight reports on the GAA that the institute has published in the last couple of years, as well as direct representation of some of its research findings to parliamentary committees and other groups, has helped create a climate for the softening and, in due course, the repeal of this law," Kane-Berman said.
Sandton councillors ‘aware’ of request for free settlement status

By Kaizer Nyatumba

Sandton Democratic Party town councillor Mr Peter Gardiner’s application for the declaration of a part of Sandton as a free settlement area, made on behalf of his employer, was not unknown to all his fellow-councillors, according to DP leader in Sandton Mr Peter Jardine.

Dismissing as untrue newspaper reports early this week that Mr Gardiner’s application to the Free Settlement Areas Board (FSAB) for the declaration of Witkoppen Extension 6 as a free settlement area was done without his fellow-councillors’ knowledge, Mr Jardine, a Sandton town councillor himself, said he knew about the application.

Mr Jardine said even if some councillors did not know about the application, “at some stage” they would all know because FSAB procedure would have made it necessary for the matter to be discussed by the council.

Mr Gardiner, who until August 18 this year was chairman of the Sandton management committee, was said to have made the application in December last year and followed it up on March 13 this year.

Mr Gardiner, who is Anglo American Property Services (Ampros) township developer and present deputy chairman of the Sandton management committee, is in hospital and could not be reached for comment.

Mr Jardine confirmed that the DP saw the Free Settlement Areas Act as an extension of the Group Areas Act and the party was therefore opposed to it.

DECLARED OPEN

The party’s policy, Mr Jardine said, was to have the Group Areas Act repealed from the statute book or, at least, to have entire towns declared open to all races.

Ampros managing director Mr Gerald Leissner yesterday confirmed that the application was made on behalf of Anglo American Corporation.

“We have not withdrawn the application,” Mr Leissner told The Star.
Squatters urgently need to be housed, says MP Momberg

By KIM CLARKIN

MIHANNIE MOMBERG, recently elected MP for Simon's Town, is concerned about the squatting problem in her constituency, particularly in Noordhoek.

He said: "I view the squatter situation as a very sad one and can understand the point of view of the people of Noordhoek. There is obviously an urgent housing need for the squatters and it is also vitally important to control the influx of people, which I fear is not being done successfully."

A new squatter settlement has grown up since the beginning of the year between Noordhoek Road and the proposed marina near the old sailpan in Noordhoek. Partly hidden by trees, there are more than 20 homes in the two camps, many housing more than one family.

While there is little trouble in the area, it lacks sewerage or drainage, water and electricity.

Many of the shacks in the fast-growing camp are made from cardboard, dustbin liner bags and corrugated iron. Newcomers arrive regularly over weekends — the main cause for concern.

Some of the squatters are new to the area — some interviewed had been there four months, some six months, but others have lived in the area all their lives.

Peaceful

Some residents don't seem to mind these people's presence.

Percy Cross from the Noordhoek Village Cafe said: "They don't worry us at all. Many of them work in the area and generally they are a peaceful lot and just come in to buy cold drinks, bread and other food."

"The townships are too far away for them to travel to work. Where else will they go?"

The problem had to be resolved in the best possible way, he said.

Mr John Cannan, chairman of the Noordhoek and District Civic Association, said: "As a whole it stems from the fact that people have been moving into the area on to ground they don't own."

"The owners of the ground took no action for a long while and so have encouraged further squatting. Now there are large numbers of people in this area who can't just be ejected."

The major problem was the influx of more people, he said. "A solution can't be found for these people if we don't stop newcomers — otherwise the marsh land will just become a transit camp."

"The question is: how do we stop new squatters moving in and secondly, what do we do with the people who are living in these poor conditions?"

Demolishing

Another problem highlighted by Mr Cannan was that the squatters were living on the edge of an ecologically important wetland, which was not being improved by their presence.

The Regional Services Council has been checking the area regularly and demolishing any deserted or half-completed dwellings. It also monitors the squatters and prevents large numbers of newcomers from building.

Mr Hennie Smit, president of Crofters Valley, an upmarket "rural" development with 4 000 m² and 8 000 m² plots ranging from R65 000 to R120 000, took a stronger view:

"The squatter situation is unacceptable and we have tolerated it so far in anticipation of the removal of these people. Firstly, it is illegal; secondly, they are living in unhealthy circumstances on private land — some of which is the property of the RSC."

"It is very unfair that we have spent a lot of money putting in services for this high-class development and have the form of housing directly across the road," Mr Smit added.

"It has had an unfavourable impact on sales — although people do view it as a temporary situation. These people must be removed."
Smith gets top council position

By Melody McDougall,
Vereeniging Bureau

Mr Gerhard Smith was elected as the new management committee chairman of Vanderbijlpark's CP-dominated town council at a special meeting last night.

He replaces Mr Cas. Pieters, who was disqualified as a councillor after being convicted of fraud by a Vereeniging regional court earlier this month.

Mr Smith, who initially served as deputy chairman of the committee, resigned about two weeks ago in protest against the controversy surrounding the fraud conviction.

Another CP caucus member, Mr Hennie Kruger, was elected onto the management committee last night, ensuring that the CP retained all three seats on the management committee.

Mr Nic Bohme is the committee's new deputy chairman.

A by-election will be held in ward six at the end of November to elect a council representative to replace Mr Pieters.
PAC-SACC issue joint statement

The Star's Africa News Service
DAR ES SALAAM — The Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Council of Churches have issued a joint statement supporting one man, one vote elections to a non-racial parliament, with guarantees for individual rights, as the way to eradicate apartheid and usher in a non-racial future.

However, the SACC admitted that its mission of trying to reconcile the PAC with the African National Congress, from which it split in 1959 to pursue a racially pure struggle, had failed.

The leader of the SACC delegation, the Rev Frank Chikane, later said the two organisations seemed to be "as far apart as ever", despite the reference to a "non-racial" future in the final communiqué.

Delegations from the two organisations met at the PAC's headquarters here this week for five hours before issuing the statement.

The PAC delegation was led by its chairman and commander-in-chief of its military wing, Mr Johnson Mlambo.

Both agreed that apartheid could not be reformed, said the statement, and that defiance of the "unjust laws of an illegal regime was legitimate".

After being briefed on current developments inside South Africa, the PAC expressed its appreciation of the "positive" role played by the churches.

Vaal Dam down to 87 pc

The Vaal Dam, one of the main sources of water for the PWV area, is down to 87 percent of its capacity, the Department of Water Affairs announced yesterday. At the same time last year the dam was 92 percent full. Levels of dams throughout the country were last week steady at 69 percent, compared to 71 percent last year. In the drought-stricken Eastern Cape dams the average is 40 percent.

40 000 in EL 'peace march'

A crowd of up to 40 000 people packed Oxford Street in East London for more than two hours early yesterday afternoon in what the organiser, the Border Crisis Committee, described as a march for peace, freedom and justice.

There were a few tense moments at the start of the march as the crowd surged forward at a trot. Marshals, however, linked arms across the street and quickly re-established control.

The march was led by Anglican Bishop David Russell of Grahamstown.

At the end of the march Bishop Russell went to the offices of the security police in Southernwood, where he handed senior police officers a statement and a petition which called for the release of two security detainees.

Police later said they had received no reports of criminal activity or violence during the march.
I told woman to vote twice, says CP official

By Anna Louw, East Rand Bureau

Management committee chairman of the Conservative Party-controlled town council of Boksburg told a woman she could cast two special votes in a municipal election last year because she was registered twice on the voters roll, a Boksburg magistrate heard yesterday.

Mr Gideon Fourie was giving evidence in the trial of Mrs Charmaine Rex (33), who has pleaded not guilty to a charge of election fraud by voting under her married name Wilson.

The alleged fraud took place on October 12 and 13 last year.

Mr Fourie, the management committee chairman, said he did not consult the Voters Act because he did not think it was necessary.

MAJORITY

He said he made the recommendation in his personal capacity and told Mrs Rex she could vote twice because her name appeared twice on the voters roll.

He said he did not think the votes would affect the election results because he believed the CP would win by a majority anyway.

Mr Fourie said about two months after the election he realised he had given the wrong advice.

He told the court he had stood as a candidate in five elections and resigned his post as a teacher when he won the last municipal election.

The hearing was postponed to October 4.
Chairman of PC retires

CAPE TOWN — The chairman of the President's Council, Mr Johan Greeff, had decided to retire from active politics, council secretary Mr J Weilbach said in a statement yesterday.

Mr Greeff would therefore not be available to serve as a member of the President's Council when it was reconstituted.

Before his appointment to the chairmanship, Mr Greeff served for four years as Speaker of Parliament and was MP for Allswal from 1974 to 1986. He was born in 1921 and qualified as an attorney. — Sapa. 28/11/89.
HER Majesty Queen Elizabeth II is to make Mrs Helen Suzman an Honorary Dame Commander of the Order of the British Empire (DBE) to mark the occasion of her retirement from the South African Parliament.

The Award, which is equivalent to an Honorary Knighthood, is one of the highest honours the Queen can bestow on any foreign national. It is granted only in the most exceptional cases. The Award is being made on the recommendation of the British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, the Rt Hon John Major MP.

Queen Elizabeth intends to bestow this honour personally on Mrs Helen Suzman at an investiture ceremony at Buckingham Palace on October 31.

The Award recognises the distinguished contribution which Mrs Helen Suzman has made to relations between Britain and South Africa and in the struggle against apartheid. Mrs Suzman has championed the cause of human rights for all the people of South Africa for more than 40 years. Since her election to Parliament in December 1952 her record of persistent opposition to all forms of racial discrimination has earned international respect.

In further recognition of her work for a more just and democratic society in South Africa, Britain has established a new leadership programme for black South African students entitled "The Helen Suzman Awards". Details can be obtained from the offices of the British Council. Over 200 applications for these scholarships have already been received.
'Dame' Helen dreamed this could happen. There is no way I can take credit for this. As far as I am concerned it reflects on the millions and millions of decent South Africans of all races.

She said she was particularly pleased with the scholarship programme bearing her name that would create dynamic education opportunities for black youngsters.

A British Embassy spokesman said no South African had been honoured in this way by the Queen since 1949.

The last South African to receive a comparable award was Jan Smuts, who was given the Order of Merit in 1947, he said.

The Foreign Office said the award was made on the recommendation of Foreign Secretary John Major.

As the title is honorary, Suzman will not be able to call herself Dame Helen. She will, however, be able to use the initials DBE after her name.

The Queen will personally bestow the award on Suzman at a ceremony at Buckingham Palace on October 31.

The Foreign Office said the award recognised the distinguished contribution Suzman had made to relations between Britain and SA and in the struggle against apartheid.

DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said: “The recognition of Helen Suzman goes somewhere towards placing a very remarkable person in the category of fame which she richly deserves.”

British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher has frequently described Suzman as one of the bravest and most determined women in the world and it is understood the queen shares this view.
US applauds Jo'burg move for 'open city'

WASHINGTON - The US government has applauded the decision of Johannesburg City Council to dismantle apartheid, and has called on the South African Government not only to support the city's decision but to get on with the process of establishing a non-racial government.

A spokesman for the State Department, Mr Richard Boucher, said yesterday: "We applaud the decision by the Johannesburg City Council to move forward to begin the process of dismantling apartheid. We urge the South African Government to support implementation of the decision.

"We ask President de Klerk to start the process of establishing a non-racial democratic government." — The Star Bureau.
Apartheid regarded overseas as 'a disease'

People overseas were generally very critical of apartheid and some called it a disease, former mayor of Soweto Mr Nelson Bot. File said yesterday.

"We found that people overseas expose the evils of apartheid, and for the first time we saw things that have been hidden to us," Mr Bot. File said on his return from a visit abroad.

"We held a number of discussions with people overseas and also attended a few meetings as observers. The general feeling about apartheid was not good and people were mostly critical.

"We did, however, get positive feedback from some businessmen who said they would not withdraw their investments before seeing what changes will be introduced by Mr F W de Klerk."

Mr Bot. File and the mayors of Munsieville and Dobsonville arrived at Jan Smuts Airport after a three-week tour of Holland and Belgium.

The tour was organised by the Afrikaners-Nederlandse Werkgemeenskap (ANW) and its sister organisation in Holland, the Nederlands-Zuid-Afrikaans Werkgemeenskap.
A visit by Thatcher is on the cards ... IF

LONDON - A visit by Mrs Margaret Thatcher to South Africa next Easter is on the cards - provided two things happen.

First, there must be "substantial movement" by then towards the country's democratisation. Second, the visit must be able to contribute positively to even further advances towards this goal.

Thatcher recognises that just by going to South Africa she would be making a symbolic gesture - signalling that development.

No visit will be possible, therefore, if de Klerk does not begin soon to advance towards the "new South Africa" that he promised in his election speeches.

In a sense, Thatcher is offering De Klerk an Easter deadline for change to begin.

She is not expecting miracles. She sees change in South Africa as a lengthy process, not a rigid timetable - something that will proceed stage by stage, with one advance leading to the next.

A widely held official view here is that too much optimism has been engendered lately in the media and elsewhere over the likely pace of change and the immediate benefits it will bring to South Africa.

Officials talk about the months ahead as the "very early days" of change in South Africa and stress the need for "confidence building measures" to prepare the ground for change.

De Klerk's difficulties are fully recognised and the intention is to give him a fair chance to show what he can achieve.

At the same time, it is pointed out that Thatcher has her problems, too.

A visit to South Africa would arouse intense opposition over a wide range of countries and organisations, including the ANC and Mass Democratic Movement.

Only "substantial movement" towards change in South Africa, therefore, would justify her taking the risks involved in making the visit.

One problem in particular is recognised.

It is that various factors, like De Klerk's replacement of PW Botha as State President and his own reformist rhetoric, have created expectations internally in South Africa and internationally that cannot easily be gratified.

Both blacks in South Africa and the international community are becoming increasingly impatient for change to begin and are stepping up the pressures.

In his inaugural speech as State President, De Klerk acknowledged that he faces this problem of raised expectations.

The key to change in South Africa, as Thatcher sees it, is for De Klerk to find leaders who will be prepared to negotiate with him on the country's future.

But these leaders must be genuinely representative of their people, and this in turn means that conditions must be created for free political organisations - the release of political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency and unbanning black groups.

The British government supports strongly the position taken by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group in 1986 that South Africa's race conflict can be resolved through dialogue between all sections of the population.
LAST month's desperate attempt by the National Intelligence Service to assassinate PW Botha to stop the de Klerk-Kaunda meeting was the most public sign yet of trouble between civilian and security power structures within the government.

As recently as a year ago, the public face of government appeared to be little more than a civilian charade. Behind it, observers argued, the National Security Management Council (NSMC) was making decisions that were later masked by a more powerful "shadow" administration.

But with the rise of PW de Klerk as South Africa's second executive president, the winds appear to have shifted suddenly. It is the time of a long-awaited political opening arrived? As memories of winter fade, can we now welcome the arrival of a Pretoria Spring? The answers are more complex than they may seem at first.

In a few brief days after De Klerk's inauguration, his public demonstrations were permitted in cities around the country. The streets echoed with shouts of "freedom" and "equality." But the old order of the city has barely been abolished in South Africa.

A significant omission in De Klerk's new cabinet was the post of deputy minister in the Department of Justice, which has been abolished. As a result, Leon Wessels shifted to foreign affairs, and the National Joint Management Centre (NJMC) — a agency of the NSMC — no longer has a cabinet member as its chairman.

This bureaucratic downgrading of the body which managed the day-to-day affairs of the Emergency in its early years symbolises reduced significance accorded to security management structures.

The role of the State Security Council (SSC) is also being downgraded. De Klerk is carrying his National Party base into the executive and fleshing out the powers of the cabinet, which his predecessor so eroded.

The SSC sat for eight hours before deciding to allow the Cape Town march to go ahead. At this meeting most of the problems that faced the government would not be able to deal with the consequences of freeing political prisoners.

Yet the old hard-line and inflexible tactics of the Emergency did not prevail. With the support of some intelligence

President PW de Klerk has brought a change of style and substance. There is no doubt that the hopes he has raised will be dashed — it's just a question of when.

By MARK PHILLIPS

of the Centre for Policy Studies, Wits University

and military figures, the civilian leadership of the ANC insisted on a more judicious use of repressive power.

The new, more relaxed security style is linked by many commentators to the developing negotiations politics, and correctly so. But what the NP government means by negotiations hardly resembles what the word means to the rest of the world.

While some negotiations have been allowed to proceed peacefully, low-level repression, which is largely outside the public (and international) eye, continues.

State President PW de Klerk

continues as before. The general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, Jay Naidoo, says that despite the apparent new opening, their membership is experiencing greater harassment than ever before.

Key United Democratic Front and Co-provoz leadership figures have been reinstated in recent weeks. They include the Conference for a Democratic Future, whose national leaders are banned, and the Nationalist party leadership is reconstituted in the mass movement as "irrelevant as revolutionary organisations define themselves out of the picture.

This effectively reiterates the counter-revolutionary warfare stance, that, in the words of former chief of staff Stoffel Nel, the UN should make political parties move "as irrelevant as revolutionary organisations in Britain and the US."

Yet the NP lacks a strategy to win support away from the ANC and its leaders, which even its own surveys show to be the most popular in the country. Bothelie has a regional base, and even that is shrinking. Outside the liberation movement, there are no national black leaders of standing.

Nevertheless, the NP is determined to forge ahead with unworkable plans which are likely to centre on co-option of a somewhat wider circle of blacks, rather than on a transition to democracy. The changes we have witnessed in past weeks are therefore more a shift of style than of substance.

As awareness of this spreads, the expectations which De Klerk has raised will soon be dashed. And it is this consistent climate which ensures, only the most hopeful optimist will deny that old-style security measures will return to haunt the next few years.

Sad, though the political recipe has changed, the ingredients remain much the same as before.
A visit by Thatcher is on the cards ... IF

LONDON - A visit by Mrs Margaret Thatcher to South Africa next Easter is on the cards - provided two things happen.

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The key to change in South Africa, as Thatcher sees it, is for De Klerk to find leaders who will be prepared to negotiate with him on the country's future.

But these leaders must be genuinely representative of South Africa's people, and this in turn means that conditions must be created for free political organization, the release of political prisoners, lifting the state of emergency and "ununifying" black groups.

The British government supports strongly the position taken by the Commonwealth's "Emissary Peaceful Group": in 1986, that South Africa's race conflict can be resolved through dialogue between all sections of the population.
Providing the private option

It is fitting that the new Minister for Administration and Privatisation should be a well-known, accomplished businessman and an authority on privatisation.

But Wim de Villiers (68) believes a low profile and a good deal of understanding will achieve more in liberating the economy and winning allies to the cause than any loud pronouncements on policy or strategy. Thus he refrains from commenting on any plans he might have for restructuring the civil service.

With vast experience in mining, engineering and construction, management, industrial investments and, more recently, the privatisation of some public corporation giants — De Villiers is undeniably well suited to the job.

Yet it took him four days to accept President F W de Klerk’s surprise offer of appointment. He is well past retirement age and has never pursued a career in politics.

“But I also had to consider what is important for all South Africans — including my children and grandchildren. I therefore accepted.

“But, while I will attend Cabinet meetings and move to Cape Town for parliamentary sessions, I will play a minimal role in party politics,” he says.

De Villiers is convinced the survival of free enterprise demands a broadening of shareholding in companies. “And the essential wealth and growth-creating roles of the classical entrepreneur will have to regain preeminence before the economy can really take off,” he warns.

Several reports written by De Villiers, on the privatisation of Eskom, Sats, the Post Office and privatisation policy, spell out the issues.

De Villiers believes the national economic malaise has resulted from a combination of policy measures necessitated by exceptional external factors, such as the low-level economic warfare SA has been involved in for the past two decades. These circumstances led to the State’s unacceptably high profile in total capital spending since 1974 (an average of about 64% of total capex over 15 years), distortions caused by prescribed investment requirements, a shrinking tax base and increasing tax demands on the private sector aggravated by the many public corporations.

Part of the solution, De Villiers believes, lies in privatising many public corporations. But he warns that some rare solutions will have to be found as privatisation will take place largely in a non-competitive environment.

Entrepreneurial blood runs thick in De Villiers’ veins. Born in the dry, dusty western Free State town of Jacobabad in 1921, his father was an attorney and his grandfather started SA’s first commercial salt production plant in 1896.

De Villiers is adamant that any business must ensure that the capital return warrants its existence. This, he says, has not always been the case as regards utilities like Eskom, Sats and the Post Office which, in the past, sought only to render a proper service to the public.

“Our task now is to ensure that they become market orientated and that return on capital will determine their success in SA’s capital markets,” he says.

De Villiers likes nothing better than relaxing with his wife and listening to his impressive classical music collection in his comfortable, large, wood-panelled Westcliff, Johannesburg, mansion, containing antique furniture, beautiful Cape silver and a few Anton von Wouw originals. He is a family man and reads copiously — especially economics and business.
Ministers’ Council.
Durr has a clear vision of what he wants to achieve and what needs to be done. “I work closely with (Finance Minister) Barend du Plessis. I feel I know what’s on his mind. I also work well with (Mineral & Energy Affairs & State Enterprises Minister) Dawie de Villiers. I was a prime mover of the State’s privatization policy which was previously De Villiers’ responsibility. We will all work as a team, not as individuals.”

Durr believes the main challenge facing the economy is to “get the fundamentals right” and then place the country on a new growth path. “I believe in minimum government, but that does not mean we don’t need clear guidelines and good leadership.”

The development of an export orientation, he says, is important, as is import replacement, though it must be economic. There must also be a critical evaluation of SA’s resources.

Development programmes, he asserts, have a place in the planning process, but they must be open-ended. “There must be points of review and sunset clauses.”

Tourism has been re-introduced to his portfolio by P W Botha, after having been separated by P W Botha.

Durr’s non-political interests include environmental and architectural conservation. As a parting shot, he notes: “A rising tide raises all ships.” That’s particularly relevant, he feels, to the rising of the economic tide which will inevitably benefit all South Africans.

GEORGE BARTLETT
Adept at adapting

For a man who has spent more than half his political life as an opposition MP, George Bartlett’s inauguration as Minister of Transport, Public Works & Land Affairs last week has brought him a political semi-circle.

But the Natal sugar-farmer’s swing through virtually the full spectrum of white SA politics can probably be ascribed to his consistent support of conservative, pragmatic policies rather than any change of heart.

However, it seems his views on economic issues are well in line with the apparently enlightened trends espoused in government circles. Interviewed by the FM last week, Bartlett confirmed he was investigating the possibility of privatizing SA’s major airports, like Jan Smuts, as well as the Public Works Department.

Bartlett also criticized excessive bureaucracy in the public service, noting: “Red tape also seems to rule in many so-called private concerns and companies. We need to deregulate and to steer away from dogmatic attitudes.”

Bartlett entered politics in 1974 as MP for Amatola on the conservative right of the old United Party. He remained on the right of the NRP as he rose through the ranks to become one of its most influential members.

With the launch of the new constitution in 1983, Bartlett found that the NP had shifted to a position not far from his own. After unsuccessfully arguing for the dissolution of the NRP at its 1984 congress, he joined the ruling party together with NRP leader Ron Miller and Aubrey Thompson, MP for South Coast. Their departure effectively set the party on the path to extinction.

Two years later, Bartlett was rewarded with the post of Deputy Minister, Economic Affairs & Technology.

Born in March, 1931 at Port Shepstone on the Natal South Coast, Bartlett matriculated from the Maritzburg Technical High School and left for Canada to further his studies. He returned to SA with a BSc in agricultural engineering and a Bachelor of Applied Science from Toronto University. He joined the SA Sugar Association (SASA), later becoming its chief advisory officer. He then moved to the Illovo Sugar Estates as GM, where he remained until moving into politics in 1974.

Bartlett has been a prime mover in winning Cabinet support for the ethanol-from-cane plant at Richards Bay, as well as the recent moves to deregulate sugar farming.

Besides being one of only two English-speaking Cabinet ministers, he is also one of the first English-speakers to head the NP in Natal.

Like the new State President, Bartlett is a firm supporter of group rights. But he has recently indicated that he is willing to take a second look at the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposals.

RINA VENTER
A lone voice

The first woman to be appointed to the Cabinet, Rina Venter, has one of the most challenging portfolios. As Minister of National Health and Population Development, Venter (51) faces a national nursing crisis, a growing AIDS problem and a population that is expanding ahead of the econo-

my’s potential to create jobs.

However, her problem-solving background indicates she could well be in her element. She has been a social worker for nearly 30 years, president of the Vrouedefederasie, a member of the SABC board and a nominated MP since 1984. Against all odds she held a seat — a largely conservative constituency — for the NP in the general election. “I need challenges ... to set new goals,” she says.

Softly spoken Venter is not prepared to discuss her portfolio in detail. “I wasn’t expecting the appointment and wouldn’t like to venture uninformed opinions without studying all the issues at hand,” she says. She does, however, emphasise the necessity for cost-effective medical services and believes Aids is primarily an educational problem.

Her views on population development are simple: “Improved living standards are the best chance of reducing population growth. SA simply can’t afford an unrealistic population growth.”

As president of the Vrouedefederasie Venter made history by cutting across racial barriers to establish links with black women. “I would like to have done more but I am proud of what was done,” she admits. Addressing a convention of Jewish women, she once said: “We must look at what we as women have in common with one another and try to build on these values.” She is known to deplore political apathy, particularly in women.

Her experience as a social worker has taught her valuable lessons. One is that people and communities should be involved in planning their own future and identifying their needs. “You can’t do it for them,” she insists.

Venter, married with two sons, was born in Krugersdorp and grew up in Carletonville. As a young girl she wanted a career in music but, after losing the use of some of her fingers, decided on social work. In 1952 she graduated from Tuksies with a BA in social sciences and later obtained a doctorate in social work methods. Her thesis touched on people’s resistance to change — a topic which will certainly stand her in good stead.

She believes politics is about changing attitudes. “This is part of the challenge facing SA — if we succeed, we will be home and dry.”

Rina Venter ... experienced trouble-shooter
PROCLAMATIONS
State President of the Republic of South Africa

No. 171, 1989

TRANSFER OF POWERS, DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS IN TERMS OF THE PREVENTION OF ILLEGAL SQUATTERING ACT, 1951

Under section 11 of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951 (Act No. 52 of 1951), I hereby determine that any power, duty or function which in terms of the said Act is on 30 September 1989 permitted or required to be exercised, carried out or performed by the Divisional Councils of Upper Karoo, Cederberg, Drakensberg, Gordonia, Groot River, Hay, Kaffraria, Kenhardt, Pieska, Swartland, Vaalharts and Vaal River established under section 8 of the Divisional Councils Ordinance, 1976 (Ordinance No. 18 of 1976), of the Cape of Good Hope, or by any person in the service of such divisional council, may or shall with effect from 1 October 1989, be exercised, carried out or performed by the Administrator concerned as defined in section 10 of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, 1951, including any person in the administration as defined in the said Act, of the Province of the Cape of Good Hope.

Given under my Hand and the Seal of the Republic of South Africa at Pretoria this Twenty-eighth day of September, One thousand Nine hundred and Eighty-nine.

F. W. DE KLERK,
State President.

By Order of the State President-in-Cabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister of the Cabinet.

609—A

PROKLAMASIES
Staatspresident van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika

No. 171, 1989

OORDRAG VAN BEVOEGDHEDE, PLIGTE EN WERKSAAMHEDE INGEVOLGE DIE WET OP DIE VOORKOMING VAN ONREGMATIGE PLAKKERY, 1951

Kragtens artikel 11 van die Wet op die Voorkoming van Onregmatige Plakkery, 1951 (Wet No. 52 van 1951), bepaal ek hierby dat enige bevoegdheid, plig of werksaamheid wat op 30 September 1989 ingevolge die genoemde Wet deur die Afdelingsraad van Bo-Karoo, Cederberg, Drakensberg, Gordonia, Grootrivier, Hay, Kaffraria, Kenhardt, Pieska, Swartland, Vaalharts en Vaalrivier ingestel kragtens artikel 8 van die Ordonnansie op Afdelingsraad, 1976 (Ordonnansie No. 18 van 1976), van die Kaap die Goeie Hoop of deur enige persoon in die diens van sodanige afdelingsraad uitgeoefen, uitgeoefen of verrig kan of moet word, met ingang van 1 Oktober 1989 deur die betrokke Administrateur soos omskryf in artikel 10 van die Wet op die Voorkoming van Onregmatige Plakkery, 1951, met inbegrip van enige persoon in die diens van die administrasie soos in genoemde Wet omskryf, van die provinsie die Kaap die Goeie Hoop, uitgeoefen, uitgeoefen of verrig kan of moet word:

Gegee onder my Hand en die Seël van die Republiek van Suid-Afrika te Pretoria, op hede die Agt-en-twentigste dag van September Eenduisend Nege-en-tiglig.

F. W. DE KLERK,
Staatspresident.

Op las van die Staatspresident-in-Kabinet:

G. VAN N. VILJOEN,
Minister van die Kabinet.

12127—1
LONDON — Mr F W de Klerk is "shedding credibility in a manner reminiscent of woodland waterfowl that shed their plumage when the mating season ends", Commonwealth Secretary-General Sir Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal said yesterday.

When this happened, he said, the birds "cannot fly and remain huddled together for safety in the centre of the pond".

"Let us hope that this is not really happening and that the prospects for fundamental change in South Africa are better than they seem."

Sir "Sonny" told the Diplomatic and Commonwealth Writers' Association he did not believe there would be a great emphasis on producing a composite sanctions package in Kuala Lumpur.

The warning would be given that if reform was not forthcoming, further measures would be taken.

"The rest of the Commonwealth (Britain apart) will want to go on the record confirming the judgment that sanctions have worked and they have a role to play on the road ahead. I don't believe Kuala Lumpur will be the moment for a new package of sanctions, but it will send the message that that will be the result if there is no tangible reform in South Africa."

He said the rest of the Commonwealth had not accepted Mrs. Thatcher's view that negotiation was the only way towards reform.
NP dumps petty apartheid
and out-glasnosts the pack

The move of thousands of Black residents of the city's white areas, Johann-}
burg City Council, voted to open all the city's amenities to all races. In the National Party management committee, Mr. Steyn made the announce-}
ment in the council meeting on Tuesday night - the Conserva-}
tive Party blew a significant vote. The CP, which holds all of the council, yesterday, revealed plans to de-}
gregate within the next six weeks. The council was warned by the Local Transportation Board.

All recreation cen-}
ters, swimming pools and libraries were pronounced open from yesterday. Buses will be de-}
gregated within the next six weeks after permits have been issued by the Local Transportation Board.

While the city is working through the hangover of the budget, the mayor of the city, Mayor Steyn, said, "We are not trying to fix the race relations problems but to open all the city's amenities to all races."

Mr. Steyn, the official opposition in the city council - the Demo-
cratic Party - was slightly disturbed, however thoroughly pleased. The DP had been working a battle in the council for the open-}
ing of the city to all its residents for as long as they can remember. The NP, after the results of a poll, swung the sup-}
port of the DP and virtually out-glasnosts the pro-
gregation democrats.

Between the press-}
say, applied to the DP and the serious-
ness of urbanisation in South Africa, the NP's hand was for-}
ted, believe the lead-}
er of the DP in the council, Mr. Tan-}
ton, said. Davids said the move "is a hold
step for you (NP) and a victory for the side of the house." Earlier this year, DP commissioner Carl Steyn dis-
covered that there existed a government which called for the segregation of swim-
ning pools. Steyn and the three leaders of the DP in the city council, Mr. Tony Loob, had a "full-blown crisis" at the Hillbrow inner pool and effectively in-
tegrated the amenity.

Last weekend the Yeoville Residents Organisation - a non-racial resi-
dents organisation in the proclaimed white area - pulled the same move on the Yeoville pool. Here there was no resis-
tance while in Hillbrow only the extreme right-wing of the AWL and other types protested and were subsequently re-
pressed.

The moves on the swimming pools played into the NP's hands in a predic-
ament. In order to reinitialize segregation in terms of the Separate Amenities Act there had to be a council resolution in order to be effec-
tive.

At the time they had no resolution, and there was no legis-
lation that allowed that under the Group Areas Act there was room for this," said Davids, who dis-
scribed this as non-

sense.

However the NP's pre-draftment was compro-

mised when the DP presented the Maoist to either make a public state-
ment to confirm the absence of legislation or otherwise declare swimming pools segregated un-
der the Separate Amenities Act.

The outcome of the Carletonville court case which forced the council to move all discrimin-
atior, had caused the council to act in order to avoid legal action and to avoid constant protests.

The council's move was welcomed by many residents but not all. On the other hand, the council's action was seen as a step towards integration.

The move was supported by the democratic council and opposed by the conservative council. The democratic council believed that the move was necessary to promote racial integration, while the conservative council believed that it would only lead to conflict and division.

The move was seen as a victory for the democratic council and a defeat for the conservative council. The democratic council believed that the move was necessary to promote racial integration, while the conservative council believed that it would only lead to conflict and division.

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The achievements of South Africa's first constitution made two mistakes: They over-estimated black forebearance in the longer term and they misjudged the Boer-British commitment to unity in the shorter term.

One of the immediate consequences of the first was the formation of the African National Congress in 1912, as a response to black people's exclusion from government and as an attempt to forge unity across tribal barriers.

In 1923 the Union Prime Minister Louis Botha tried cautiously but gallantly to practically effect the conciliatory sentiments so tearfully expressed at the National Convention, to his chagrin and to the increasing alarm of his English cousins in the Cabinet. Barry Hertzog decried his efforts as pandering to British imperialist and imperialist sentiments, and found them useless and rid of him, Botha collapsed his Cabinet by resigning and appointing a new one without Hertzog.

In 1934, in Bloemfontein at the National Party was formed under Hertzog to henceforth serve the white, predominantly Afrikaner, nationalist cause.

How fate conspired with the forces of necessity and destabilisation is part of history also: As the dodging country entered into World War I on England's side and the resultant rebellion deepened the white's racial schism, an internalisation of rural poverty brought black and white workers an increasingly antagonistic rivalry in the cities.

And while both the white and black nationalist claims found themselves increasingly well-served by developments, so parliament was steadily abrogated to the non-white South Africa Act vested in it over the country's black citizenry.

It started by demarcating limited rural trust land in the Transvaal along with the clash of the white with its white electors, curbs were slapped on blacks, including influx controls as recommended by the Stallard Commission in 1922 which said towns should be for permanent occupation by whites only.

By the time Hertzog's National Party came to power in 1924, in coalition with the Labour Party, anti-black feelings and demands for segregation had become exceedingly angry. From Hertzog it was, too, that the first firm indication came that the constitution so sagaciously drafted at the National Convention, as well as parliament itself, would not remain unaffected.

Noting that the African vote was already having more say in the elections, he was warned, "Unless the native vote in the Cape is separated from that of the whites, it will be the cause of the greatest tragedy in the history of South Africa."

Although he already committed his party in 1929 to making South Africa "a white man's land" it was only after fusion with Smuts' South African Party that, in 1930, he considered white opinion sufficiently fired up to remove Africans from the common voters' roll in the Cape.

In return, black voters in the Cape were allowed to vote three whites to parliament and two to the new Provincial Council of Africans throughout the country were provided with an electoral college system to elect four Commissioners, a Native's Representative Council of 12 elected and four nominated Africans, and five whites set up under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Native Affairs to serve as an advisory body, and legislative provision was made to assist trust land to that set aside for blacks in 1913.

A black worker, Ndawana, took the government to court. One of his arguments, which 20 years later would have devastating constitutional consequences was that the law which removed blacks from the common voters' roll in the Cape should not have been accepted by the two-thirds majority procedure as had happened. The reason suggested was that the Statute of Westminster, passed by the British parliament in 1931 to bestowed full legislative authority on its dominions, required parliamentary consent by the enshrined sections of the South Africa Act.

The Cape Supreme Court thought the special procedure must not be followed, but on appeal it was held that parliament, composed of three constituent elements, could adopt any procedure it thought fit. As a result, the offending act could not be declared invalid.

What followed is again known history: While making in peace with South Africa, even until World War II intervened, Hertzog's crusader mantle passed to D.F. Malan and his reformed National Party, as the latter's racial demands grew, so the symbolic Great Trek of 1938 expanded, and grandly, growing Afrikaner-Nationalist fervour and, ironically, as calls started being made for the removal of colour of people from the Cape's common voters' roll, it was Hertzog who derided these as futility and infidelity and a betrayal of the trust of the coloured in the word of the white man.

Although there were some Nationalists who sympathised with the measure, the minority of parliamentarians, the party as a whole seemed to have a pretty sound idea of what it wished to do by the time it came to power in 1948.

Already the year before, its Sauer Commission had set out to further that end, to maintain the white population by the total elimination of mixing between whites and non-whites, with a clear dividing line between them to remove racial friction and all possible sources of conflict of interests.

When D.F. Malan took over as Prime Minister, he made it quite clear that that was what he meant that in the Cape, too, Europeans and non-Europeans would not be riding in the same trains, sitting on the same benches, working in the same workshops, living in the same residential areas or going to the same universities.

Ultimately, there was going to be political separation — Not that we want to deny the non-Europeans any say or deprive them of their rights. There is no foundation for their sitting with us in the same legislative assembly, we want to establish our own self-governing institutions in their own territories.

Malan was deeply worried about how the attitude of coloured people had changed; they had been summoned to bear arms and to be arbiters between white and black and to have given them a different outlook and had caused them to make demands which never previously entered their heads; and now the United Nations and the communities were inciting them against the whites. The only solution he saw was that there should be two spheres in the country — different areas where the Europeans and the non-Europeans must be separated from each other.

Smuts, as Opposition leader, responded gloomily: "We are going to drive the coloured people away from us... A step like this that alienates our friends, people who really belong to us, stirring up all this feeling, all this bitterness, all this Jealousy, this all this despairing frustration, can only end in a bloody and in a united front, and that united front may be a communist front. What is the use in inveighing against communism when we ourselves are taking the most active steps to help it up?"

But the new government pushed on relentless in two to three years a vast legal edifice was erected with racist provisions stretching from birth (through the Population Registration Act), to education, work, marriage, inheritance, sex, marriage and living areas.

The one vexing problem that remained was how to proceed with the coloured people on the Cape's common voters' role. To set it right, the government, relying on the Ndawana case, in 1951 pushed through a bill to create a majority of the Assembly and Senate sitting separately to receive them.

An affected voter, Harris, had the Act judged invalid by the Appeal Court, which, overturning the government, held that the constitutional Amendment had to abide by the entrenched sections of the constitution.

Angered to distraction, the government had the High Court of Parliament Act passed the following year to set up a minority of the Two Houses sitting separately. It laid down that any past or future act of parliament declared invalid by the Appellate Division would be subject to review by the "High Court of Parliament". But again Harris had the Act judged invalid.

The government's final and most disgraceful answer was to demand that the Senate with sufficient members of its own party to give it a two-thirds majority to remove coloured voters from the common roll, in return for which they would be given whites to be elected to parliament on a separate vote.

Even Nationalists were afterwards to admit that it was not the right thing to do. But if even Malan, before his death, had doubts about all the way matters were turning out, not so his Transvaal successor, Hans Strijdom, who declared bluntly: "We, the white people, have the mastery in our hands today... because the laws of this country give the franchise and representation to the white man so that he can govern the country. They (the opposition) say you cannot always hold the native back... and their policy is gradually so to change our laws that the white man will no longer have the power to be the master in South Africa."

While it is widely believed that J.F. Verwoerd was the "architect" of apartheid, it seems he was quite an accomplished fact by the time he took over in 1948. As Minister of Native Affairs he had certainly helped bringing it about, but as prime minister his rather debonair architectural role lay in proprietary, the tampering, not turning the development of the trustlands areas as through the increasingly disastrous denial, the division of the urban areas as a means of "reversing the stream".

In 1959 it was passed the Act of Union of Bantu Self-Government Act which recognized eight ethnically national units and provided the machinery for coping with them.

But fulfillment of the dream of an all-white parliament was left to his successor, John Vorster, who had the "coloured" representatives removed in 1968 in favour of an inferior and ultimately, sterilized, "Coloured" Legislative Council, and functional separate representation.

Of the ending of all parliamentary voting rights for people of colour, Vorster said he believed from the bottom of his heart that he had done "what was required to have the future judge me in this regard..."
Amazing new scenes and changes, but NP still disguising

I strode into the bar of the Federal Hotel in Bulawayo, where, once young, for three or four years I put down a gallon or so a day of Castle Lager followed by rum-and-coke as the evening wore on. I have rarely been so shocked or surprised. Head on and you’ll see why.

The Federal is a small, bare, flag-blown building; it would do nicely as a set in a Western. But it is the repository of normality. Late in the 1990s, we young reporters on the Rural Daily Mail would shudder to see its front door and inside, a block away, a bar or类别。women or blacks. There were usually three or four older white men, sitting, smoking and talking in their shirt-tails. We took our cue from them.

The shock was immediate. Behind the bar was no reclusive JTB hrman but Miss Dhlamini, pretty face, bright from Swaziland.

“Where’s Waldo?” asked a statuesque white woman.

One customer, a white-haired man called Harry, waved me cheerily to an adjoining table.

It was a quarter of a century since I had visited the Federal, almost exactly the time Mr Nelson Mandela has been in jail. These days, the Federal was a chamber of commerce, a parlor of commerce.

I asked about his move from Swedes to a room nearby. He pointed to the window when I was there. To my deep embarrassment, he kissed my hand. What business had I with those confident and young, saw me as a stranger.

Down Main Street, past the edge of the block that housed the Rand Daily Mail when it existed, is Nugget Street. You still paid for car showers on the way.

The old Harry, elderly Harry, the many young Afrikaners walking constantly did not show any sign of my white face. When Mr Mandela went to his first prison on Robben Island, Swedes were nearly all gar- dunged in shorts or “flap-ladys”, as we called the grown-up men, in blue shirts and white, who scrubbed your apartment floor.

But the few young men, they were proud, well-dressed. I asked if they knew that it was their country and they know it.

In old Bulawayo, the Nugget Hotel, a floor taller than the Federal, was where you went for a drink with your wife. It had claw. Now, it has a “ladies bar” and downstairs, a notice about the ends of the day being reserved.

A plain clothed policeman, so white men in shirt-sleeves, sweating and

I don’t know how many years are now passed. But in the Federal, a small room, a bar or类别。women or blacks. There were usually three or four older white men, sitting, smoking and talking in their shirt-tails. We took our cue from them.

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But the few young men, they were proud, well-dressed. I asked if they knew that it was their country and they know it.
I was hard for a South African-born returning visitor to believe. Everything was amazing.

I saw white taxi-drivers taking black passengers, heard of black medical students training with white patients.

Perhaps people who say that the growth of a black middle-class is the way forward for Africa, are right, surely all this new-found wealth is creating solid citizens, a stable community, and black capitalism.

Yet, it isn't.

Some important apartheid laws have now been legislated. The pass laws, laws that assumed urban blacks to be migrant workers destined to return to the homelands. But the key one remains, those that govern land, the areas reserved for various racial groups, separate education, and the bantustan law - the one that register you according to your racial origin.

Across black trade unions were not legal in my time. Now, they are a serious force in the political as well as the economic life of the country.

The solid-citizen suburbs around Johannesburg are still white.

The African National Congress - the ANC - had followed the ANC line initially, but that disagreed had arisen after 1989. Inkatha opposed both the violent struggle and sanctions that seemed to be the main difference.

Inkatha is more strident. It is the non-unionist on every major current question - rejecting Mandela's unbanning the ANC, signing the state of emergency, the non-acceptance of the constitution.

It is possible to imagine Chief Buthelezi doing a deal that the ANC would not but the immediate past is that, along with the other homeland leaders, he reflects important aspects of mainstream black thinking.

As I left, a minor added to the role of parading gifts, posters and books. On the top lay a piglet, beside a single-space typewriter. It was Chief Buthelezi's policy speech to his assembled, made in March.

So what really is happening out there in South Africa?

The course of separate states has failed, partly because they have the wrong land and are so poverty-stricken partly because of the black population explosion, and partly because power-base leaders like Chief Buthelezi have rejected the offer of independence.

Daily Mail

R. D. K. Butler, Johannesburg, 1980

NEW JOHANNESBURG - Unlike bygone days, for example, of about the time Mandela went to jail, young blacks walking casually on the city streets are proud-suited citizens, showing by their bearing and the look in their eyes that this is their country and they know it.