SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT & POLITICS

APRIL 1989.

Mbeki, Slabbert win over US legislators

SATURDAY STAR FOREIGN NEWS SERVICE

BERMUDA — The five-day Bermuda conference on South Africa ended here yesterday, with an influential group of United States legislators who came to listen and to cross-examine a wide spectrum of South Africans reported to be greatly impressed by the "political intelligence" displayed by their South African guests — and by the prospects for a reduction of conflict in South Africa.

A security blanket was thrown round the luxury hotel where the discussions took place, and little is known of the detailed presentations. But some delegates, who agreed to break the conference pledge of secrecy, said the speakers who had made the greatest impact on the Americans were Mr Thabo Mbeki, leader of a small ANC delegation, and Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

"These two were extraordinarily articulate," said one source, "and, while hardly in agreement on all issues, set forward very impressive scenarios for solving the South African racial impasse.

"Indeed, virtually every South African here, from the liberal left to the radical right, rejected the notion of violence, and all spoke to the theme of negotiation and moderation."

While the conference organisers, the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, insist the aim of the conference was simply to serve as a "learning experience" for the Americans, most of them Democrats, much of what they learnt may be put to legislative use in Washington in some form or another.

To that extent, the South African "case" could not have been better — or more usefully — expressed.

Among those attending the conference were two prominent critics of the South African government in the Congress, Mr William Gray and Mr Harold Wolpe, as well as Mr Herman Cohen, who has been nominated to succeed Mr Chester Crocker as the US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

Nats geared for early poll

BLACKS IN BANK PEACE MOVE

By MANDLA TYALA

A MAJOR community effort to effect reconciliation at troubled African Bank is under way

SA's only black financial institution has stood precariously on the precipice over the past two weeks as various interest groups reacted with dismay at the summary dismissal of chief executive Gaby Magomola

The bank's problems spilt over into the public eye when Mr Magomola took legal action for unfair dismissal, and Transkei, the bank's biggest depositor, threatened to withdraw its investment.

IMPATIENT VOTERS PROD UNEASY POLITICAL BEDFELLOWS INTO NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

UNCERTAINTY and disagreement are dogging the three parties that will form the Democratic Party in a partly reluctant marriage on Saturday.

Holding the shotgun at the wedding will be South Africa's white, left-of-government opposition voters.

The leaders of the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement acknowledge that public pressure is the main spur driving them into a union.

Opposition voters — and rank-and-file party members — simply will not tolerate the PFP, IP and NDM scrapping for seats while the National Party walks off with the spoils.

But among the parties' public representatives, there is disquiet over policies, strategies and positions.

The strains in the relationship are not unexpected — and the DP's leaders are confident the new party can deal with them successfully.

They have argued that the party's singular strength lies in its reflecting a wider range of South African political thought than any other party.

Alliance

The range extends from the close-to-centre leanings of the IP and its leader, Dr Denis Worrall, to the strong concerns for extra-parliamentary contact and alliances fostered by the NDM and its leader, Mr Wynand Malan.

The PFP has always housed members who reflect the spectrum between those two poles.

Reconciling the differing views will test the party's democratic strengths — and Saturday's founding congress in Johannesburg will be the first major test.

Various groups are expected to vie for dominance.

One faction, with strongholds in the IP and PFP, wants the DP to make an all-out bid for power through elections in all three Houses of Parliament.

Another group, mainly in the NDM and parts of the PFP, urges waiting until extra-parliamentary organisations settle the debate on participation.

This week the DP had to navigate choppy waters in an early attempt to bridge parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Denied permission for a nonracial meeting in whites-only Boksburg, the party moved to Reiger Park, the nearby coloured township.

Objected

Some members of the audience objected to the presence of the South African flag, and others criticised the "patronising attitude" of the speakers.

Mr Malan's departing remark was: "We've got a long way to go in this country."

The Democratic Party will formally begin that journey on Saturday at the Johannesburg College of Education.

Delimitation and PW are obstacles to govt's plans

THE Government is paving the way for an early general election. Moves are being planned to speed up the current parliamentary session, according to well-placed sources.

Senior parliamentarians now expect the session could end in May, freeing MPs to hurry back to their constituencies for an election possibly as early as August — but more likely in September.

There are also indications the Government is planning a way out of the biggest problem with an early election — the constitutionally-prescribed need for a Delimitation Commission this year.

By LESTER VENTER, Political Correspondent

The clause dealing with delimitations is not entrenched in the constitution.

This means it can be amended by a simple majority in the House of Assembly, and processed through the President's Council if Parliament's other two Houses will not pass the amendment.

It is understood the Government is considering doing this.

If it goes ahead, it will be a blow for President Botha.

He has said in public that an election cannot be held because of the necessity for delimitation.

Mr Botha's presidency will end with the holding of an election, and it is generally accepted he wants that election held as late as possible.

However, the decision on the constitutional amendment lies squarely with Mr F W de Klerk, the new leader of the National Party, leader of the House of Assembly — and contender for the presidency.

Mr De Klerk wants to hold an election as soon as possible to resolve the leadership crisis of the NP and re-start reform under his own leadership.

To better his chances, he needs to schedule the election before the NP can be damaged by a Swapo victory in Namibia's independence elections in November.

An important measure to speed up parliamentary proceedings has already been taken. Departments have been given an April 10 deadline for legislation to be introduced this session.

OUR COUNTRY NEEDS US!

3044 Times 2/4/89.

ZACH DE BEER, leader of the PFP, argues the case for the formation of the new Democratic Party . . .



LET me begin with a simple question: What does South Africa need?

It needs a sustained economic growth rate in the order of five percent a year to provide the jobs that are needed and a rising standard of living.

To achieve that, it needs to have a growing private sector and a diminishing public one. It needs a firmly free enterprise economy.

South Africa needs investment, from both domestic and foreign sources to lay the basis for future growth. It needs open markets worldwide.

It needs adequate schooling facilities for all our people, inter alia because education is the road to high productivity.

It needs a great, sustained effort in housing, based on home ownership and free rights of residence.

South Africa needs other things. It needs a clean, efficient administration, the very thing President Botha promised and could not deliver.

It needs an effective defence force, fully representative of all sections of the population, and if possible recruited without conscription.

It needs an industrial relations system purged of politics, through the grant of political rights to workers.

Perhaps the most deep-seated of all our needs is for peace. We are being debilitated by chronic conflict.

Harmony

We are governed under a permanent state of emergency, the rule of law suspended, the troops in the townships, censorship denying us access to information.

What creates the need for that emergency? We need to read one single, ugly word. It is: Injustice.

Race-based inequalities in services and opportunities, continued political domination by a minority over the majority, and the continuing application of discriminatory segregation laws.

Surely no country in the world could be governed peacefully while this sort of unfairness went on.

● The time has come for inclusive politics as opposed to exclusive arrangements — for the politics of harmony as opposed to those of fear.

We can succeed only if South Africans are more productive and if there is teamwork. It is time that we were, like all democracies, governed by consent.

Yes, one might say. This is all true enough; but why should this imply the need for a new opposition party? Why can the Government not do all these things?

Feasible

The Government could — and it actually pays lip-service to the need for change.

But does anyone really believe that the National Party is going to move actual decision-making power from the hands of the white minority to those of the nation as a whole?

Why, in spite of heavy domestic and international pressure, the NP could not even bring themselves to resolve the Boksburg problem by repealing the Separate Amenities Act.

It is also necessary to reflect on the paralysing effect on the National Party of the Conservative Opposition. The whole Boksburg controversy boils down to the following:

The NP says to the CP: Your actions in Boksburg and elsewhere are doing great harm to South Africa. (True).

The CP says to the NP: But all we are doing is to apply your laws. (Also true).

The PFP says to the NP: Repeal the Separate Amenities Act; then the CP will not be able to behave as it does. (Again true).

The NP says: It is not feasible either to repeal the apartheid laws or to apply them strictly.

Pride

● The conclusion one must draw is that the NP lacks the resolution to change South Africa.

Non-Nationalists are divided between those who say: The NP will never do it, and those who say: Someday they might.

This much is clear: If the NP ever do it, it will happen only under powerful pressure from a strong, liberal opposition which threatens them politically. Alternatively, that party must take power and do it.

● And that brings me back to the question: Does South Africa need a new opposition party; the implication is: Could one or more of the present opposition parties not achieve the necessary result?

This is the hardest part of the article for me to write. I was a founder of the Progressive Party in 1959, of the Progressive Reform Party in 1975, and of the Progressive Federal Party in 1977.

I belonged to each of these parties with pride. Each of them was brave and effective, in the face of heavy pressure, in sustaining democratic values such as equal human dignity and rights, personal freedom and the rule of law.

It therefore did not come easily for me to accept, some time after the 1987 election, that a new party was required. As many people asked: Why couldn't all the democrats in the country rally to the PFP?

It is my job, apart from being a principled proponent of democratic values, to be a practical politician.

Even before the 1987 election it was clear that there were many South Africans who favoured liberal values but were not supporting my party. The results confirmed this dramatically and tragically.

Values

Subsequent events and trends confirmed it again. I therefore concluded, with the support of many others in the PFP, that it was essential to bring together all who genuinely share the democratic values I have mentioned, and that this would only be achievable through a new party.

This is the process which is now well advanced. The decisive step of party formation is planned for next Saturday.

And this much I can already say: The values for which I have always stood are safe within the Democratic Party — there are already significant numbers of leading South Africans in the DP who never contemplated joining the PFP; and the public response to the DP is more positive and active than anything I have previously experienced.

SA in balance awaiting PW

w/e Argus 11/4/89

304A

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

ALL eyes will be on President P W Botha next week to see if he is going to bring an end to the National Party's lingering leadership crisis and the uncertainty about the timing of the coming general election.

The crucial day is Thursday, when he is expected to announce his plans to the National Party's parliamentary caucus and to a joint sitting of the three Houses of Parliament.

Although there has been speculation that an agreement has been reached with Mr Botha about the leadership issue and an election this year, high-level government and National Party sources said this week the matter had not been brought to finality.

Uncertainty about Mr Botha's next move remains as he keeps the country and politicians guessing during Parliament's Easter recess, which ends next week.

His decision could be crucial for South Africa's future if the government is to ride the wave of opportunity now offered by the latest peace initiatives in southern Africa.

Fears were expressed in government and political circles this week that there could be serious consequences for the National Party and the country as a whole if Mr Botha decided to delay a general election and a leadership change until next year — though this seems unlikely at this stage.

For the NP it is of great importance to have an election before the Namibian elections in November. In the event of a Swapo victory it is feared the Conservative Party would be in a position to exploit the situation to the extent of making further serious inroads on the NP's position in a South African election.

It is even feared in NP circles that the run-up to the Namibian election could be harmful to the NP if it spills over into a South African election campaign.

Nationalist sources predict that Mr Botha will announce a general election for August or September — a climb-down from his earlier stand ruling out an election this year — and that he may step down from the Presidency after the election.

Cling to power

However, should he cling to power, he would strengthen the grip of the government's securocrats on the country's affairs, set the scene for further harsh restrictions — including measures against the media — and thereby delay the creation of a suitable climate for negotiation in South Africa.

Political analysts say the prospect of a dramatic improvement in the climate for negotiation after Mrs Margaret Thatcher's Africa tour and other events this week call for dynamic, imaginative and decisive leadership in South Africa.

There is potentially a key role for South Africa but opportunities will have to be seized while the momentum lasts.

In some political circles it is said the time is now right for the relaxed and flexible leadership style of the new NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to come to the fore.

Hopes are rising that this could happen if President Botha recognises the needs of a vital moment in South Africa's history — and enables Mr de Klerk to take over the reins of power at an early stage.

Nationalist MPs are on tenterhooks this weekend as they await Mr Botha's next move in the leadership tussle, which now appears to have developed into a cat-and-mouse game between Mr Botha and the NP.

But only on Thursday — at the earliest — is it likely to become known how much longer Mr Botha intends to hold on to power.

In the dark

After the caucus meeting he is expected to address a joint session of Parliament at which he will spell out his political future.

A top National Party source confirmed this week that the party was still largely in the dark about Mr Botha's plans.

Government decisions now and in the coming months could set the stage for South Africa in the 1990s. It is feared that Mr Botha's authoritarian — at times dictatorial — style of government and his dogged adherence to certain old-style attitudes of the past could hamper delicate peace processes now unfolding.

Jackpot: 3 share R10 000

Weekend Argus Reporter

THREE readers share the R10 000 consolation prize for Weekend Argus Jackpot No 350.

They had two mistakes each.

Mrs Marge van de Weg of Fishhoek could not believe it because two weeks ago she won R12 500 in the Jackpot!

"I was grilling my son on whether he had posted my entries when the phone rang with the news. I must be on a roll," she said.

Mrs Noreen le Grellier of Kenilworth entered for the first time after being "forced" by her mother and Miss Jutta Zeltmann of Tamboerskloof had entered only once before.

Mrs le Grellier said the money would be used for her two daughters' university education. Miss Zeltmann has not yet decided what to do with her share.

Jackpot No 351 opens today with a main prize of R175 000 and a must-be-won consolation prize of R10 000.

Police seize Vermaas documents

CAR- Times 11/4/89 30/4/89

PRETORIA. — Commercial Branch detectives searched several premises here and seized documents, ledgers and books relating to the companies operated by or connected to Mr Albert Vermaas's business affairs.

A police spokesman confirmed that four houses and four offices were searched in the course of an investigation into Mr Vermaas's affairs and certain documents were seized.

The documents seized were handed to the attorney-general of the Transvaal, Mr Don Brunette, yesterday.

Mr Brunette said a team of four senior advocates, who had been seconded to investigate evidence before the Harms Commission concerning Mr Vermaas's activities, would study the documents.

Mr Brunette said that while investigations into the Vermaas case would still take "some time", the seized documents would shed more light on certain aspects of evidence on record before the commission.

The offices of Mr Vermaas's attorney, Mr Terry Mahon of Adams & Adams, were included in a search warrant signed by Pretoria's senior magistrate.

Mr Mahon brought an urgent application in the Pretoria Supreme Court following the police search.

Mr Justice Van der Merwe ordered all parties — Mr Mahon, the Minister of Law and Order, the Commissioner of Police, Captain C F Kitching and Detective Warrant Officer K M Rontgen — to peruse the relevant documents in the presence of the state attorney.

He ordered that contentious documents — those held by Mr Mahon to contain privileged information between attorney and client — could be duplicated and then sealed, packed and indexed in front of both parties before being taken to a place of safety.

Mr Mahon said the documents were privileged between attorney and client.

According to the search warrant, reasonable grounds existed to believe articles at these premises could provide proof of alleged offences committed on the premises.

Police were instructed to search Mr Vermaas's home at Julius Jeppe Street in Waterkloof, the premises in Main Street, another site in Julius Jeppe Street and one in Aries Street, Waterkloof. — Sapa

no announcement yet to TO PAGE 2.

Peace in SA soon, says Soviet chief

HARARE — The age of apartheid was almost gone, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin said here last night.

He told reporters after meeting President Robert Mugabe he was confident a peaceful solution could be found in South Africa.

Mr Adamishin said the Soviet Union had never advocated a policy based purely on the armed struggle. "Any sane person would prefer the peaceful dismantling of apartheid," he said.

"Should we persist in being the champions of bloodshed and war when all over the world the trend is to resolve conflict by negotiation?" he asked.

Mr Adamishin has had meetings in Maputo, Lusaka and Luanda as well as Harare.

He met heads of government and the leaders of the

his niece Odette. Photograph, Royal Doulton.

Soviet chief

ROBIN DREW
SATURDAY STAR AFRICA NEWS SERVICE

ANC, including Mr Oliver Tambo, and the Swapo leader, Mr Sam Nujoma.

"It was wishful thinking to say the Soviet Union was distancing itself from the ANC," he said.

"No one could blame the ANC for resorting to armed struggle when it was faced with 'state violence' practised by Pretoria.

"Apartheid has become a real burden, not only for the blacks, but for the whites too who could not be comfortable when they were rejected by 'the whole international community."

Cabinet OK for all-white 'Boerestaat'

SKW 1/4/89 -304A

A CABINET majority has accepted the principle of an all-white "Boerestaat" centred on the Witwatersrand and particularly those towns under Conservative Party rule.

Precise borders remain to be finalised by a special commission, but in essence the new white "homeland" will consist of Boksburg, Brakpan, Benoni, Bethal, Bronkhorstspruit and Bedfordview in the east and Bryanston, Belgravia and Berario in the Central Witwatersand.

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

The entire project has been swathed in secrecy, with even certain Ministers kept in ignorance. Now, however, The Star has learned from unimpeachable sources that the decision is a *fait accompli*.

"It will still have to be rubber-stamped by the tricameral Parliament," said a high-level Tuynhuys source, "but we have special plans for dealing with anyone who does not approve."

The plan has been under active consideration by President Botha and select advisers for a year.

Repurified

The name of the new country will be either Afrikaanse Hersuiwerde (Repurified) or Weergesuiwerde Boerestaat (AHB or AWB).

Independence is set for April 1990.

The squatter settlement of Brakwater, 280 km to the northwest, will be upgraded to full homeland status and become the new state's labour reservoir and casino area. A special rail corridor will be built for rapid transport.

Irrational

Its disclosure helps to explain his seemingly irrational behaviour in delaying his retirement.

The new concept was essentially his brainchild and he demanded to see it brought to fruition as is parting gift to the na

● TO PAGE 2.

Boerestaat gets nod

SKW 11/4/89 -304A

● FROM PAGE 1.

tion.

In fact, the State President made its creation an express condition of his retirement.

The Tuynhuys source said: "Mr Botha wished to leave his mark on South Africa, just as Prime Minister Verwoerd did.

"The Boerestaat, which accommodates the aspirations of Afrikaner separatism while leaving the rest of the country free to develop on its own lines, will be his monument."

The man generally tipped as Finance Minister, Dr Albert "Al" S Verloren, said: "Obviously large capital costs will be involved. We are confident, however, that these will be covered by international loans.

"In fact world financiers will beat a path to our door — if only out of gratitude that the principal obstacle to a non-racial South Africa has at last been removed."

Was it just a coincidence that all the components of the Boerestaat begin with the letter "B"?

"Ja", explained a highly placed planner.

● See map and other stories on Page 7.

BARA BAROMETER

In the week beginning March 23 there was an accumulative bed shortage of 1 666 at Baragwanath Hospital.

A daily average of 238 patients slept on the floor. The worst night was on March 27 when 294 patients were without beds. The worst percentage occupancy occurred on the nights of March 27 and 28 when a 35-bed ward was 240 percent full. The medical ward was occupied by 84 patients which meant 49 slept on the floor.

Divisions indicate deeper problems in new party

Democratic troika tearing itself open

Star 1/4/89

3048

CAPE TOWN — Divisions among members of the embryonic Democratic Party have flared into the open again over the issue of participating in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

Natal Progressive Federal Party members held an extraordinary meeting on Thursday night indirectly expressing dissatisfaction with a speech made in the Transvaal by National Democratic Party leader, Mr Wynand Malan, on the issue.

Despite the extraordinary meeting on Thursday night the troika leadership of the Democratic Party, which is to be formally launched next week, were attempting to deflate the issue yesterday.

Concern

The three leaders, Dr Denis Worrall, Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Malan emphasised the issue remained open with a decision reached earlier this month to deal with participation when it arose taking into account "strategic considerations".

However, there is growing concern in the PFP about the formation of the new party with claims being made in private by many PFP MPs that the PFP is being hijacked by people with very little support. The division over participation in the two houses is symtomatic of deeper problems.

The latest blow-up also comes on the heels of the recent row between Mr Malan and Mr Pat Poovalingam, one of the PFP's two representatives in the House of Delegates, in which he accused Mr Malan of taking instructions from the ANC.

BRUCE CAMERON
POLITICAL STAFF

In a statement issued after Thursday night's meeting the five Natal PFP MPs said: "There is clear agreement for the Democratic Party to fight electoral politics in all representatative areas.

"This includes all three Houses of Parliament. So far from there being an agreement not to fight in the House of Delegates and Representatives, the contrary is true.

"The PFP has for some time been involved in the development of constituency structures, recruitment of members and detailed survey work, for fighting seats in the House of Delegates.

Mr Malan said yesterday he had no problem with the statement. "It will be anyone's right to pursue whatever policies they see fit through the proper channels of the party."

Mr Malan said the question of participation had been left open by the PFP and the position had not changed since the meeting with the PFP caucus earlier this month, when it was decided "further participation in the other two houses would be dependent on strategic considerations related to Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

Dr Worrall said yesterday he was "committed to going for power in Parliament and would like to see the DP being a factor in all three chambers".

He said however the Labour Party was already well established in the House of Representatives. "We are talking to LP leader, Rev Alan Hendrickse, about an arrangement.

"The House of Delegates is a different set-up. Participation there has yet to be decided."

NO LOOKING BACK

As the Progressive Federal Party prepares to disband into the about-to-be-formed Democratic Party, RAY SWART, veteran PFP MP and chairman of the party's caucus, evaluates its history — what has been achieved and what has not . . .

IF all goes according to plan the Progressive Federal Party will cease to exist as a political entity next Friday.

Its 'estate' — membership, staff and assets — will be inherited by the new Democratic Party to be launched the following day. The new party will be made up from people who have hitherto belonged to the PFP, the Independent Party, the group known as the NDM and others of various past political affiliations.

The PFP is by far the biggest and most tangible political entity going into the new party. It will contribute easily the largest membership, a tried and tested party machine, 17 MPs, two President's Councillors and a number of municipal councillors in Johannesburg and neighbouring municipalities. Most important of all, it will contribute a liberal political philosophy and a proud record of having been in the forefront of the fight to uphold civil liberties and broader liberal values in South Africa all forms of racial discrimination and the creation of an open society.

We knew it would not be a popular position with a white electorate steeped in racial prejudice then even more than now, but it was a position we adopted out of strong conviction and in what we believed was in the true interests of South Africa. It is a position we have maintained ever since whether it has lost us elections or won us elections.

And, when after the 1961 election we were reduced in parliamentary representation to one MP, we redoubled our efforts to build a party organisation around the country so that we could be a rallying point for public opinion against the unjust laws which we perceived to be tearing our country apart, and have a base from which to propagate the changes which we believed were so necessary.

So it was in the dark days of the '60s when Helen Suzman sat alone in Parliament that she, backed by organised sup-

odds.

This is a position it has steadfastly held while so many others have succumbed to the temptations of the Nat power structure and have found it expedient to participate in the practice and propagation of racism allowing themselves to become partners in the assault on liberal values and individual freedom in our society.

THE PFP is of course the successor to the Progressive Party which was launched in 1959 but merged with the old United Party reformists in 1975 to become the Progressive Reform Party.

The PRP, in turn, on the dissolution of the United Party in 1977, merged with another group of former UP members to become the Progressive Federal Party. Throughout these moves those involved have been labelled by friends and foes as the "Progs" and as that name will no longer be apt after next week's congress it is perhaps appropriate to look back now at the role the "Progs" have filled over the last 30 years.

In 1959 when the white electorate was very largely mesmerised by Verwoerd and the Verwoerdian philosophy of separate development with its inherent racism, it was the "Progs" who rejected the concept outright and pleaded for the abolition of

Democratic Party, will "contribute a liberal political philosophy and a proud record of having been in the forefront of the light to uphold civil liberties and broader liberal values in South Africa for several decades against formidable odds".

port around the country, was able to highlight and oppose the disastrous inroads into civil liberties epitomised by the "detention without trial" laws of the Vorster era.

We did not succeed in our opposition to the passage of the laws but we did succeed, with others of course — the Press, the churches, the Black Sash and other organisations — in making the public aware and keeping at least a segment of public conscience alive. And that lone gallant voice in Parliament. How much South Africa owes to her! She has so often been the light of civilised standards piercing the darkness of a racially-obsessed South African Parliament and as such has won recognition from around the world and respect among the masses in South Africa.

The result is that she has a credibility among blacks which far exceeds that of any of her contemporaries in white politics in South Africa today. But Helen Suzman is always the first to concede that without the back-up of a dedicated party behind her she could not have filled the role she has. So her achievements are part of the "Progs" achievements.

CONTACTS across the colour line have always been an essential element in the "Prog" programme. The "Progs" started as a non-racial party with membership open to all, but during the operation of the so-called Improper Interference law we were compelled to be a "whites only" party.

Despite that enforced impediment the party has always maintained the closest possible contact with groups not represented in Parliament and has forged links with black groups wherever possible and across a wide spectrum of political opinion.

We have concerned ourselves with problems in the townships as well as problems in the "homelands"; we have opposed forced removals; we have monitored unrest conditions in townships all over South Africa and we have raised these and related issues in Parliament wherever necessary.

I believe it has been an essential part of the function of a political party in the South African situation and a role which no other party has filled.

In the nature of things the PFP has never been a popularist movement. It is never easy to persuade the priviliged to share privilege. Certainly not in South Africa where the illusion is entrenched that exclusive privilege brings guaranteed security.

SO we have been a party of mixed fortunes.

We won seats in 1974 and more in 1977 to become the official Opposition in Parliament. We won additional seats in 1981 and then lost a few in 1987, but in all this we did not deviate from principle notwithstanding the "swart gevaar" tactics of the Nats whose propagandists did their utmost to depict the "Progs" as "unpatriotic," "soft on security," "sell-outs to black ma-

An important historical event in the midst of all this was the 1983 Referendum. Once again we found ourselves having to take a line unpopular with the white electorate. But I have no doubt that it was the right line.

We urged a "No" vote against a constitution which was presented as an "extension of democracy" and was perceived by the majority of whites to be "a step in the right direction". In an unprecedented government-sponsored propaganda campaign the result of the Referendum was always a foregone conclusion and the new constitution became a reality. But so did its patent defects. All the defects the "Progs" warned about when urging its rejection.

It heightened unrest in the country to a frightening scale; it alienated the blacks who were excluded from meaningful participation; it entrenched separation and division with its "own affairs" provisions; it brought greater condemnation and isolation for South Africa — reaction to it has been a major factor in our economic decline.

It is scant comfort for the "Progs" to say "we told you so". But we did. We also warned about the excessive powers the constitution gives to the executive President. The current drama still being enacted in and around Tuynhuys dramatically underlines the legitimacy of that warning.

THE last 30 years have been critical years for South Africa. Throughout we have been a country in turmoil.

It has not been an easy time for a small party in opposition, dedicated to the protection of civil liberties and the upholding of liberal values.

The PFP has never claimed to be perfect nor have we claimed to have a monopoly of political morality, but I believe we have played a responsible and effective role in fighting to uphold values which this country will need desperately if we are to forge a peaceful future for all its people.

PFP STANDS FIRM AS MERGER APPROACHES

w/c ARGUS 11/4/89 3048

by BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

WITH only a week to go until the launching of the moderate opposition Democratic Party, Progressive Federal Party members are grouping to ensure they are not "hijacked" in the formation of the new party.

PFP members yesterday expressed anger and irritation following the latest attempt by National Democratic Movement leader Mr Wynand Malan to emphasise the input of extra-parliamentary groupings in the decisions of the Democratic Party.

Senior PFP member and chairman of the PFP caucus Mr Ray Swart said bluntly last night that the new party would take its own decisions particularly on issues such as participation in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

"I am sure Mr Malan's little group will adapt to this situation when they are part of a political party again.

"It is a decision we will make and no one else."

"Wagging the dog"

Members of the PFP were angered at Mr Malan's attempts to push the new party in a certain direction without bringing much of a constituency into the new grouping.

PFP members are increasingly accusing him of "the tail attempting to wag the dog".

One member, who did not want to be identified, said last night: "We are not going to be cowed or hijacked next week."

The members felt the PFP was the only solid party with support, organisation, finance and membership in the merger, and that the other groups had not given sufficient acknowledgement of this.

"Pre-marriage jitters"

Mr Swart said in an interview that he did not think the current controversy would upset the formation of the Democratic Party.

"I would like to think that this is all just part of pre-marriage jitters."

Dealing with the controversy on participation in all three houses of Parliament, Mr Swart said: "We are, after all, involved in constitutional politics and are commited to trying to secure and extend our influence in all representative bodies, however defective they may be.

"The PFP has a commitment to all its members and in Natal we have been preparing for some time to contest seats in the House of Delegates subject to normal strategic considerations.

"I believe this view has been endorsed and accepted by the majority of the local steering committee preparing for the new party."

■ No Looking Back — page 18.

Democratic Party in new leadership crisis

ACCW 3/4/89 (30cm)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The fledgling Democratic Party has been plunged into a new leadership crisis only six days before its founding congress on Saturday.

The Progressive Federal Party leader in Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, is to suggest to his party's disbanding congress on Friday that the DP's proposed triumvirate of leaders be replaced by a single leader as soon as possible.

Mr Leon said yesterday that in view of a general election this year the DP could not afford to tackle its opposition with a "three-headed approach".

It has already been decided that a "troika" of leaders, the PFP's Dr Zac de Beer, the IP's Dr Denis Worrall and the NDM's Mr Wynand Malan, would lead the DP until a leader be elected at a special congress in October.

Sources said that if Mr Leon's motion were to be accepted and implemented soon, the PFP's Dr de Beer would be elected leader simply on the strength of numbers.

Mr Leon declined to comment on the speculation of a PFP masterplan to hijack the DP, but said it was widely known that he regarded Dr de Beer as the most appropriate leader.

"I will motivate the motion on Friday. The point is that the leadership issue has to be addressed urgently. We cannot afford to wait until October," he said.

'New spirit' felt in southern Africa

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The issue in South Africa was no longer apartheid but how to create a democracy, a top delegation of the International Freedom Foundation (IFF) said this weekend after a three-week tour of southern Africa.

In an exclusive interview with The Star, the Washington-based organisation's international chairman Mr Duncan Sellars and executive director Mr Jeff Pandin told how they experienced "a new spirit of national reconciliation" in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia and South Africa.

Their impression after meeting senior members of the Nationalist government had been that there was an honest willingness on its behalf to negotiate a future dispensation.

"The NP realises it now is in the unique position to take bold steps towards accommodating the aspirations of all South Africans," Mr Pandin said.

The liberal opposition, he said, could act as a beacon in this regard.

"We met with two of the three leaders of the new Democratic Party and they really said some solid things. The DP is going to have a vast impact."

Speaking on the shift in international attitudes towards South Africa, he predicted the international boycott would "quiet down".

American policy makers in particular were realising sanctions were "an incredibly blunt instrument", he said.

Star 3/4/89

304(B)

'Answers are not in hands of rulers'

Johannesburg residents should embark on positive actions to abolish discrimination and to improve their quality of life, several speakers at the Idasa conference said.

Keynote speaker Dr Beyers Naude said NP rule had done grave harm to race relations.

"Some of us may feel distressed about the daunting task to dismantle structures which have created so much destruction and pain.

"But the answers are no longer in the hands of the rulers. They don't have answers. It is up to us to begin to experience a tremendously interesting and meaningful future."

The Progressive Federal Party's Mrs Irene Menel, a former MPC for Johannesburg, said a broadening front of people should accept that group exclusivity was the disease and common interest the remedy.

Actstop's Mr Cas Coovadia said decisive actions from anti-apartheid people were needed.

Mr Ephraim Nkoe, a recently-released detainee, called on "white democrats" to co-operate with the broad democratic movement in order to replace apartheid with a democratic, non-racial dispensation.

Plan 'a hijack attempt

Leon wants DP to elect leader in case of election

Star 3/4/89

304 words

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The fledgling Democratic Party has been plunged into a new leadership crisis only days before its founding congress on Saturday.

The Progressive Federal Party leader in the Johannesburg City Council, Mr Tony Leon, will suggest at his party's disbanding congress on Friday that the DP's proposed triumvirate of leaders be replaced by a single leader as soon as possible.

Mr Leon said yesterday that in case of an early general election, the DP could not afford to tackle its opposition with a "three-headed approach".

Merger

His proposal was interpreted as a last-minute attempt by disgruntled PFP members to hijack the new party, a merger of the PFP, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement.

It is known that many PFP members are dissatisfied with the way in which the merger talks have been conducted.

It has already been decided that "troika" of leaders — the PFP's Dr Zach de Beer, the IP's Dr Denis Worrall and the NDM's Mr Wynand Malan — will lead the DP until a leader is elected at a special congress in October.

Sources said if Mr Leon's motion were accepted and implemented soon, Dr de Beer would be elected leader simply on the strength of numbers.

They said IP leader Dr Denis Worrall, who in a recent opinion poll was favoured as the leader most likely to draw voters' support, had little support among PFP members.

Mr Leon declined to comment about speculation of a PFP masterplan to hijack the DP, but said it was widely known that he regarded Dr de Beer as the most appropriate leader.

"I will motivate the motion on Friday. The point is that the leadership issue has to be addressed urgently. We cannot afford to wait till October.

"We have to contest the general election professionally and quite ruthlessly, which is what our opposition is going to do."

Another issue which would be hotly debated at the PFP's final congress was the election of the party's four representatives on the DP's executive, sources said. About 30 nominations had already been received.

● The DP did not "blunder" by displaying a South African flag at its Reiger Park meeting last week, said the chairman of the party's eastern Transvaal steering committee, Mr Andrew Thatcher.

The presence of the flag and the use of Afrikaans by speakers provoked the anger of Reiger Park residents.

Mr Thatcher said the success of the meeting in Boksburg's coloured township was reflected in the large number of applications for membership from Reiger Park residents.

Star 3/4/89 (3040)

Apartheid is bad for your health – doctor

Political Reporter

Apartheid is bad for your health.

This was Wits academic Dr Max Price's message to a 400-strong Idasa conference on Saturday.

Dr Price, director of the Centre for the Study of Health Policy at Wits, said a community's health was determined by political, social and economic conditions.

In black urban areas, factors which negatively affected health included single-sex hostels, broken families, overcrowding, inadequate sewerage systems and the absence of recreation facilities.

"Then there are general socio-economic factors such as unemployment, low wages, long hours due to the need to commute great distances to work, inadequate pensions and other welfare services."

In the white community, apartheid had extracted its toll on the mental health of whites as witnessed by the rates of alcoholism, suicide and crime.

Enormous state and social resources were wasted through segregated health facilities, he said.

For reasons of optimal health care, morality and economic efficiency all existing facilities should immediately be opened to all races.

Call for mixing formula

Political Reporter

An imaginative formula for racially mixed residential living should be found to convince the Government to scrap the Group Areas Act, Wits academic Professor Lawrence Schlemmer told the Idasa conference.

Professor Schlemmer elaborated on the "spreading effect" whereby more people should move into existing white suburbs where their presence would not be resisted.

Pressure should be put on the Government to avail more land for housing and to open all new residential areas.

Professor Schlemmer said the Group Areas Act would not be scrapped within the next three to five years.

"We all agree that the Act is immoral. But if it is scrapped immediately, the right wing will mobilise resistance which would increase its relevance. And that is something the Government would not want to see," he said.



Mr Terre'Blanche

Terre'Blanche in court on property damage charge

M645 3/4/89 (30GH)

The Argus Correspondent

KRUGERSDORP. — The leader of the AWB, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche today pleaded not guilty to a charge of malicious damage to property, and a charge of crimen injuria in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court.

Mr Terre'Blanche is charged with allegedly breaking and damaging the gate to the Pardekraal Monument on December 27 last year, and also of allegedly breaking the lock on the gate with an unknown object.

He is also charged with crimen injuria after allegedly using abusive language to two policemen who went to investigate at the scene.

Mr Terre'Blanche was dressed in khaki.

Sunday Times columnist Ms Jani Allen, a key witness, arrived at court accompanied by her editor, Mr Tertius Myburgh.

Mr Terre'Blanche is represented by Mr Johan Rousseau. Mr Zas van Zyl is appearing for the State and Mr F W van Niekerk is the magistrate.

9-10, Letters 12, Racing 14, Sport 15-16, TV programmes page 3 of Tonight.

Debates on provincial affairs open to public

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Parliament has dispersed this week for public debate on provincial affairs.

Parliament has broken up into four extended committees on provincial affairs for the debates which started in Cape Town, Pretoria and Maritzburg yesterday.

Yesterday's sessions dealt with the four provincial budgets and were closed, but the debates will be public today and tomorrow.

The Cape and the Free State budgets are being discussed in Parliament, Cape Town, and Natal's in the provincial chamber in Maritzburg.

The R3,744 billion Transvaal budget — up R487,849 million on last year — is being debated in the auditorium of the Reserve Bank Building in Pretoria.

This budget includes R179 million for general administration, R15,6 million for library and museum services, R209,6 million for works, R1,967 billion for hospital services, R25,4 million for nature conservation, R546,9 million for roads and bridges, R796,6 million for community development and R3,5 million for improvement of conditions of service.

The provincial budgets have fallen under the vote of the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning since 1986 but are still debated as separate items.



CHILDREN with wooden guns march under the orders of a young commissar (right), in the streets of Luanda during the war in Angola. The book reviewed below highlights the casualties SA suffered in the conflict on the Angolan border and inside the territory.

Sowetan 4/4/84

BOYS LOST ON BORDER

FOCUS

THE new publication is titled *Challenge: Southern Africa Within the Africa Revolutionary Context.* It is edited by Al J Venter, and contains a variety of sections on such diverse subjects as *The Media War,* by Holger Jensen, formerly of the *Associated Press* and *Newsweek* in South Africa;

The View from Washington, by Simon Barber, a British correspondent living in Washington who specialises in Southern African affairs;

Gerry L'Ange, editor of the *Argus Africa News Service,* who has written about South African military destabilisation of neighbouring states;

South Africa and the Future, by the eminent British historian Paul Johnson, and recent *South African ties with Russia,* by Dr Christopher Coker of the London School of Economics.

Al Venter has also included several controversial chapters by such people as Craig Williamson, the former South African spy who infiltrated the ANC, and a section by the former commander of the Selous Scouts, Colonel Ron Reid-Daly, who discusses the effectiveness of cross-border operations in wartime.

Colonel Reid-Daly served with the British Special Air Services in Malaya as a member of the original Rhodesian contingent.

Killed

On deaths in Africa theatres of conflict, Al Venter makes some interesting observations. For instance, compared to the 780-odd South Africans who were killed in action, the Portuguese in 13 years of war in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea lost 3 265 men in combat.

Altogether 1 084 died in action in Guinea, 1 142 in Angola and over 1 000

A new book, published in South Africa this month has highlighted the official number of South African casualties23 years of fighting along and across the Angola border. Altogether 780 members of the South African forces of all races died in this conflict. The number of Swapo combatants killed in this time was about 15 000.

military campaign in Algeria, which lasted seven years and resulted in the death of 14 000 French troops (or an average of 2 000 a year), the Southern African wars have been relatively lightweight by comparison when viewed in the con-

Venter maintains that there is an increasing tendency to equate conditions in colonial Algeria with South Africa now. It is argued, he says, that "if a powerful French military machine could not cope with a few thousand FLN radicals opposed to French rule in Algeria, how can tiny South Africa, with far fewer resources at its disposal, ever survive a serious black onslaught?"

The analogy is full of inconsistencies, he says. In fact, almost all that the Algerian war and the disturbances in the townships over the past few years have in common, is a state of increasing internal strife and ill-feeling.

Even more interesting is a chapter titled *The Strategic Significance of Southern Africa in the 1990s,* by the American strategist David Isby, whose most recent book

4/4/89

304A

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3 000 Portuguese soldiers died in the three territories from other causes, such as road accidents and illness.

In comparing South African and Portuguese wars with the French wars, such as Vietnam or the Middle East, says Venter.

He has written a chapter dealing with the Algerian revolution in relation to the South African problems.

famous British firm of Janes. His conclusions are sobering and instructive.

For the first time the activities of Armscor, the South African Armaments Corporation, are closely examined. The writer on defence matters, Willem Steenkamp, examines this para-statal body from the inside in a chapter *Selling Arms to the Enemy*, an implication denied by the South African Minister of Defence Magnus Malan, regarding the purchase of SA weapons by Iraq and Iran during the recent war in the Gulf.

Challenge is published by Ashanti Publishing (Pty) Limited of Rivonia and sells at R49,95.

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Nat weapon

THE National Party has given notice that it will make security the focus of its propaganda campaign against the new Democratic Party which was launched on Saturday.

The DP would be "weak-kneed about security" like its predecessors, National Party leader Mr F.W de Klerk said and the NP would make sure the electorate realised this. — *Sowetan Correspondent.*

AWB loses 3 more top men

Case 715 6/4/89 SCL4

PRETORIA — Three more top members of the AWB have withdrawn their support from the organisation.

They are chief spokesman Mr Chris Beyers, founder member Mr Willie Olivier and Aquila chief Mr Dave Barnette.

This brings to nine the number of high-ranking officials to have left the organisation since the Paardekraal incident.

When questioned about the exodus of lieutenants, Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche confirmed that Mr Beyers and Mr Barnette had left the organisation. — Sapa

ET visits Paardekraal during court case

Cape Times 4/4/89

3047

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday visited the Paardekraal Monument in Krugersdorp where he allegedly rammed and damaged two gates and verbally abused two policemen late last year.

A khaki-clad Mr Terre'Blanche, accompanied by his defence attorneys, was attending a court inspection at the scene of the alleged crimes on his first appearance in Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on charges of malicious damage to property and crimen injuria. The offences were allegedly committed on the night of December 27. Mr Terre'Blanche pleaded not guilty to the charges before the magistrate, Mr S W van Niekerk.

Also present at the court yesterday was Sunday Times columnist Ms Jani Allan, who was alleged to have been with Mr Terre'Blanche at the time of the alleged offences.

Ms Allan, called as a state witness, was accompanied by Sunday Times editor Mr Tertius Myburgh. She has yet to give evidence.

During the day, prosecutor Mr Zas van Zyl called eyewitness Mr Nicholas Kearney to describe what he saw from his Paardekraal Avenue home, directly opposite the monument grounds.

Mr Kearney told a packed court that he saw a white BMW with two people pull up in front of the gates about 8.15pm. He said the car idled for about 30 seconds before the driver revved the engine and rammed the gates.

He said the man then opened his boot, took something out and fiddled with the gate's lock. He opened the gate and drove in. Then the police arrived.

The case continues today.

Terre'Blanche: Retired soldier tells of ramming

MRGS 4/4/89 (3044)

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A retired soldier who called police when he saw someone ramming the gate at the Paardekraal Monument and then forcing his way into the grounds, testified at the trial of Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche.

Mr Terre'Blanche, the leader of the Afrikanerweerstandbeweging, appeared in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court yesterday on a charge of malicious damage to property after allegedly "breaking and damaging the gates at the monument with a car as well as a lock at the gate with an unknown object".

He pleaded not guilty.

He also pleaded not guilty to a charge of crimen injuria after allegedly telling two policemen who were investigating the incident to "go to hell" and to "f... off".

In uniform

Mr Terre'Blanche arrived at court with bodyguards, some in uniform, while Sunday Times journalist Jani Allan, a key witness in the case, arrived with the newspaper's editor Mr Tertius Myburgh.

Mr Nico Kearney, a retired soldier who lives opposite the monument gates, testified that he saw a car pull up in front of the gates about 8.15pm on December 27 last year.

He said the car idled, then the engine was revved and the car drove straight into the gate. He could see two people inside the car but could not recognise them.

When the car hit the gate, Mr Kearney ran inside and told his children to get the car's number and told his wife to telephone the police. He went back outside and said he saw the car's boot had been opened.

A man was standing at the gate, fiddling with the lock, according to Mr Kearney. After about ten minutes the man opened the lock and pushed open the gate.

While he was still struggling with the lock, however, and while Mr Kearney's children were standing behind the car writing down the registration number, a woman climbed out of the car and walked to the man.

She spoke to him and it looked to Mr Kearney as if the man pushed the woman and she went back inside the car.

The man put something into the boot and then climbed into the car and drove into the monument grounds.

About ten minutes later a police van arrived.

Shortly after the first van arrived two more police vans arrived as well as three police cars.

The case continues today.



ACCUSED: Bearded Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and some of his bodyguards outside court.



Ms Jani Allan

Poison victims in dramatic airlift rescue

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Eighteen people poisoned by insecticide on a Free State farm had to be taken to Bloemfontein hospitals in a major airlift involving the South African Air Force and civilian and military medical personnel.

A young girl died after about 50 people were poisoned on Sunday.

Three SAAF Dakotas, four military ambulances, eight provincial ambulances and eight QwaQwa government ambulances took part.

A team from Universitas Hospital flew to Reitz to help stabilise the patients and 18 of the worst afflicted were ferried to Bethlehem by ambulances from where they were flown to Bloemfontein.

None of the patients is in im-

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Alleged killer 'hearing voices in his head'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Katiza Cebekhulu, accused of murdering Stompie Seipei, is "hearing voices in his head" and an order has been made to send him to Sterkfontein Hospital for observation.

Mr Cebekhulu, 21, of Diepkloof, and co-accused Mr Xolisa Falatsi, 35, of Pimville, Mr Jerry Richardson, 61, a former coach of the Mandela United soccer club, Mr John Morgan, 61, a former bus driver for the club, and four youths — have not pleaded in the Magistrate's Court here.

Dr Michael Slutzkin, a State psychiatrist, recommended that Mr Cebekhulu be sent for observation because his behaviour "raised doubts about his mental state".

"On being examined Mr Cebekhulu told me he was hearing voices in his head. He could not explain the reason for this and appeared very agitated and anxious," said Dr Slutzkin.

"He said he was under a lot of pressure in giving certain evidence to the court."

Dr Slutzkin added that Mr Cebekhulu insisted there was nothing wrong with him and was very "frustrated and almost frightened at the prospect of mental illness".

"He either refused or was unable to answer questions."

The hearing was postponed to next Monday.

Buthelezi cautions new party

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

If the Democratic Party played a formal role in the tricameral Parliament, it would limit its scope of joint action with non-parliamentary opposition groups, said the Chief Minister of kwaZulu and president of Inkatha, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi expressed reservations about the DP's aim of uniting forces against apartheid.

As long as apartheid laws remained intact, the amalgamation of black and white political forces would not produce politics which was convincing to the black masses, he said.

While the Population Registration Act remained in force and while the Group Areas Act dominated social interaction between people, black politics had a responsibility that it and it alone could discharge.

Chief Buthelezi said he had to reject the tricameral Parliament because it excluded blacks.

"Co-operation with parliamentary groupings is therefore not possible for me."

But apartheid should be fought wherever possible.

Joint action between groups must be based on common cause to remove the present constitution and to remove racism as its cornerstone. "This is where the real politics lies — the movement towards negotiating a real democracy into existence.

"Once this objective has been set and is being pursued by parliamentary political groupings, then common cause in politics will join black and white.

"Until this happens, however, there is a sense in which parliamentary groups have their parliamentary thing to do to oppose the constitution and they must do so without me."

Asked whether the DP could succeed in drawing across-the-board support from people of all races, Chief Buthelezi said that would depend on whether the DP would correctly respond to "the main determinants which make radical change inevitable".

He said: "The kind of change which is going to bring about the end of the upward spiralling of violence and herald a new democratic era is going to be the kind of change in which it would be foolish to think of party-political success being achieved in the pursuit of old party-political lines.

"Real political success is going to be achieved in negotiating across political and colour lines."

Thatcher tour de force wins friends, applause

LONDON — During her visit to Windhoek, Mrs Thatcher unveiled a plaque, formally opening the British Liaison Office which, the hope is, will become a consulate or embassy after independent elections in the country in seven months' time.

The small group of people gathered to watch stayed silent — so Mrs Thatcher turned to them and began to applaud until they joined in.

Nothing could better have symbolised her second mission to Africa in 14 months. If Harold Macmillan spotted a wind of change sweeping over Africa in the early 1960s, Mrs Thatcher in the late 1980s is trying to whistle one up to end apartheid in South Africa by peaceful negotiation.

Her visit to Namibia on Saturday, the day the United Nations began to assume shared responsibility for the country, was intended to demonstrate to South Africa that the people in its former province must be allowed to choose their own government freely, without interference.

Fortuitous

In the end, it was fortuitous that she was there when the border incursion by Swapo guerillas took place, with Mr Pik Botha fuming that, if the UN could not do a better job, South Africa would ask for the removal of its assistance group and do the job itself.

Had that happened, had the South Africans started moving their forces without UN sanction, the promises Mrs Thatcher gave to African leaders — that she had been assured that South Africa would not interfere with the elections — would have looked silly, and her hopes for southern Africa misplaced.

Mrs Thatcher has been bold in Africa, lining up with leaders who are Marxist in name, like President Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and those who are Marxist in practice, like President Chissano of Mozambique, while disappointing some old right-wing allies.

The British Prime Minister has put new emphasis on resolving the problems of MNR guerilla banditry in Mozambique. A crucial factor in her Africa strategy, acknowledged ever more openly, is the changed attitude of the Soviet Union which is now looking for negotiated solutions rather than continued armed struggle.

With the new American administration seemingly inactive in the region, Mrs Thatcher sees no reason to wait for President Bush as she is forced to do in the Middle East. She has filled the vacuum, and because of her stand on sanctions, taken at some personal cost, she carries more weight with South Africa than virtually any world leader.

Her visits to several African countries over the past year have ensured that African leaders, who have in the past accused her of having racist or economic reasons for her views on sanctions, are now prepared to accept that she has an argument

That will have an effect going wider than southern Africa. After two Commonwealth conferences dominated by the sanctions issue, this year's meeting in Kuala Lumpur should be different. If black African leaders are prepared to push the sanctions issue into the background, then others, too, will do so.

From an unpromising start, Mrs Thatcher has built genuine relationships with African leaders.

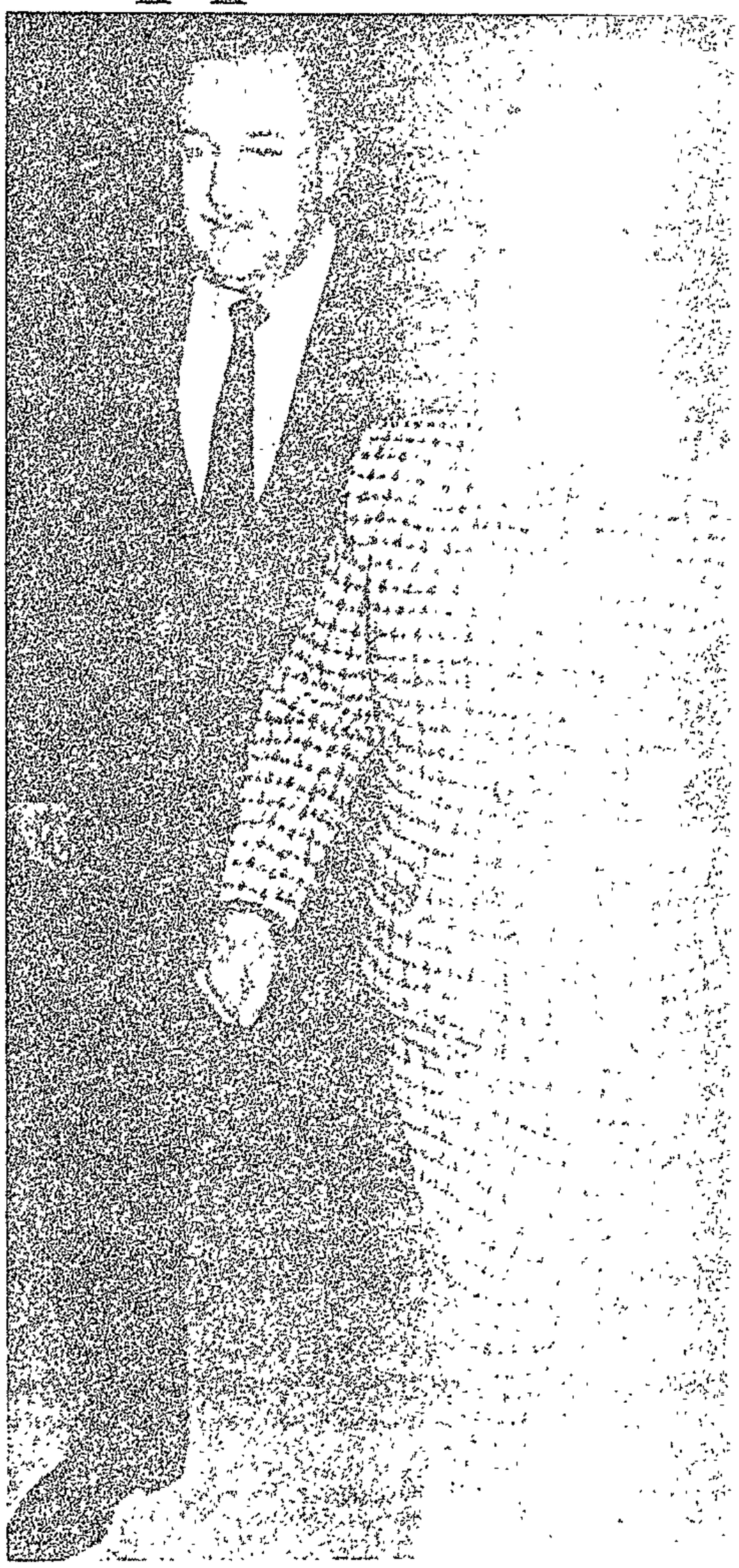
In Malawi, which likes to describe itself as the warm heart of Africa, she was genuinely moved by the plight of the cowed and hungry refugees from Mozambique, and impressed by Malawian generosity to them. Her response came not in fine phrases but in cash.

Her advisers concede that it will not be easy to bring Namibia to independence with free and fair elections.

The weekend's bloodshed was a dreadful start, and there is some anger in the British camp that such a small proportion of the promised UN force of 4 650 had actually arrived by "D-Day". But those who saw Mrs Thatcher unveil that plaque may yet find they were in on a genuinely historic occasion.' — The Times News Service.

BY ROBIN OAKLEY

Mrs Margaret Thatcher flew home from her African tour to rave reviews in a number of Britain's national newspapers. She is being credited with bringing new impetus to the campaign against apartheid with her plan to receive South African Ministers and spur on a conference of southern African leaders. And there are signs that she is emerging as a powerful peace-broker in the troubled region.



Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha walks with British Prime Minister Ms Margaret Thatcher at Windhoek airport at the weekend.

DAY COMING WHEN GOVT WILL SCRAP GAA — MP

MIKE ROBERTSON

NP MP for Langlaagte Johan Vilonel said yesterday he could foresee a day when government would scrap the Group Areas Act (GAA).

Speaking in the extended public committee debate on Transvaal provincial affairs in Pretoria, Vilonel also agreed the Separate Amenities Act should go.

He was responding to coloured and Indian MPs who attacked government, saying it could not criticise CP municipalities such as Boksburg for enforcing apartheid laws which it refused to get rid of.

Vilonel argued it was wrong for MPs to say that the fact that their communities had inadequate services was entirely due to apartheid.

In situations where SA faced sanctions and a lack of overseas credit, the main problem was a lack of money.

The day government got rid of the GAA, SA would still have a housing problem. The day "after apartheid" there would still be a shortage of hospital beds. "The sooner we get rid of apartheid the better."

Vilonel said SA would still be a Third World country which would be unable to raise sufficient capital to finance the development being demanded by all groups.

The time had come for all South Africans to seriously consider priorities. A high priority was improving black education and health services.

If whites wanted to retain what they had, priority had to be given to improving the services for other groups.

Richard Mdakane, 29, and Obed Ba-

Police search court with sniffer dogs

304A

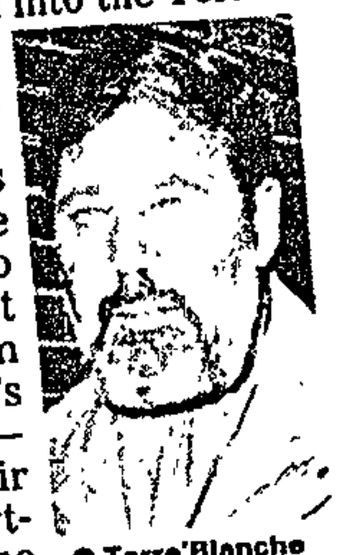
Terre'Blanche trial disrupted

8 1 Dam 5/4/89.

DANIEL SIMON

THE trial of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court was disrupted for about 20 minutes yesterday when police moved in and searched the courtroom and nearby toilets with sniffer dogs.

The search came after heated exchanges between AWB supporters and dozens of black spectators who had streamed into the Terre'Blanche trial courtroom during a recess.



● Terre'Blanche

AWB members complained the blacks — who were not present in the courtroom during Monday's proceedings — had taken their seats in the courtroom where Terre'Blanche faces charges of malicious damage to property and *crimen injuria* committed on December 27 last year.

During the search, Sunday Tribune reporter Bronwyn Adams was questioned briefly on whether she had anything to do with the incident.

Adams said she had nothing to do with it.

During the second day of evidence, the court heard from State witness . Wanda Kearney that, from her Paardekraal Avenue home she saw a man — resembling Terre'Blanche — fiddling at the gates to the Paardekraal Monument.

Shots

Kearney said her father Nicholas Kearney had run into the house moments before saying someone was ramming the gates with a car and that she should take down the registration number while her mother telephoned the police.

She said she also heard the sound of two shots from where the car had stopped in the monument grounds.

The case continues today.

However, this provision was included — in the

Dilemmas ahead for the new DP's Three Musketeers

B/Day 5/4/89

304A

PETER DELMAR

THE Progressive Federal Party will be dissolved in two days' time and on Saturday the Democratic Party will come into being at a glitzy bash in Johannesburg.

The two events will be markedly different; the PFP's dissolution congress on Friday is likely to be tinged with nostalgia as the word "Progressive" disappears from South African politics after 30 years.

The DP will surround itself with hoopla and razzmatazz at its launching congress at the Johannesburg College of Education, where the PFP will meet the previous day. The IP and NDM are holding dissolution congresses in Johannesburg and Randburg.

Expectations of the DP — formed through a not always easy merger of the PFP, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement — are high, but its prospects are still far from certain.

It will start out with three leaders, something unprecedented in local national politics. Zach de Beer (PFP), Denis Worrall (IP) and Wynand Malan (NDM) will form a troika leadership until a single leader is elected.

A number of decisions must be taken at the PFP's final congress. Before members agree to dissolve and merge into the DP, one motion calls for an early decision on a single leader if the new party is faced with an election. Another asks for a clearer, better defined economic policy.

The three-way leadership reflects the divisions which the DP has to take with it. There are other suspicions and tensions which will have to be overcome before the DP can concentrate on achieving its electoral potential:

- ☐ Not all members are going to be happy with each other. Some PFP leaders feel they are being railroaded into a merger with the IP and the NDM, who bring paltry political dowries to the union. On the other side are those who joined the IP and NDM precisely because they did not want to belong to the PFP;
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- ☐ The PFP's finance spokesman Harry Schwarz insists the DP needs to start life with a more detailed economic policy. He plans to move at the PFP's dissolution congress that its economic democracy be adopted by the DP;
- ☐ Some more conservative PFP members are uneasy about the ANC and the DP's commitment to continue talking to the them;
- ☐ There was considerable unease at the pre-eminence enjoyed in the DP's affairs by former Nationalist editor Wimpie de Klerk and his "Fourth Force". Their detractors say that they have only a potential constituency in the verligte Afrikaner;
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Malan told a public meeting last week that the DP would not put up candidates in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates. This week, De Beer said that the DP could not delay implementing its decision to establish power bases in all three Houses;

- ☐ The balance between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics, and the issue of talks with the ANC, could yet be divisive.



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Malan believes that sitting in Parliament in Cape Town and flying off to Lusaka for talks with the ANC are not necessarily contradictory pursuits. He explains that a commitment is needed from the broadest possible spectrum to negotiating a new constitution, and an improved parliamentary base will boost the DP's standing in the extra-parliamentary sphere.

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Its opportunity both to achieve these goals and to unify its own disparate factions could be supplied by President P W Botha if he calls an election for September or October.

Going to the polls would be just the tonic the DP needs. Worrall describes it as the best thing that could happen to the DP which, he predicts, would put up as many as 90 candidates.

An early election would also bring the DP's leadership issue to a head by forcing the party to choose between the three contenders. And the sooner it is put to the vote, the better are De Beer's chances. The longer the triumvirate lasts, the more time Worrall has to persuade PFP loyalists, now Democrats, that he is their man.

Already there are signs that Worrall's star is waxing in the ranks of the PFP. The reputable Rapport poll which showed the DP would get one-third more support under Worrall has not gone unnoticed.

Some of the young PFP middle-ranking leadership have already been quietly wooed by Worrall. There remains, however, much PFP wariness about Worrall and especially his Nationalist past.

Sections of the PFP parliamentary caucus are proving obdurate. The majority have not been included in the merger negotations and many feel uneasy about things which are still unclear to them.

Malan this week rejected a suggestion that the DP's ploy was to keep its policy undetailed and, using obfuscation, spread its net as wide as possible.

"A policy framework has been established, but there will always be questions. None of the existing parties started out with a detailed policy on each and every issue," Malan said.

The DP's statement of principles and policy has been assailed because of its brevity. It is just four pages long. Economics enjoys the most attention — getting one full page.

It does, however, contain enough detail to reassure doubters on a number of crucial issues, including federalism, universal suffrage, proportional representation and a bill of rights.

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One way the merger is likely to improve matters is in terms of money. The constituent parties are feeling the pinch, with big business awaiting the outcome of the merger before reaching for their cheque books.

Saturday's launch, and the party's actions in the next few weeks, will decide whether the DP realises its goal of seizing public imagination, seriously troubling the NP and championing a new direction in SA's political debate.

If it fails to live up to its own expectations, it will face the prospect of becoming an irrelevant and muted liberal voice straining to be heard above the Conservative Party's right-wing rhetoric.

Dilemmas ahead for the new DP's Three Musketeers

B/Day 5/4/89.

304 A?

PETER DELMAR

THE Progressive Federal Party will be dissolved in two days' time and on Saturday the Democratic Party will come into being at a glitzy bash in Johannesburg.

The two events will be markedly different; the PFP's dissolution congress on Friday is likely to be tinged with nostalgia as the word "Progressive" disappears from South African politics after 30 years.

The DP will surround itself with hoopla and razzmatazz at its launching congress at the Johannesburg College of Education, where the PFP will meet the previous day. The IP and NDM are holding dissolution congresses in Johannesburg and Randburg.

Expectations of the DP — formed through a not always easy merger of the PFP, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement — are high, but its prospects are still far from certain.

It will start out with three leaders, something unprecedented in local national politics. Zach de Beer (PFP), Denis Worrall (IP) and Wynand Malan (NDM) will form a troika leadership until a single leader is elected.

A number of decisions must be taken at the PFP's final congress. Before members agree to dissolve and merge into the DP, one motion calls for an early decision on a single leader if the new party is faced with an election. Another asks for a clearer, better defined economic policy.

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MES MEDIA

PW to announce poll tomorrow?

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha will address Parliament tomorrow against a background of rising speculation that a general election — if not a date — will be announced.

At the same time, it is expected Botha will take the wraps off plans for his own future.

At this stage, election speculation centres on a date in September, although one source indicated yesterday that July was not being ruled out.

The general feeling in the NP caucus was that the sooner an election was called the better — most MPs would have preferred to have been at the polls in May.

September seems the most likely date and, if this is going to be the case, then Botha will in all probability indicate only that there will be an election later this year.

To announce the date now would plunge the country into a hectic five-month election campaign, while denying the NP the advantage of announcing the date at the last minute.

DP's dilemma

SOUTH Africa's three white liberal parliamentary parties go into an uneasy merger as the Democratic Party on Saturday with serious questions over the new party's role unanswered.

High on their agenda will be the question of participation in the tricameral parliament's Indian and "coloured" houses and on which hinges the future co-operation between the new party and organisations such as the UDF.

The party is a merger between the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the traditional voice of establishment liberalism which has been steadily losing support to both the left and right; the National Democratic Movement (NDM) of breakaway government MP Wynand Malan, which will form the new party's left wing; and the Independent Party (IP) of Denis Worrall, a former ambassador to Britain.

While the leadership dilemma has temporarily been shelved by the election of three co-leaders, the party has not managed to sidestep the underlying conflicts in approach between the NDM on the one hand and the PFP and Worrall on the other.

Malan recognises that the dominant forces for change are constituted outside of parliament and "the system", and that any negotiation on the form of a post-apartheid South Africa must include the ANC and other extra-parliamentary forces as a major factor.

Worrall argues that the party must concentrate on addressing its immediate constituency, the white voters.

Equally controversial is the insistence by some PFP members on participation in the tricameral system.

UDF leaders have warned that such participation would bring the new party into "serious conflict" with the broad democratic movement.

In preliminary discussions with members of the DP, the UDF made it clear that the front did not see meaningful change as possible through existing tricameral structures at present, said a prominent UDF leader.

Tricameral

Low black, coloured and Indian polls showed these communities were opposed to the tricameral system.

"A decision to participate despite their wishes and without some kind of agreement, inevitably puts us in very serious conflict and the possibility of a rapprochement with the UDF and Cosatu is seriously prejudiced," he said.

In such an event it would be difficult for people associated with the UDF in white communities to work with the DP.

Community leader and UDF patron Johnny Issel said that the broad democratic movement gained strength from the community's rejection of participation in racist parliamentary structures.

Alliances

"In no way will we enter into alliances with groups which are committed to participation in tricameralism," he said.

Issel said that there was understanding within the UDF of white elections because "whites have only known this kind of electoral politics", and because liberal white MPs had often served a useful function by raising questions in parliament, thereby "advancing democratic objectives".

The party hopes to form a force both capable of ousting the extreme-right Conservative Party as official parliamentary opposition, and of seriously challenging the ruling Nationalists' 40-year hold on power.

A recent poll indicates that one in three voters will reject the DP's potential liberal challenge to apartheid.

Drama at trial of Terre'Blanche

JOHANNESBURG. — There was drama at the Krugersdorp trial of Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday when a young witness collapsed in tears under cross-examination and, earlier, police evacuated the court and searched it with sniffer dogs.

Mr Terre'Blanche is charged with malicious damage to property following an incident at the Paardekraal Monument. He has pleaded not guilty.

The court adjourned after Miss Wanda Kearney started sobbing in the witness box when defence counsel suggested some of her evidence contradicted that of her father, Mr Nicolaas Kearney.

Miss Kearney told the court she and her brother had jotted down the licence plate number of a car at the monument gate, where she saw a bearded man.

She also saw a woman, who was pushed away by the man when she left the car to speak to him.

Later, after police had arrived, she heard two shots.

When Miss Kearney returned to the witness box, she asked whether she could withdraw some of her testimony as she was not "precisely" sure of the times the events took place.

The magistrate, Mr S W van Niekerk, told her this was impossible.

The superintendent of the Paardekraal Monument, Mr Jacobus van Aard, told the court the gates appeared unharmed and were securely locked the day before the incident took place.

On the following day, he noticed the gates appeared to have been forced open.

Sunday Times columnist Miss Jani Allan, who was with the AWB leader on December 27, when the alleged incidents took place, was not at court yesterday.

Police earlier searched the court with sniffer dogs. The exercise, described by police as a "security precaution", took place after exchanges between AWB supporters and a group of black people who wished to attend the hearing. — Sapa

STAR 5/4/89 304A

Budget 'favours whites'

Political Reporter

The Transvaal Provincial Administration was yesterday accused of being racist.

At the two-day session of the Extended Public Committee on Provincial Affairs, which started in Pretoria yesterday, several MPs called for the abolition of apartheid.

Mr Anthony Reeves (LP, Klipspruit West) said the Transvaal provincial budget favoured whites.

"This administration, appointed by the National Party, is here to protect the white community. Until the day the NP realises that the problem is bias on the basis of skin colour, nothing will change in South Africa."

Mr Arthur Roper (LP, Alra Park) said the present dispensation was frustrating the process of political change.

The Labour Party had opted for negotation politics, but a breakthrough on constitutional reform was urgently needed.

Mr Roper said the system of local management committees would never be acceptable to his party.

"This is apartheid at its worst. Only direct representation on all government levels — including local government level — will satisfy us."

Mr Mohammed Shah (NPP, Lenasia Central) called for equal voting rights on Regional Services Councils regardless of representation.

He slammed the transfer of hospitals from the province to "own affairs" administrations as "the worst form of perpetuating apartheid".

8/ev 5/9/89 (30408) (10f)

Enshrine this right – institute chief

'Varsities in free speech frontline'

By Sue Valentine

The potential for a speedier erosion of apartheid, the creation of civil liberties and the importance of freedom of speech were stressed by the guest speaker at the first Faculty of Arts graduation ceremony at the University of the Witwatersrand last night.

Executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations Mr John Kane-Berman said the common thread throughout the recent changes in the country were because ordinary people had undermined the government's system.

Stagnation

However he warned that intellectual stagnation would be the logical outcome if one group demanded the right to veto speakers of whom it disapproved.

"The Botha years have been rich in contradiction," said Mr Kane-Berman. "He has presided over the imposition of the 'own affairs' consitution, dreadful political violence and the use of emergency powers."

But, he added, black workers had won trade union rights for themselves six years after they began organising in factories outside the law and had withstood the State, security police and most employers.

The repeal of the pass laws, the opening of universities and technikons regardless of racial quotas, the admission of black students to private schools and the flourishing of the black taxi industry had all taken place because of an "extraordinary and usually unorganised show of civil disobedience".

Rank and file South Africans had rendered one after another apartheid law unworkable.

However, Mr Kane-Berman stressed civil liberties would not be handed to South Africans one day in a bill of rights. They needed to be created now.

Democracy required free speech. Wits had played its part in abolishing the academic colour bar and it now had the chance to help create the new South Africa by establishing the right of free speech.

He said although freedom had been regained over admissions, other freedoms were still limited. Some members of Wits had tarnished the university's image by their unwillingness to allow free speech.

"Neither freedom of speech nor freedom of the press is an absolute right. The question is one of where to draw the line.

"Establishing and preserving free speech on campus may require as much tenacity as the struggle to remove the colour bar. It will require the support in particular of the people in the middle: those who do not belong on any political extreme."

Jealously guard rights

Mr Kane-Berman said a university which denied a certain politician's right to speak on campus inflicted a greater injury on itself than it did on the politician.

He emphasised the liberal premise whereby although students might be unenthusiastic about defending the right of "one or another Mr Botha to talk on campus," students should "jealously guard" the right of other students to invite him on to campus if they so wished.

"It would be tragic if our universities allowed themselves merely to mirror the present South African habits of intolerance in a useless game of tit for tat. If they cannot rise above that and lead the way in establishing rights and forging new habits of tolerance then I don't know who can."

PW speech: Speculation on election



Mr P W Botha

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha will address Parliament tomorrow against a background of rising speculation that a general election — if not a date — will be announced.

At the same time it is expected that Mr Botha will reveal plans for his political future.

At this stage speculation centres on a date in September for the election, though one source indicated yesterday that July was not being ruled out, in spite of the fact that it falls in the school holidays.

The general feeling in the National Party caucus is that the sooner an election is called the better — most MPs would have preferred to have been at the polls in May.

Today Mr Botha will chair the weekly cabinet meeting at which he is likely to tell his ministers when he plans to step down as state president and when he plans to call an election.

Tomorrow he will address the National Party caucus — the first time he will have attended an NP caucus meeting since he stepped down as leader of the party in February.

September seems the most likely election date, but Mr Botha will in all probability only indicate that there will be an election later this year.

To announce the date now would be to plunge the country into a hectic five-month election campaign, while denying the NP the advantage of announcing the date at the last minute.

Mr Botha's five-year term of office ends on September 6, which would be an appropriate time for him to stand down and for an election to be held. The state president, his aides emphasise, is a constitutionalist, which lends credence to this scenario.

That would mean an election date would only be announced sometime in July — it has to be gazetted 56 days before the polling date.

One thing that does seem fairly certain at this stage is that the rift in the National Party is all but over and that the state president and new NP leader Mr F W de Klerk have reached agreement.

Hendrickse: Election must be held soon

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, says an election for all three Houses of Parliament must be held as soon as possible.

He, Dr J N Reddy, his counterpart in the House of Delegates, and Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the National Party in the House of Assembly, agree on this, he said.

Mr Hendrickse added in an interview here yesterday that the situation in the House of Assembly had to be rectified.

In the House of Representatives 16 members outside the Labour Party would have to lose their seats, Mr Hendrickse said. It would then become a one-party House.

He said the House of Delegates was tarnished and an election was necessary to restore its credibility.

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PW may announce retirement

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Important announcements are expected when the State President, Mr P W Botha, addresses Parliament tomorrow for the first time since his stroke on January 18.

The Nambian issue is likely to be dealt with.

Mr Botha is expected to speak to the National Party caucus first and it is widely believed he will end the leadership crisis in Government by announcing a date for his retirement.

There is strong speculation that he will also inform the caucus — and possibly Parliament — of the date of a general election.

ADDRESS

This will be his first address to the caucus since his stroke.

His resignation as NP leader provoked a leadership crisis, which culminated in the decision by the NP caucus and federal council on March 13 that the posts of State President and NP leader should be re-united.

The party made it clear it wanted its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, to be State President.

A special extended NP caucus meeting — to include MPs, President's Councillors and provincial office-bearers — is to be held on Saturday in Cape Town.

If Mr Botha does announce his retirement and election plans tomorrow, the special caucus meeting will probably be used by the party to set its political course for the year ahead.

No Star tomorrow

The Star will not appear tomorrow, Founders Day. Normal publication will be resumed on Friday.

Star Motoring, which normally appears on Thursdays, will be featured on Friday.

On Friday, too, The Star will carry a full racing service, including the results of tomorrow's meeting at Gosforth Park plus the fields and form for the weekend meetings.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.

The birth of the Democratic Party is likely to be a stormy, contentious affair

A new party inherits old differences

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

On the eve of the birth of the Democratic Party, key issues still remain unresolved. Apart from the leadership issue, there is little agreement on what the DP's attitude to the ANC and UDF should be.

The birth of the Democratic Party on Saturday will almost certainly be accompanied by rather severe labour pains.

By all accounts, the congresses in Johannesburg on Friday, when the three constituent parties dissolve, will be stormy affairs — especially that of the Progressive Federal Party.

Differences of opinion within the party — and between the parties — on several questions such as leadership, full participation in the tricameral Parliament and economic policy, have already surfaced in the run-up to the merger

Heated debate

These will almost certainly prompt heated debate on Friday.

But perhaps the biggest grievance among many PFP supporters is the feeling that the PFP has been "hijacked" by the National Democratic Movement and Independent Party.

Old PFP stalwarts have looked on with increasing dismay as the steering committee which negotiated the merger has eroded more and more of the PFP's identity. It dropped the word "progressive", appointed a troika of leaders rather than PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer, and generally gave the two other parties — Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Party and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party — a greater say than they feel their size warrants.

They resent what they regard as an attitude by the other parties that the PFP should be disguised in the new party.

They have pointed out that the PFP brings by far the greatest dowry to the marriage in membership, MPs, money and organisation.

This resentment may well be channelled into the debate on Friday through a resolution by Mr Tony Leon, the PFP's dynamic young leader in the Johannesburg City Council, that the DP should have one leader only — Dr de Beer.

However, party sources say the differences are not likely to abort the birth of the party, nor is it likely that any public representatives or other leaders will refuse to go into the DP.

Though differences will be fully aired on Friday, they will probably be bottled up again as the new party is formally created on Saturday with some fanfare and a display of prominent citizens who are joining the DP.

The reason is that all three parties know only too well that none can survive alone and the pressure from the rank-and-file for union is irresistible.

However, fears have been expressed that the union will be to some extent just a marriage of convenience and that a split might happen after the next general election, which is now expected during the second half of the year.



Mr Wynand Malan ... position on ANC can be exploited by NP.



Dr Zach de Beer ... PFP members want him to be chief.



Dr Denis Worrall ... Likely to draw most liberal support to DP.

Apart from the leadership question, the issue which could dominate Friday's debate is the DP's relationship with extra-parliamentary political forces — essentially the African National Congress and United Democratic Front.

This hoary old question has surfaced recently in the form of a public debate within the party about whether or not the DP should contest elections in the coloured and Indian houses of Parliament.

The NDP — which has been at the forefront of efforts by the embryonic DP to maintain contact with the ANC and UDF — is against such participation. This has provoked a sharp attack from Mr Pat Poovalingam, one of the PFP MPs in the House of Delegates who has charged that Mr Malan's standpoint favouring participation in the white House of Assembly but opposing it in the black houses is "racist and hypocritical".

Mr Poovalingam also suggested that Mr Malan was "taking orders from Lusaka" — ie kowtowing to the ANC which has actively opposed participation in the other two houses.

After a meeting among the three leaders of the party to resolve the difference, a statement was issued which backed participation in principle but left open the question of what would be done in practice.

It is obvious that this merely patched over the cracks and that the issue simmers on.

Grave misgivings

Last week several Natal PFP MPs joined the fray by saying the PFP should decide for itself which seats to fight without taking into account the views of extra-parliamentary groups.

Many conservative PFP MPs have privately expressed grave misgivings about the open flirtation between Mr Malan and the ANC and have warned of the enormous propaganda potential to the National Party of a picture him embracing ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Though the issue is potentially divisive, PFP MPs more sympathetic to the merger have pointed out that it is an issue that has never been resolved within the PFP anyway, and cannot be blamed on the NDM.

The DP's economic policy could also be the subject of some contentious resolutions on Friday.

There has been some internal debate between free marketeers and those who believe the State should intervene actively in the economy to re-distribute wealth to the poor.

The DP's draft statement of policy and principles tends to gloss over this difference to the displeasure of some MPs who want greater clarity.

These and other issues will provoke a flurry of resolutions at the congress on Friday which may place some strain on the merger.

But no explosion seems likely and everyone is expected to knuckle down to the merger.

The real test of the merger is likely to come later, in the run up to the DP's ordinary congress which must be held within six months.

For some of the PFP old guard, it may just be a question of biding their time out of loyalty to the party.

Some of them might quietly retire after the merger, but before the election.

Some younger PFP supporters are hoping that the PFP will regain the lost initiative of the merger talks, through its superior force of membership numbers and that this will help it elect its own leader to head the new party and dominate the nomination of candidates.

In any event it seems the ordinary congress will be a better test of the success or otherwise of the creation of the DP.

Two cities unification 'unworkable'

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

Demands that Johannesburg and Soweto should become one city were racist, unrealistic and unworkable, said Mr Jan Burger, acting management committee chairman of the Johannesurg City Council.

He was reacting to a call by Five Freedoms Forum spokesman Dr David Webster at the weekend conference of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for the desegregation and unification of the two cities.

He asked why the speaker had not in the same vein suggested Randburg and Sandton should also give up their independence and join the union.

APARTHEID 'DEAD'

"This call has completely overlooked the vital role already being played by the multiracial Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council which has allocated the bulk of its R140 million income this year to upgrading 'black' towns within its boundaries," he said.

Turning to the threat of "black" residents planning to defy racism in Johannesburg Mr Burger said: "For all practical purposes apartheid is dead in this city.

"At this stage the reality is that Hillbrow, Mayfair and several other suburbs are de facto mixed, blacks mingle with whites in the parks, play soccer at Ellis Park, brush shoulders in libraries, cinemas, restaurants and shops and may apply to join neighbourhood recreation centres," Mr Burger said.

Worrall to get Van Eck's seat, says Nat

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party had done a deal for Dr Denis Worrall to take over Mr Jan van Eck's Claremont seat, senior Nationalist MP Mr Lampie Fick claimed yesterday.

He also said he understood that Mr Van Eck, the independent MP for Claremont, had not been invited to the founding Democratic Party congress on Saturday.

Mr Fick, the MP for Caledon, said yesterday's extended public committee on Cape provincial affairs would be Mr Van Eck's last.

Mr Van Eck said afterwards that Mr Fick's claims were "nonsense". He was not attending the Democratic congress because he was not part of the three components forming the new party.

He also dismissed Mr Fick's claims that Dr Worrall was to stand in Claremont.

"It is wishful thinking on the part of Lampie Fick to get me out of my base. I am such an irritation to them they will go to any lengths, including using people who are much closer to me than they are, to achieve that," he said.

Malcomess denies new party rumours

Political Staff

THE MP for Port Elizabeth Central, Mr John Malcomess, has described as "absolute rubbish" suggestions that he is to form a new party when the PFP is disbanded on Friday.

"I have no idea from where the story could have emerged, except from an over-fertile imagination," he said yesterday.

Mr Malcomess was responding to reports that he, Mr Rupert Lorimer and Mr Ray Swart were unhappy about the proposed merger with the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement.

The three will unite to form the Democratic Party.

Mr Malcomess said though he had been "unhappy" about statements made by Mr Wynand Malan and the NDM on participation in all three Houses of Parliament, he understood the NDM now accepted PFP policy.

Will PW announce election today?

CAPE Times 6/4/89 30kA

Political Staff

STATE President Mr P W Botha has the country guessing again — this time about the contents of the speech he will deliver to Parliament today, and whether he will announce a general election.

It will be Mr Botha's first address to Parliament since he suffered a mild stroke in mid-January, although he did attend the budget speech delivered on March 15 by Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

The general consensus yesterday was that even if Mr Botha mentioned a general election, no date will be given, although there were those opting for an announcement of a June or July date for an election.

Essentially what seems most likely is that Mr Botha will wait at least until July before announcing an election in the second half of September. This would mean that campaigning would begin at the end of the July school holidays in the Cape.

A short, second session of Parliament would then be held at the end of September and early October to constitute the new Parliament and elect a state president.

That of course, presumes Mr Botha is going to retire before March 1990 when the life of Parliament has to end.

Informed sources stated yesterday that an agreement both on a division of labour between Mr Botha and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk had been reached as well as when Mr Botha would retire.

Situation in Namibia

If this is the case then Mr Botha can be expected to spell out details of that division today.

Perhaps the most important thing Mr Botha may do today, is to indicate that he is still head of state and running the country, and to this end he may comment on the situation in Namibia.

Mr Botha chaired a cabinet meeting yesterday — good news was that the bread price increase is not expected for at least another two weeks — and will address the National Party caucus today.

It will be the first time Mr Botha has attended a caucus meeting since resigning as NP leader on February 2, an event which triggered off a chain of reactions which created an impasse over the leadership.

Mr Botha is expected to brief caucus on his plans.

Bearing in mind the tensions which have arisen since February 2, it is the kind of meeting at which any political commentator would like to be a "fly on the wall".

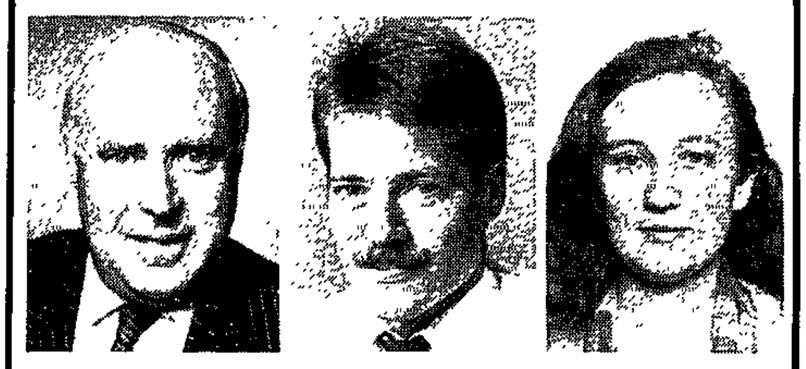
Africa's critical choices

4/4/89 Argus B04A

FACE TO FACE

With Clem Sunter

Clem Sunter is the author of the book "South Africa in the 1990's", which contains the findings of a panel of experts commissioned by the Anglo American Corporation to look at South Africa, and the country's position in the world, by the turn of the century and beyond. He is a director of Anglo American and several other large companies and he is regarded as one of the most authoritative "futurologists" in the country.



The panel

HUGH ROBERTON — Assistant Editor

MICHAEL MORRIS — Political Reporter

ANDREA WEISS — Staff Reporter

We believe that is the parallel because it's a no-win situation in Lebanon. If we go the low road in South Africa with increasing isolation and a military fortress-type situation ending up with a civil war in this country, then *everyone* will lose here.

As one woman said at one of my talks, men are so stupid they have to experience pain to learn. And, you know, right up front one doesn't know whether people are prepared to accept a scenario before they've experienced it.

Boksburg is a very good example. I spoke to Boksburg just before they made the decision on petty apartheid and I pointed out the down side of putting ideology ahead of the economy. I actually asked people in the audience if there was anybody here who would be prepared to shut down their business for the sake of an ideology. Nobody stood up and said Yes, but, on the other hand, it's exactly what has been happening in Boksburg.

I just hope that one can persuade everybody here through words, but there are quite a lot of people who actually feel that it is only experience that will actually bring people together.

ANDREA WEISS: One of the ideas you punted was one of deregulation. It seems today that it is a catch phrase in government and it has sometimes been used as an excuse possibly to hide and shirk responsibilities. Isn't there a danger of deregulation becoming unpopular the same way that birth control is an unpopular idea?

SUNTER: I don't see how anybody can regard it as an unpopular idea because basically you're allowing people to do their own thing, you're allowing entrepreneurs to set up businesses where they want to. The whole trend in the world nowadays is towards individuality and away from collectiveness.

If you look at the latest socialist thinking in the United Kingdom, in Russia, in China, they are moving away from very collective philosophies towards allowing individuals to fulfil themselves according to their own designs. That is what deregulation is all about. It's about actually freeing up individuals, so I don't see how anybody could put a negative connotation on that.

WEISS: Isn't that how it would actually become an unpopular concept. The government says we are deregulating it's over to you baby and that's it?

SUNTER: My answer to that would be, for example, education. I feel the government have a major role to play in education, not necessarily in terms of managing the system but certainly in terms of providing the finance so that every child in this country can go to school.

I certainly believe that there is a case for government intervention with health in the sense that everybody has the right of access to decent health services. So when I talk about deregulation I am not talking about the government disappearing altogether.

And, in fact, quite a few of my critics take me to task on this because they say I am not a purist free marketeer. But when I talk of a mixed economy I'm talking very differently from what somebody on the left, for instance, would mean by mixed economy. They would mean 80 percent government, 20 percent free enterprise. I mean about 80 percent free enterprise, 20 percent government.

ROBERTON: There is quite a high degree of government interference or involvement in some of the successful countries you identify in your book — Japan in the initial postwar period, for instance, particularly in the redistribution of wealth. Is there a role for that in South Africa?

SUNTER: Yes, one mustn't misconstrue the role of government in Japan. It's the difference I keep saying to people between being captain of the team and coach. The Japanese government do not regard themselves as captain of the team.

In Japan, yes, the government do act as coach. Miti — the Ministry of International Trade and Industry — does act as a co-ordinator of research and provides support. But what government in Japan does not do is actually order the industrial heads around, and it's this critical difference between being a coach and being a captain that I try and draw attention to. I don't deny that there is government intervention in Japan or in South Korea, but it is a supportive type of intervention. It's not like in the West where the government almost regards industry as on the other side and therefore plays a regulatory role.

MORRIS: Do you think its the economy rather than an increase in political activism which is really going to be the motivation for change?

SUNTER: In our high road scenario we promote both. In other words that's why I have drawn so much attention to negotiation versus co-option because that's the guiding principle on the political side.

So, I see the economy as the harbinger of change. I don't think, as some people make out, that economic growth lets people off the hook. A lot of people, for example, have quoted the very high economic growth rate of the 50s and 60s as actually having entrenched apartheid because it was such a prosperous society there wasn't the tension around, there wasn't the need for change.

My argument is: Yes, that particular wave occurred mainly through white industry. The next economic wave in South Africa in the 1990s cannot take place other than as a non-racial economic wave.

You only have to look at the strength of the informal sector and small business in this country to realise that the real action here now is in the black urban market.

Here the real vitality in this economy is not really at the sort of mega-business level, it's actually taking place at small business and informal sector level.

You are going to see in South Africa big business actually forming partnerships with small business. For example, in Anglo American we have one person dedicated in our purchasing department to going through every single goods or service supplied to our mines and seeing whether we can't get a better deal by going to small business or the informal sector.

So we want to see the model where you have big business like in West Germany or Japan surrounded by a network of small businesses of suppliers and that will, we feel, be a major force for change.

But to say that that means that the political universe isn't important is ridiculous. The political universe is as important as the economic universe that's why one talks of the political economy.

ROBERTON: The political universe has changed rather dramatically recently. There's been the change in the Soviet Union, incipient change in the ANC, in China, and in South Africa to the extent of having negotiations with such improbable countries as Cuba, Angola. This has all happened since you wrote your book. How would you view this?

SUNTER: I was quite unpopular when I pointed out that the value system was shifting in the world towards more pragmatic values, values favourable for economic growth. But that's exactly what has happened. In fact it's one of the things I feel that gives the book a great deal of credibility. So, when one talks of the shifts in Russia, the shifts in China, these are shifts away from collective models towards individuals models and in that sense our world team of experts were very sharp in foreseeing this change of values because it wasn't quite so apparent in '84 and '85 as it is today.

One of the things which gives me concern is that in this country, particularly the left wing, seems to be entrenched in the old views, views which in Russia would be considered conservative. I just hope that this kind of wave of new values which is happening overseas, partricularly happening on the left, actually washes on to these shores.

ROBERTON: It has on the left in the sense that the ANC's revised constitutional proposals include acceptance of, for instance, a dual economy and private ownership of property and so on ...

SUNTER: Except that my definition of a mixed economy is very different and you know if I am really pushed my mixed economy is one which is predominantly free enterprise with the government providing particularly education and health. But the real driving force is left to the private sector. I think that a lot of people on the left regard a mixed economy as one where the commanding heights of the economy are in the hands of the State, where a small business in the informal sector is in the hands of the private sector. So, you know, one mustn't actually kind of wash over the differences by using the term mixed economy. There are some crucial differences.

But, nevertheless, you're right. The ANC has shifted its position. But I think we would like to see it shifted a great deal more towards free enterprise.

MORRIS: Do you think that's where the National Party is taking us?

SUNTER: I don't know at this stage where the National Party is taking South Africa. In terms of the economy they have moved towards deregulation but if you ask me to give you a short term prognostication on whether negotiation is going to be the order of the day in the next six months to a year, I just can't give you an answer.

But, for example, F W de Klerk came to one of my early talks and I think he was quite enthused by the ideas that I put across. I have also talked to other members of the National Party, so I just hope that some of the ideas on negotiation, economic growth and a high road and low road scenario have actually turned from being seeds into saplings and hopefully in a year's time they'll be trees in their minds.

WEISS: Is your kind of scenario planning not merely an Anglo American attempt to manipulate the future?

SUNTER: When we initially did the scenario exercise it was for our senior management in Anglo to consider business options against possible futures in the world and possible futures in South Africa. I saw the potential in the material so I actually went to Anglo American and said: Do you mind if I take the show on the road? To which they responded: 'OK'.

That is the truth of it, that the way it happened. It wasn't Anglo American who said to me 'go and take these ideas on the road'.

But, secondly, this material has held up to the light of day, if you read that book now and go through the propositions there are very few that are totally contradictory by the subsequent experience.

So my answer to you is that it certainly wasn't written as Anglo propaganda. The team were experts from outside and totally independent when they put the material together. But it stood the test of time overseas.

6/4/89 Argus (Bcast)

South



ROBERTON: Is there ever going to be a point at which one could say finally and irrevocably that South Africa has embarked on either what you term the low road scenario, or what you term the high road scenario?

CLEM SUNTER: Certainly in our scenario exercise we don't have these very clear cut departure points. We look at the future with scenarios. We establish certain milestones and of course in South Africa's case, if you look at some of the milestones, we go for the high road and the low road. You can't actually put a date on when those milestones are going to be reached.

But take our high road for example. We said that we need small government. There are signs that there is deregulation in the economy. It's an on-going process.

However if you look at the number of civil servants that certainly hasn't declined and nor has tax as a percentage of the gross domestic product. So you have some very positive measures going one way but on the other hand, in terms of other measures, you do not.

Sanctions, of course, would be a signpost on our low road. We talked of minimal sanctions for our high road, increasing sanctions for our low road. So if there is a major crank-up of sanctions over the next year that would constitute a major milestone for our low road scenario because we wont get the economic growth necessary to put us on the high road.

We feel, for example, the lack of foreign capital coming in to this country at the moment denies about one or two percent to the economic growth rate, a margin of growth which is absolutely critical at this stage of the country's development. If we could get five to six percent per annum economic growth — as opposed to three to four percent per annum — then we feel that that would act as a very good catalyst for political change, whereas if we are stagnating at zero to one percent economic growth with rising unemployment, it's going to be a very great obstruction to change.

MICHAEL MORRIS: Talking about catalysts for political change, you once quoted a senior politician as saying that until both sides realised that pursuing their own course of action to the utter exclusion of the other side would lead nowhere, you won't get negotiation. What in your view is likely to lead to such a realisation?

SUNTER: The great thing about negotiation is it must be seen as the preferred option and whilst both sides view the "going it alone" option as the prime one, people won't sit down and negotiate.

Have the two sides really got to the level where the "going it alone" option is still considered viable? It's very difficult to say. In my talk I try and quote what I call the wastelands scenario, the closest parallel being Lebanon.

CLEM SUNTER . . . the high road

Change in South Africa can only come from within

THE man at the centre of the recent talks between Russian and South African academics is no stranger to the sub-continent. Sir John Killick lived on and off in South Africa since 1956 when he bought a plot of land in the Wilderness. Indeed, P W Botha was once his MP.

Former British ambassador to Moscow in the early 70's during the Breshnev era, he belongs to that rare breed of diplomats able to appreciate from firsthand experience the new wind of change blowing in Moscow.

He moved back to England from South Africa in 1984, and is now enjoying his retirement in the Kent countryside. Uppermost in his mind, besides the chances of peace in southern Africa, is the state of his garden.

His Afrikaans, like his Russian, is far from rusty. However, he chose to conduct this interview in English.

Are you surprised by the new Soviet policy on southern Africa?

Absolutely not The signs were there all along. As far back as 1987, when Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano was visiting the Soviet Union, President Gorbachev told him:

"The collapse of apartheid is inevitable. But we are not supporters of the thesis that the worse things get, the better it is. There is no doubt about it that the elimination of the racialist system by way of a political settlement would be in the interests of all South Africans, both black and white."

Gorbachev picked up on the theme again at his keynote speech to the UN in December last year, just before the earthquake. He spoke of abandoning "established stereotypes and outdated views", of "de-ideologising relations between states", of "an exchange of constructive ideas instead of recriminations".

All of this could not have been more clearly illustrated than by our recent meeting. The media in general were too busy looking at the East-West problems, missing the wider context.

How did this meeting you chaired come about?

It was spontaneous, really, the result of almost two years of contacts between various academics here in England and South Africa. It was financed by a charitable trust. Entirely private. There was no government input, though I dare say they had no objections.

What about the Wilton Park conference which was going on at about the same time and was apparently conducted at a more official, governmental level?

There was absolutely no connection. I didn't even know Wilton Park was on! However, I've no reason to believe that what was said there was any different from what we heard.

Which was?

That in a nutshell, confrontation was out and negotiation was in. To quote Gorbachev, there were no "stereotyped views". It was different from anything I'd heard before.



Robert Gentle speaks to Sir John Killick (right), once British Ambassador to Moscow and chairman of the recent talks held in a Surrey hotel between Russian and South African academics.

They spoke about the need to protect the rights of minorities. Note the plural — they clearly had others in mind besides the whites. They questioned the usefulness of the armed struggle and sanctions in bringing about fundamental change.

They acknowledged South Africa's role as the economic powerhouse of the region and the need for that to be built upon.

What surprised me was the great amount of mutual respect — not agreement, but respect — on both sides. Each saw the other as human beings.

Their bottom line was really a round table conference at which all parties concerned could thrash out an acceptable solution.

Were any parties mentioned by name?

Only the ANC, but I assure you they meant anyone with anything to contribute. They even said the government should be talking to people who are regarded in some quarters as collaborators.

It's not always explicit. A lot is implied. Look, this is politics. They're not going to stand up and say : "We are abandoning the ANC!"

I have no doubt that Buthelezi will be making contact with the Russians soon He may even go to Moscow. Who knows.

One could argue that all this is very well, but these were only academics. What influence do they have?

The term academics has a different meaning in Russia. The Academy of Sciences is a State organisation.

Gromkyo (the head of the Soviet team) was at pains to point out that academics like himself effect much more input into policy-making than they ever did in the past. And don't forget, perestroika is first and foremost an intellectual movement.

Even still, is the new line on southern Africa mainstream thinking?

In the Soviet sense of the word, yes. "Mainstream" there means the government, the politburo, Foreign Affairs. Gorbachev has a majority in the politburo. I can't see anyone opposing him on southern Africa, which is a hell of a long way off from Soviet interests.

Gorbachev's real opposition is on other issues — East-West relations, arms cuts, expenditure on the military.

Why this change in policy?

It's not for reasons of altruism or high-mindedness Gorbachev sees it as being in the Soviet interest. The same applies to the new faith in the UN, its role as a peace-keeping force, Namibia. The average Russian has no desire to see expeditionary forces in southern Africa — or even Aghanistan.

Where does Cuba fit in with this new line?

My personal contact with sources in Cuba has convinced me that Castro has always tended to follow his own brand of policy rather than that of Moscow. But Gorbachev obviously leaned on him over the Namibia-Angola issue.

It would be entirely in line with Moscow's new way of thinking for him to apply similar pressure in other regions of the world where Cuba operates.

The cynic might well ask: can we trust the Russians?

It's an irrelevant question. I don't expect them to trust us. So long as there is the beginning of a common interest, why not sit down together? Of course in the meantime you'll keep your hand



Mikhail Gorbachev ... wants a settlement.



Margaret Thatcher ... has a role.



Joaquim Chissano ... visited Soviet Union.



Fidel Castro ... his own brand of politics.

I suppose the ANC, their exiled leaders, their international status — it's all become a way of life in itself. A political settlement means the end of all that.

What is the next step forward? Some kind of Eminent Persons Group?

Does SA really need another EPG? I think the whole concept has been overplayed. People just want to be seen to be playing a role — whether it actually helps South Africa is a secondary consideration. The Commonwealth EPG was just a gimmick invented to make the Commomwealth look good.

Let's face it. Even the Russians have said as much — change must come from within South Africa. Outsiders can at best facilitate the process.

What about Margaret Thatcher?

She's different. Unlike other world leaders, she is prepared to use her status to do some very unpopular things. She has a role to play — provided she doesn't think she knows all the answers because she doesn't.

What about her insistence that Nelson



FW de Klerk ... a better prospect



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Will southern Africa be high on the agenda when Gorbachev meets Thatcher this week?

I don't think it'll loom very large. They've got other things to talk about — East-West relations, even the environment. The problem with some people in Pretoria is that they think they're the centre of the world.

Changes in Russian thinking will not of themselves bring about peace in Southern Africa.

Indeed not. It means nothing unless there is a corresponding reaction from Pretoria. A drastic re-appraisal of the old "total onslaught" view of Russia is needed, a willingness to move towards real dialogue — and that includes the ANC.

That said, the ANC also need to change. Their views are just as outdated. They are deluding themselves if they underestimate the new mood in Moscow.



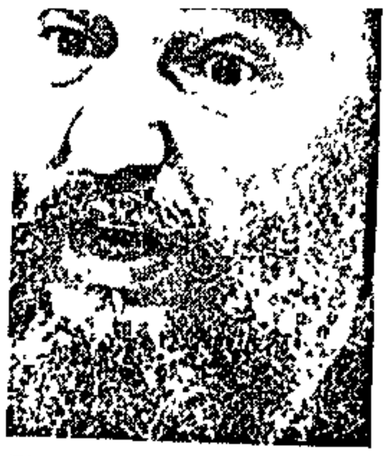
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What about her insistence that Nelson Mandela be released?

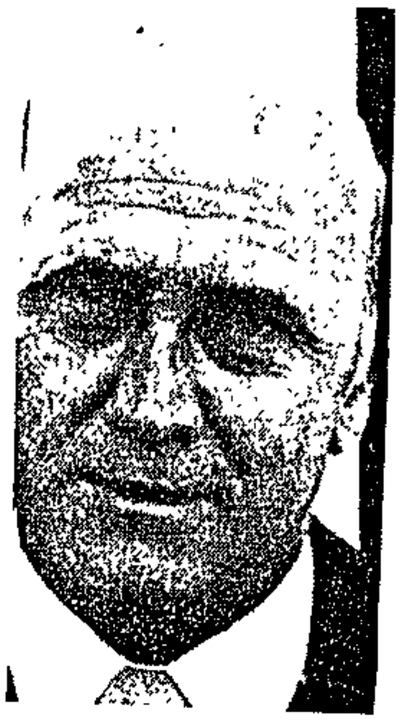
We'd all like to see Mandela released, but frankly I think this factor has been played up to ridiculous proportions, as if it was some magic formula. Even the Russians have admitted that.

I would imagine Mandela has very little to contribute. It's like the outside world constantly clamouring for Tutu to be present at the negotiation table.

Who is Tutu? The South African problem is much larger than either Tutu or Mandela. What about all the others? Local leaders, the PAC, Buthelezi, black SA businessmen ...

Do you think the leadership struggle will slow down reform?

I hope not. Interestingly, it may even speed it up. PW may want to go down in history as the man who released Nelson Mandela. It would be a brilliant coup, like Reagan and the INF arms agreement.



FW de Klerk ... a better prospect.



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As for FW, he does seem a better prospect than I first imagined. Thank God he hasn't got a short fuse! PW's temper was always his own worst enemy.

Do you think the sanctions crusade has run its course?

I wouldn't say so. My views on the destruction of the South African economy are well documented. It is totally wrong and counterproductive.

I'm not against sanctions — but it depends on what you want to achieve. I supported the boycott of the Moscow Olympics, but as a mark of disapproval over the invasion of Afghanistan. We certainly never expected it to achieve anything.

Is there any other point you'd like to make?

Yes. Something's eating away at my daffodils. Have you any idea what it is?

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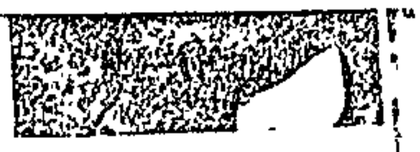
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ET was under influence, cop tells court

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche was under the influence of alcohol when he allegedly swore at two police officers investigating a crime at the Paardekraal Monument last year, Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court was told yesterday.

This evidence was given by Constable Colin Page — one of two Krugersdorp police officers who went to the monument to investigate a complaint of a man ramming gates with a car and an incident of shots being fired.

Mr Terre'Blanche is standing trial on charges of malicious damage to property and crimeh injuria allegedly committed at the Paardekraal Monument on December 27. He has pleaded not guilty.

Const Page told the court that on investigation he and Constable Carlos Mitchell found a woman and a man outside a white BMW in the monument grounds at about 8.30 that night. A cooler bag with a bottle of whisky in it stood nearby.

"I got out the police van and the man approached me. I asked him if he had any weapons or ammunition on him.

"He said he had some weapons in Pretoria but none with him. I asked to search his car."

Const Page said he then returned to the van to radio for police back-up, while Const Mitchell searched the other side of the BMW.

While he was radioing, Mitchell "showed me a box of 9mm bullets. When I returned to the car I learnt who the man was".

Const Page said Mr Terre'Blanche then became difficult and said: "Hierdie is 'n klomp k.. — ek gaan nou loop." (This is a load of s... — I am leaving).

He said Mr Terre'Blanche's eyes were red, he smelled of alchohol and was stammering over his words. Mr Terre'Blanche became aggressive.

"I took his car keys and started talking to the woman who identified herself as Jani Allan. She said she was busy with a story.

"Terre'Blanche then demanded to see a senior police officer and swore: "Vlieg in julle moere. — (Go to hell)."

Const Page said he radioed a "Lieutenant Smit" who arrived and spoke to Mr Terre'Blanche.

"Smit instructed me to hand over the bullets and the car keys."

The case has been adjourned to May 8 with the state announcing that Ms Allan would now be a defence witness.

30/4/89 Star 7/4/89

Three parties disband to launch DP

Political Reporter

Three parties on the parliamentary left disband today to form the Democratic Party (DP) in Johannesburg tomorrow.

The National Democratic Movement (NDM) met for the last time in Randburg this morning.

The Independent Party (IP) and the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) were to disband in Johannesburg this afternoon.

The PFP was holding its final congress at the Johannesburg College of Education in Parktown, Johannesburg.

The meeting was expected to be crucial because many PFP members are said to be highly dissatisfied with the way the unity talks — which started in December — have been conducted.

Tomorrow's founding congress of the DP starts at 9 am at the Johannesburg College of Education.

● See Page 9

3048

Businessmen have support of State

CP council to be challenged in court

9th 7/4/89

Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Carletonville businessmen are planning to mount a legal attack on the town council's segregation of facilities.

They will try to prove that the council has incorrectly applied the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, which permits facilities to be segregated.

And the Government has promised the businessmen its support in their efforts to resolve the crippling black consumer boycott in the town.

The assurance was given to a delegation of Carletonville businessmen this week when they met Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok about the boycott crisis.

"Certain proposals" were made for action to resolve the crisis, Mrs Annetjie Claasens, President of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said afterwards.

Among these were a firm undertaking by Mr Vlok and his senior police officers that the attacks on blacks in Carletonville by white vigilantes would be investigated.

Legal action is also being planned to contest the Carletonville Town Council's imposition of petty apartheid. This was disclosed by Mr Ken Warren, Assocom's legal adviser who is supporting the Carletonville businessmen.

He said it appeared that the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act could not be scrapped at this stage.

However he believed that the Carletonville Town Council had not applied the Act properly.

Mr Warren would not expand upon the planned legal moves but a precedent does exist for attacking a town council's application of the Separate Amenities Act.

Last year the Supreme Court ruled that the Port Elizabeth Town Council's segregation of beaches was invalid.

The court's decision means that beach apartheid has been suspended within its area of jurisdiction in the Eastern Cape. However the Government has appealed against the decision. The appeal has not yet been heard.

7/4/89

SA may release Passtoors

BRUSSELS — South Africa will release Helene Passtoors, a Belgian woman serving a 10-year sentence for treason, if she renounces violence and terrorism, Belgium said yesterday.

A spokesman for the Belgian foreign ministry said this was one of three conditions spelled out for the release of Passtoors (46).

"The South African Government wants Mrs Passtoors to sign a declaration which will commit her not to resort to terrorism or violence in South Africa," the spokesman said.

The two other conditions were that the three South African diplomats expelled by Belgium in retaliation for the jailing of Passtoors be allowed to return once Passtoors had been released; and that her movements in Southern Africa afterwards be subject to certain restrictions.

The spokesman said that Belgium, which pressed South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha on the issue when he visited last month, had no objections to the conditions.

But he said it was up to Passtoors to decide whether to sign any undertaking of non-violence. — Sapa-Reuter.

Suspects shot dead in car chase

Detectives from the East Rand Murder and Robbery squad shot dead two su- They gave chase, and shots were exchanged.

New anti-apartheid party launched tomorrow

DP born in hope, cynicism

Tomorrow a new political party will be born with the expressed aim of uniting anti-apartheid forces. How feasible is this noble ideal in a country riddled with political distrust, burdened with discriminatory laws embodied in the tricameral system, and a historic divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups? The Star's Political Reporter, ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, reports.



Dr Zach de Beer ... "we have different ideals but share the same values".



Dr Denis Worrall ... "a new realisation that the future has to be negotiated".



Mr Wynand Malan ... has considerable influence in extra-parliamentary circles.

he merger of the Progressive Federal arty, the Independent Party and the Na-onal Democratic Movement has been wi-ely hailed as a most significant develop-ent in South African politics.

The Democratic Party already has launch supporters, many of whom believe offers "new hope" to South Africans op-osed to apartheid and disillusioned with ie constitutional deadlock and the ruling ational Party's inability — or unwilling-ess — to reform.

That the DP will have an impact on par-amentary politics, particularly the House f Assembly, could well be true.

But despite the considerable influence in xtra-parliamentary circles of one of the hree co-leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, cynics oubt whether the aim of uniting forces gainst apartheid is attainable.

evere reservations

Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-ezi this week expressed severe reserva-ions about such an ideal.

If the DP played a formal role in the ricameral Parliament, it would limit its cope of joint action with non-parliamenta-y opposition groups, he said.

As long as apartheid laws remained in-act, the amalgamation of black and white olitical forces would not produce politics vhich were convincing to blacks.

"Black democracy is shackled by apart-eid legislation and accepted white politi-al practice. While this remains the case, lack politics has a black political job to do vhich nobody can do for it," Chief Buthelezi aid.

University of Cape Town political scientist Professor David Welsh was more optimistic.

"The tricameral system is such a mon strosity that one can understand why people of colour want nothing to do with it. But the DP can play a significant role in breaking down the historic divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forces opposed to apartheid.

"It brings to it quite an extraordinary range of linkages, from traditional National Party supporters to people with longstanding communication with the extra-parliamentarians. The DP is indeed located quite strategically."

Co-leader Dr Zach de Beer of the PFP said the DP realised that non-racial politics was impossible until laws such as the Population Registration Act, the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, the Land Act and the Group Areas Act were scrapped.

"At this stage, different organisations have different aims and ideals. But most anti-apartheid groups share the same values. The DP's role will be to facilitate negotiations on the constitutional future."

Professor D J Kriek of Unisa's Department of Political Sciences said although it was no easy task to break down structures, the widespread need for political progress counted in the DP's favour.

"The DP can create the climate for negotiations which the NP is unable to do. Loose alliances with different groups will be formed at first, because people still feel safe within their own power bases.

But he conceded: "As long as there are people who don't want to participate in parliamentary procedures, the DP has a problem."

DP co-leader, the IP's Dr Denis Worrall, said for the first time in South African history there was a party committed to "bringing together people who share the same vision of the future".

It was possible to create that new South Africa now because circumstances had changed. There was a new realisation that the political future had to be negotiated.

Still sceptical

"And an important shift in values is taking place. People want to be South Africans, they want to be one nation which can be proud of itself. This is a new concept."

Although extra-parliamentarians remain sceptical about the workability of the DP's concept of "inclusive" politics, important shifts in attitude are taking place.

Recently, the two top figures in the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), Dr Alex Boraine and Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, called on "the mass democratic movement" to consider new avenues of co-operation with parliamentary groups committed to a non-racial democratic future.

However, the words of a Reiger Park resident at the DP's first meeting in a non-white area last week, summarised an important attitude: "You made a mistake in coming here. You're still a white party for white people."

Parties gear up for crucial election later this year

Star 7/4/89

Political Staff

Political parties are immediately gearing up for a general election which they believe will significantly determine the constitutional future of South Africa.

In the white House of Assembly elections, Reef constituencies are expected to become a major battleground between the Nationalists and the Conservative Party, while the new Democratic Party will be launching a major campaign in Johannesburg and constituencies north of the city.

This follows the announcement in Parliament yesterday by President Botha that there will be a general election for all three Houses later this year.

Mr Botha indicated this in a joint sitting of Parliament.

DISSOLVED

He also announced that Parliament will be dissolved near the end of May; there there would be no new delimitation of constituencies before the election; and that there would be no by-elections for the four vacant seats in Parliament.

Though he did not say exactly that he would be retiring, nor when the election would be held, Government sources have confirmed this would happen in August or September.

Party machinery started to roll into action months ago as speculation about a general election increased.

Nationalist MPs are said to be unhappy that no firm election date has been announced nor that Mr Botha announced outright that he is retiring.

The CP's Transvaal director, Mr Kobus Beyers, today said his party would dramatically increase its representation in the Transvaal.

He said the way in which the National Party had " sold out the whites in Namibia" would be used by the CP in a general election.

One of the three co-leaders of the DP, Dr Denis Worrall, welcomed the announcement of a general election.

He said an election would unite DP supporters and would provide the new party with the opportunity to prove that it was a viable alternative to the NP.

The PFP's Transvaal leader Mr Douglas Gibson today said the DP has already improved its organisation in key Transvaal constituencies.

"We are fully geared. We have been expecting a by-election in Hillbrow and have already put a lot of work into that constituency."

The DP could win three marginal seats in the Transvaal — North Rand, Edenvale and Benoni, he said.

PW enjoys full chamber's close attention

Parliamentary Staff

Hardly a seat was empty in the public gallery of Parliament's great hall yesterday when the State President, Mr P W Botha, made his first contribution to debate since his stroke.

And from the moment he walked in 10 minutes before the start of the joint sitting, he was the centre of attention.

For several minutes he was engaged in animated conversation with the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, who leaned over the Presidential bench, punctuating his remarks with forceful gestures.

They were joined by the Minister of Health, Dr Willie van Niekerk, and the National Party whips, Mr Alex van Breda and Mr J Nieman.

The NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk, entered the chamber with the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, nodded a greeting to the President and then looked away.

Mr Botha was the first to take the podium and the chamber was hushed for the duration of his speech, with the exception of a mild ripple of response at his announcement of the dissolution of parliament in preparation for a general election.

Not possible to await new delimitation

President Botha said yesterday it was not possible to wait for a new delimitation before a general election and he would dissolve Parliament "on an appropriate day" at the end of May.

He said this decision disposed of the legal obligation to hold by-elections in four seats — three white and one coloured.

Mr Botha said there had been much speculation concerning the lifetime of the present Parliament and the necessity of a general election.

"It was my view that, for the sake of good order, there should first of all have been a delimitation of constituencies of all three Houses of Parliament."

Viewed from various angles, this would have been the best basis on which to hold a general election, but on closer examination it appeared that, for technical reasons, it would be "extremely difficult" now to synchronise the necessary delimitation for all three Houses with an election date that coincided more or less with expiry of the term of Parliament.

The Assembly elections of 1981 and 1987 were contested on a 1980 delimitation and a new delimitation had been possible since 1985.

The first Representatives and Delegates election was held in 1984 following a delimitation in that year and in terms of these Houses, a new delimitation could be made only late this year in terms of the constitutional minimum of five years.

"Consequently, it has been decided not to effect a delimitation of constituencies before the next general election."

This inevitably brought a second alternative, he said. If a delimitation were not possible now, the provision of the Constitution concerning the lifetime of Parliament and the linked tenure of the office of the State President should be considered.

The present Parliament started on September 4 1984 and would expire on the same day this year with the State President holding office during the lifetime of the Parliament.

"Against this background, I will proceed to the best of my ability to meet the obligations entrusted to me by the Constitution," he said.

There could be no other conclusion that a general election had to be held on the existing delimitation near the end of the existing Parliament's lifetime.

The decision to dissolve Parliament at the end of May disposed of the legal obligation to hold by-elections, which were a waste of energy for the country and political parties.

After election of the new Parliament, arrangements would be made for the constituting of an electoral college to elect a new State President, and further steps would be taken in terms of the Constitution for his assumption of office at a formal function where the Seal of the Republic would be handed to him by the outgoing President. — Sapa.

Govt under attack for trying to dodge courts

0Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has been slammed for new legislation which opposition politicians say is aimed at circumventing court decisions overturning the incorporation of areas into homelands.

The Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday makes it clear that "no court of law shall be competent to inquire into or pronounce upon the validity of any proclamation issued" by the State President.

The Bill would also retroactively validate any previous proclamations adding to or subtracting from national states's territories.

The incorporation of the Moutse area into the kwaNdebele homeland is specifically excluded from this last provision, a memorandum to the Bill says.

Mr Ray Swart, the Progressive Federal Party's constitutional spokesman, said last night the Bill was "clearly a move to prevent courts from challenging the incorporation of territories into homelands".

It was aimed at cases such as Moutse where courts had overturned the Government proclamation on the grounds that the Moutse people were not of the same ethnic group as the kwaNdebele.

ANC to be factor in 'new SA'

Parliamentary Staff

Just as Swapo was a factor in Namibia's future, so, too, would the ANC be a factor in the "new South Africa", *Mr John Douw (LP, Nominated)* said.

For this reason, he said in the joint first reading debate on the Budget, the path to negotiations, including the release of Nelson Mandela, must be followed.

He said the Maties students who had held discussions with the ANC in Lusaka deserved praise.

Mr Douw said: "For all oppressed South Africans, violence and apartheid are equivalents" and it was necessary that both were suspended.

He said South Africa and the world were waiting for Mandela's release, and he reminded the private sector of its "duty" to take up seriously its potential role as a "catalyst" for "peaceful negotiation and compromise".

The time had come for the business community to "stand up as one man and pressure the Government to remove all discriminatory legislation".



MR F W DE KLERK ...
Got his way

FW gets it his way: SA to vote

CAPE TIMES 7/4/89

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MR F W de Klerk, the new National Party leader and strongman, has got his way and all three chambers of Parliament are now heading for a September election.

Asked to comment yesterday he said briefly: "You can see I am smiling."

An unusually subdued President P W Botha as much as announced his own retirement at a joint sitting of Parliament yesterday when he said he had changed his mind about not having an election this year — but did not set a specific date.

He announced the dissolution of Parliament in May.

A new State President will be chosen after the election, paving the way for Mr De Klerk to become both head of the government and leader of the NP.

This is in line with the decisions taken by the NP's federal council and its parliamentary caucus last month after Mr Botha said in a controversial television interview that he did not favour an election this year and wanted a new delimitation first.

Though no date for the election has been set, in parliamentary circles yesterday September 6 or September 13 were regarded as the most likely.

The election announcement was welcomed by other political parties.

The Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said that though it was disappointing that there had been a reversal on the previous announcement of a delimitation, his party was "immediately" ready for an election.

One of the joint leaders of the about-to-be-formed Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, welcomed the announcement and added: "It means in effect that after only two years there is a chance of winning back the seats we lost in 1987 and of getting a creative party as the official opposition."

Comeback for Van?

THE Democratic Party's leadership troika are expected to be given safe seats for the election later this year. And party sources hope that former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert can be persuaded to make a comeback by fighting the Stellenbosch seat.

● Full report — Page 4

● How Harry had to perk up the President — Notes in the House, Page 7

The leader of the Labour Party, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, warmly welcomed the dissolution of Parliament and said it afforded his party "a welcome advantage of capitalising on its political gains over the last few years".

In his speech, Mr Botha did not specifically say that he would retire after the election but pointed out that the term of the present Parliament would expire after five years on September 4.

He said the State President held office during the lifetime of the Parliament which constituted the electoral college that elected him.

"Against this background, I will proceed to the best of my ability, and in proper consultation, to meet the obligations entrusted to me by the constitution."

There could now be no other conclusion than that a general election had to be held on the existing delimitation near the end of the lifetime of the present Parliament.

As a result, he would take the necessary steps to dissolve Parliament at "an appropriate date at the end of May" and prepare the necessary proclamations for a general election.

By-elections for the three vacancies in the House of Assembly and the one vacancy in the House of Representatives would therefore not be held.

Mr Botha added that though it had been his view that delimitation should precede a general election, it appeared on closer examination that it would be extremely difficult to synchronise the delimitation with an election date which coincided more or less with the expiry of the term of Parliament.

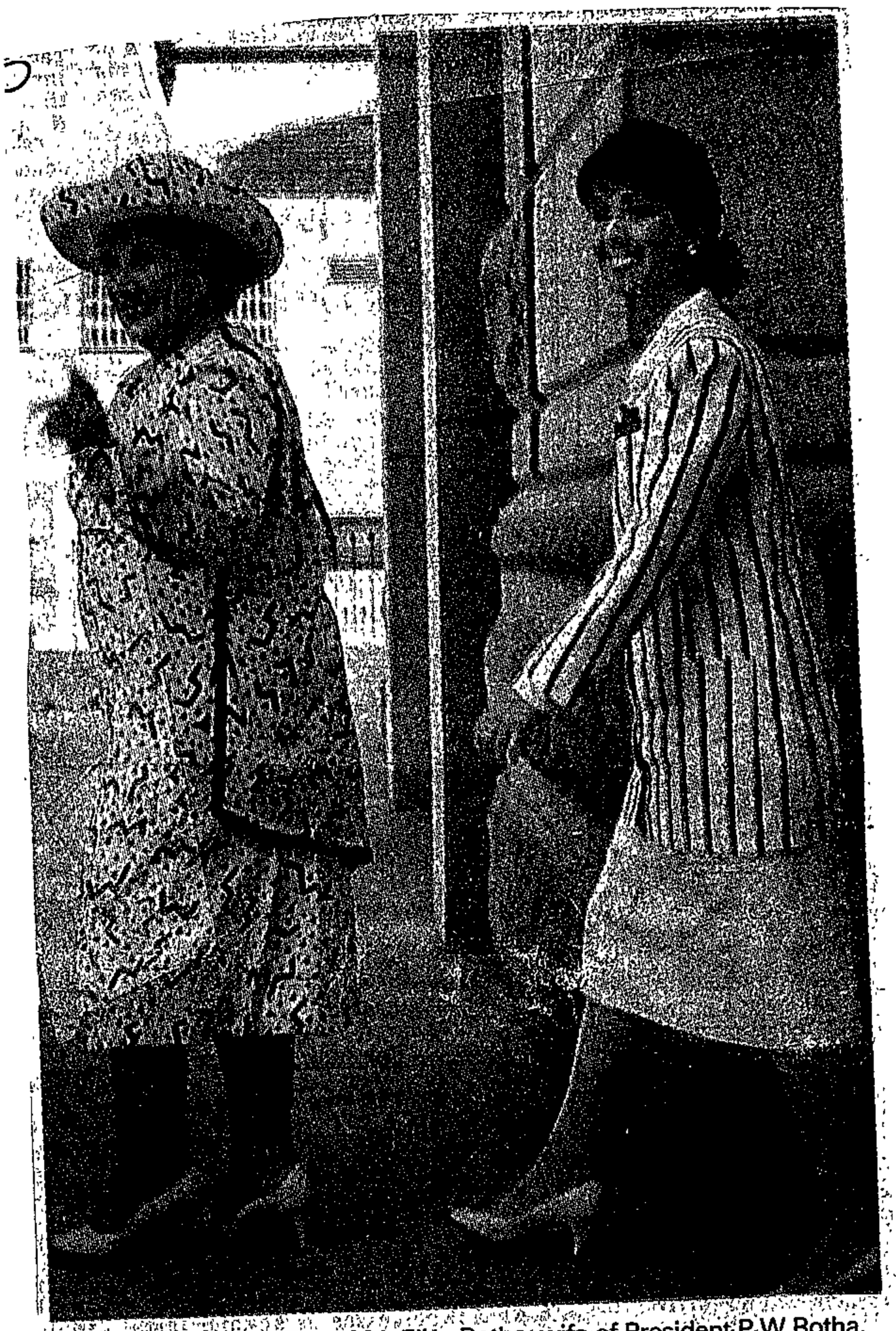
He made his announcement after addressing the NP caucus in which he stressed his loyalty to the party.

Mr Botha apparently kept the party guessing about an election announcement, though sources said the caucus meeting was dignified and marked by "a great deal of pathos".

In the end Mr De Klerk and his supporters won their battle for an election this year and for him to become both party leader and president.

7/4/89

CT 34A



A WAVE GOODBYE . . . Mrs Elize Botha, wife of President P W Botha, waves goodbye as she leaves Parliament after listening to the President's speech yesterday. With her is her daughter Rozanne.

Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Grumbles at DP policy release

7/4/89 (CT) 5044

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

OHANNESBURG. — The Democratic arty has unveiled the final draft of its olicy guidelines just a day before the irth of the new party here tomorrow.

The long-awaited policy document has een the source of some controversy with- the constituent members of the new arty, not only because of its late release o DP supporters, but because of its sup- osed contents.

Some DP backers have complained they were "going into the party blindfolded".

The latest pre-founding congress draft f the policy document has dropped any reference to the controversial issue of a minority veto" and "group (race) rights" which have been a bone of contention in parliamentary opposition politics in the past.

The document comes out clearly in favour of a one-person, one-vote system for all levels of government in a unified South Africa.

However, rather than favouring the winner-takes-all British system, it follows the example of most Western European democracies in favouring a system of proportional representation which provides for greater diversity in that minority parties are represented in law-making bodies.

And in another thorny area — economic policy — support is expressed towards market-orientated economic strategies "as far as possible", and clauses relating to "the great necessity for the upliftment of deprived communities" are retained.

Policy positions include:

- Universal franchise on a common voters' roll for every level of representation for all adult citizens of South Africa.
- The cultural, religious and linguisti diversity of South Africa must be recog nised and protected by the constitution.
- A bill of human rights to be upheld b the courts.
- Protection of the principles and val ues of the legal system from interfere by the policies of particular governmen and the arbitrary exercise of executiv power by rulers.
- A federal system of government in which the powers of the authorities of the various levels of government are en trenched.
- The rejection of the racial basis of the present constitution and all racially-based legislation.
- The rejection of violence as a political instrument.

PFP likely to dissolve with much dissension

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The dissolution of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) today, to pave the way for the formation of the Democratic Party (DP), is not expected to be a quiet or particularly dignified affair.

PFP members slated to attend this morning's federal council meeting and this afternoon's closing down federal congress conceded last night that a degree of dissension among delegates was inevitable.

However, top party sources were confident that many of the flashpoints that have bedevilled the traumatic process of forming a new party had been defused or rendered less controversial.

A few "true blue" Progs are expected to put up a final demonstration about how the strengths of the PFP — policy and strategy — have been traded away to former Nationalists during the months of negotiations leading up to the formation of the DP.

Compromise

Fireworks have also been predicted from Mr Harry Schwarz, who reportedly believes that the new party's policy is not sufficiently detailed and that PFP policy ill be substituted here obvious "holes" ist in DP policy.

It is understood that s potentially divisive sue has been toned wn by a compromise ve to draw on the exi- ing policies of the In- pendent Party (IP) National Democrat- Movement (NDM) as as to plug possible cy holes.

her thorny issues likely to include par- pation of the DP in hree Houses of Par- ent and the failure new party to get its policy documents to -and-file members in advance of the ess.

IP and NDM will hold dissolution esses here today se are not expect- produce many fire-



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert ... poised for a comeback?

Democratic trio in line for safe seats

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party's leadership "troika" are all expected to register comfortable victories in the general election later this year if the latest plans to secure safe seats for the three materialise.

DP sources were yesterday confidently predicting that the former PFP leader, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, might be persuaded to make a comeback to parliamentary politics by fighting the Stellenbosch constituency in the upcoming poll, expected either in August or early September.

Well-placed DP sources said last night that the current IP leader, Dr Denis Worrall, had his eye firmly on the Durban seat of Berea, his historical links with the Helderberg seat of Mr Chris Heunis notwithstanding.

The incumbent in Berea, the PFP's Mr Ray Swart, had been widely expected to retire at the next election and opinion polls indicated that Dr Worrall is assured of a huge victory in the seat should he stand there.

However, Mr Swart, a former leader of the PFP in Natal, is reported to be miffed at the prospect of a non-PFP member eyeing his seat and there were suggestions that he might even decide to postpone his plans for retirement.

The PFP leader, Dr Zach de Beer, is expected to make himself available in Parktown, which has one of the largest PFP majorities in the country.

Dr De Beer is currently an MP only by virtue of Professor Nic Olivier having surrendered his nominated seat to him earlier this year. Victory in the election would bolster his status in the new party and enhance his bid to eventual sole leadership of the new party.

The incumbent in Parktown, Dr Marius Barnard, is apparently reluctant to relinquish the seat, but observers said he would not stand a chance in a nomination contest with Dr De Beer.

The other member of the trioka, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan, is expected to consolidate his position in Randburg in the next election.

Should the DP succeed in its efforts to get Dr Slabbert to stand in Stellenbosch, Dr Esther Lategan — who unsuccessfully challenged for the seat in May last year — is likely to win the DP nomination in neighbouring Durbanville, DP sources said.

Other seats in which candidates and nomination contests are evoking unusual interest include Simon's Town, where the PFP narrowly lost to the NP last year.

The DP's nomination contest is likely to see a match-up between the PFP director of communications, Mr James Selfe, and the IP's current co-chairman, Mr Jannie Momberg. Mr Momberg, who lives in Stellenbosch, has gone so far as to buy a flat in Fish Hoek and register as a voter in the constituency.

In the choice Claremont seat the leading candidates appear to be the sitting MP, Mr Jan van Eck, former Spingbok cricketer Mr Clive van Ryneveld, and Mr Bill Sewell, a prominent executive member of the PFP in the Western Cape.

Many seats to change hands in '89 election?

Own Correspondent

SCORES of seats won by slim majorities in 1987 are set to change hands at the general election to be held later this year.

The election will be held on the same delimitation as in 1987.

The smallest majorities were in Helderberg and Green Point, both won by 39 votes. In Helderberg, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Chris Heunis only just fended off Dr Denis Worrall's challenge, and in Green Point the NP came close to unseating the PFP's Mr Tian van der Merwe.

The CP list of expected victories will start with the eight in which there was a right-wing majority in 1987, but which the NP narrowly won because of HNP intervention. These are Wonderboom, Stilfontein, Rustenburg, Pretoria West, Lydenburg, Hercules, Parys and Sasolburg.

In another 23 seats the CP is within 2 000 votes of the NP. The NP is particularly vulnerable in Krugersdorp, Meyerton and Kuruman. In Heilbron, Fauresmith and Innesdal, the combined right-wing vote was 300 or less than that received by NP candidates.

Five of the 22 CP seats appear beyond the NP's grasp: Ventersdorp, Randfontein, Lichtenburg, Standerton and Waterberg. The other 17 were all won with margins of less than 2 000 votes, five of them — Barberton, Brakpan, Carletonville, Delmas and Soutpansberg — with less than 300.

Of the seats held by constituent parties of the new DP, 15 can be classified as safe, with majorities of over 2 000. Of the other six, four were won with majorities of less than 700 votes.

The DP will target more than 20 seats which it believes it can take from the NP. Some of these, including the two East London seats and King William's Town in the Cape, Bezuidenhout, Benoni, Waterkloof and even Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's Westdene constituency were won with majorities of well over 2 000 votes.

Marginal NP seats where the DP could triumph include Edenvale (168 majority), Hillbrow (89), Helderberg (39), Wynberg (97), Umbilo (480), Umhlanga (557), Simon's Town (268), Walmer (545) and Albany (844).

Court told of Eugene's poison — cold, black tea

304A WMPRC 7-13/4/89.

By IVOR POWELL

JOHAN Rousseau, for the defence, is responding to evidence from police constable Colin Page regarding the demeanour of Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre-Blanche at the Paardekraal Monument on the night of December 27.

His client, he earnestly tells the Krugersdorp Magistrate's court, will deny using any harsh language. He will say he did not swear at the police, "especially not in front of the English press — and a woman".

He adds that his client will contest claims that he was under the influence of liquor, and will say that a whisky bottle referred to earlier by Constable Page in fact contained nothing stronger than "cold black tea".

Most of the AWB supporters who packed the cramped courtroom — some in uniform but most wearing insignias in the form of ties, tie-pins, brooches and earrings — seemed to take the explanation at face value.

TerreBlanche faces charges of malicious damage to property and *crimen injuria* resulting from an incident in which it is alleged the gates of the Paardekraal Monument were damaged, a padlock was broken and shots fired.

The state alleges that a man and a woman were seen forcing entry to the monument, that their car registration number matches that of Terre-Blanche's BMW, and that the AWB leader was later discovered on the monument grounds in the company of *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allan.

When approached by two police constables who had been called to the scene, TerreBlanche allegedly uttered various insults and profanities.

The *Sunday Times'* Allan has attended only the first day of the hearing. However, she is due to be called as a defence witness when the trial resumes on May 8.

Earlier the court heard that Terre-Blanche had reacted in a drunken and abusive manner when confronted by the police constables Colin Page and Carlos Mitchell, who had been called out to investigate a disturbance at the monument.

Page blushed and had to be told to speak up in the witness box as he reported TerreBlanche's alleged words: *"Dis 'n klomp k...k, die!"* (This is a lot of s...t).

Later, according to Page, the AWB leader advised the two to *"vlieg in julle moer in. F...k off hierso."* (Go to hell. F...k off).

A police dog brought in ostensibly to sniff out explosives only made things worse when it flew out of control and started attacking members of the public.

Finally the two doors leading into the courtroom were opened — but not at the same time. Most AWB supporters were let in through the front before the back door was opened to allow a token contingent of the black spectators to enter the court.

An AWB member, apparently unable to resist paternalising, waded into the crowd of blacks as it moved for the doorway. *"Orde! Orde! Moenie stamp nie!"* (Order! Don't push!) he barked as he shoved people out of the way.

Despite the heavy police presence, AWB "security men" — some apparently no older than 15 — patrolled the courtroom.

Their point made, the blacks left, and the next day the court was once again a whites-only affair. There were, however, many more members of Aquila, TerreBlanche's private bodyguard, in attendance.

Some promptly set about harassing this reporter — I was bumped and elbowed, my path was repeatedly blocked and I was finally cornered and threatened. The last time I had seen the purveyor of the threat, he was holding a knife to my throat at a right-wing Day of the Vow jamboree at Donkerhoek.

For all the bluster and show of strength, however, it is clear that the AWB is a mere shadow of what it once was.

This week his three most senior remaining associates left him, following the departure of four Hoofraad members earlier this year.



Eugene TerreBlanche ... a weakness for the best Ceylon.

Advocate Chris Beyers, the movement's chief spokesperson; Dave Barnett, head of Aquila; and ex-private secretary to Hendrik Verwoerd and AWB founder-member, Willie Olivier, announced that they had given up on TerreBlanche.

Stressing that they had not left the AWB, Beyers said the three would nevertheless not work in the organisation until TerreBlanche ceased to be its leader. He claimed that only AWB head-office staff remained faithful.

Though no reasons were given, sources close to the AWB cite despair at TerreBlanche's conduct in explaining the trio's desertion. "He's carrying on in exactly the same way, and they just couldn't take it any more," an informant said.

"I was hurt and insulted," Page said. It was, he felt, unneccessary for an adult and a political leader to use such language — "especially in front of a woman".

On the previous day, the court was cleared when a group of nearly 100 blacks arrived to observe proceedings. Two groups — the AWB faithful and black civilians — faced each other in the corridors, with only a few policemen moving anxiously in between.

'Strategy needed to meet a free society'

By Sue Valentine

The importance of choosing strategies which not only dismantled apartheid but coped with diverse elements to create a democratic society was stressed by Mr Achmat Dangor, executive director of Kagiso Trust, at the Arts Faculty graduation at the University of the Witwatersrand last night.

Basing his beliefs on the assumption that most South Africans wanted peaceful change towards a society free of racial discrimination and political repression and that apartheid was ultimately doomed, Mr Dangor said the means chosen to achieve this were crucial.

"If we do not fight censorship now, we will accept it in the future. If we do not resist detention without trial as an unacceptable principle now, it will become 'normal' practice in the future. If we are docile in the face of tyranny today, our future rulers, whoever they might be, will inherit a docile population."

It was vital to build a future upon a diverse society, but one that was not kept apart. Instead a culture of tolerance should be cultivated which could become the "bedrock foundation of a political system with a multi-party democracy".

This would include freedom of speech, of worship, freedom from exploitation and even the freedom to be wrong.

Three steps were suggested towards realising the ideal of a free society:

Firstly the recognition that negotiation was an essential for peaceful change. People needed to discard apartheid — not just its horrors, but its privileges too.

Secondly a truly non-racial society could only exist with the participation of the majority of the people and their authentic leaders who were black and, more specifically, African.

Mr Dangor said, "If we do not now begin to expose the African majority to the processes of leadership and power, in universities, in industry, in charities, in every avenue of human endeavour, we will take with us a heritage of inequality, bitterness and suspicion."

This heritage would make the ultimate ideal of non-racial leadership, where ability was the essential criteria, an impossibility.

He also called for the unbanning of the African National Congress and other exiled movements as well as the release of leaders in detention and the freedom of those in exile to return.

Mr Dangor appealed to students, to the young and idealistic in universities, townships and cities to bring a breath of fresh air to the "stale rhetoric" on which people had choked for too long.

Vermaas in big fraud — finding by Harms



Mr Albert Vermaas

Judge slams conduct of ex-Minister du Plessis

Political Staff

THE conduct of former Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, has been slammed by the Advocate-General, Mr Justice P J van der Walt, in an inquiry into the business activities of the Du Plessis family.

However in the report tabled in Parliament today the judge made no recommendations on whether steps should be taken against Mr du Plessis, but has recommended the Attorney-General of the Transvaal investigate his son, Johan du Plessis.

He has recommended that possible parliamentary pension and gratuity rights for Mr du Plessis be investigated.

The Advocate-General investigated numerous transactions involving Mr du Plessis jun and the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, which had been under the control of his father.

LEASE OF BUILDING

These included the leasing of building in Pretoria to the Department as well as dealings with a mining company in which Mr du Plessis jun was involved.

Refering to the mining company, Quinto Diamante, the report says the role of the ex-Minister was "extremely suspect and amounted to a reprehensible supression of the true facts".

He also found that Mr du Plessis sen "is guilty of serious misrepresentation" and an explanation he gave about Ministers and MPs acting on behlf of constituents was a "suppression of certain possibly relevant information.

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

By BRUCE CAMERON and TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE Harms Commission of Inquiry has found that high-flying Pretoria lawyer, Mr Albert Vermaas, was involved in exceptional fraud, literally financing his excessive lifestyle with the money of widows and widowers.

But the Harms Commission into cross-border financial irregularities has found that there was no bribery or corruption.

In its main report of 81 pages tabled in Parliament today, the commission sketched an amazing story of Mr Vermaas's financial dealings. It showed him totally ignoring laws, defrauding people in his financial transactions and even over-valuing his capital investments, at times by more than 1 000 percent, to keep himself financially afloat.

The commission found there was nothing improper in his relations with Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha.

LOOPHOLES

The commission recommended further investigations to block a repetition of contraventions of banking, investment, exchange control and tax laws. Loopholes should be blocked and existing legislation tightened up to prevent further massive abuse.

It has also recommended that bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements be reached with the independent homelands to prevent a reoccurence of the way Mr Vermaas set up his fraudulent banking empire.

The commission found that Eurobank was established in Ciskei by Mr Vermaas and his partner, Pretoria lawyer Dr Eugene Berg, with the object carrying out illegal banking activities in South Africa.

The intention was not to use deposits for normal banking activities but to finance Mr

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Big Vermaas fraud — Harms

(Contd from page 1)

Vermaas and his group of companies.

Because the companies were not profitable enough — and also to acquire money for other purposes — abnormal rates of interest were offered. Payment of interest and repayment of capital was financed by further deposits.

A great deal of borrowed money — R32-million — was pumped into the Chieftain Aircraft Company and taken out of the country under the pretence that aircraft would be bought with the money.

While aircraft were bought they were not always paid for and $22-million did not reach the suppliers. $20-million of that amount overseas was brought back through the financial Rand and Mr Vermaas sold some of his own assets to himself at artificial prices.

The commission found it was not necessary to sum up the prima facie contraventions of the law as a prosecution against Mr Vermaas was pending.

"ALI BABA"

The commission refers to what it describes as the "Ali Baba syndrome": Mr Vermaas and Ali Baba had one thing in common — "with a magic word, solid doors swung open and they could put their hands on enormous treasures".

There was no proof that any person who received a favour from Mr Vermaas had been corrupted by this.

There was also not sufficient indication that his favours had a corruption intention but this could not be ruled out completely. It was however doubtful whether this could be proved in a criminal case.

Referring to Mr Vermaas's relationship with Armscor, the commission said it was satisfied that "this link was an innocent one from Armscor's point of view".

Dealing with the agents of Dr Berg and Mr Vermaas, the commission recommened that the Attorney-General should ascertain whether the agents were co-conspirators in an illegal banking business.

On the issue of the Vermaas auditors, Grievson and Figg, the commission thought they knew more about Mr Vermaas's foreign activities than they had pretended to know.

NOT INNOCENT

The commission did not believe their "innocent" participation.

● Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said today the government had taken note of the main Harms Commission report.

In a statement he said "certain criminal charges have been prefered and other steps have already been taken by numerous functionaries and interested parties in connection with the personalities and companies which are referred to in the report".

"Especially criminal cases are pending in this regard.

"Since other issues referred to in the main report fall under the jurisdiction of various Ministers and departments, those matters will now be dealt with by such functionaries."

Judge slams ex-Minister

(Contd from page 1)

"It amounts to a serious distortion of the true facts and it would be alarming if such an approach were common among Ministers. I cannot accept this."

In his view "it was inconceivable that a Minister of the State who acts correctly and with integrity should bring to the notice of an offical of his former department an application in which an employee of his son to his knowledge had an interest in and which eminated from his son's office, with a false representation that the applicant was a constituent of his."

He could not find that Mr du Plessis sen had sight of the financial statement accompanying the application, Mr du Plessis's partner, Mr T J van Schalkwyk, but this remained a possiblity.

Dealing with the issue of the building rented to the Department of Public Workls, the judge said: "I am constrained to find that there are reasonable grounds that Mr du Plessis jun indirectly received an improper advantage as a result of his relationship with Mr du Plessis sen.

"I am of the view that there are reasonable grounds to believe that Mr du Plessis sen, as an employee of the State, by his failure to act and denounce or prohibit this contract allowed his son to receive an indirect improper advantage in connection with the affairs of the State as a result of that omission."

Having found that Mr du Plessis sen had acted improperly as a Minister in connection with affairs of State in which his son was involved and his son "received an improper advantage" this indicated unethical conduct on the part of Mr du Plessis as Minister and as MP.

'Day of destiny' as DP enters political fray

D/C Marcus 8/4/88 (304A

From TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The new Democratic Party was established today at an enthusiastic founding congress attended by some 1 500 people.

The capacity audience at the Johannesburg College of Education clapped and chanted "DP, DP" as the party logo was unveiled and its song — *Getting there together* — sounded out.

There was more wild cheering when joint leaders Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan took the stage.

At congresses yesterday, the Progressive Federal Party, the Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement disbanded to join in founding the new party.

And the rousing reception for all speakers today was a demonstration of unity and enthusiasm which went some way to bury the dissent and misgivings of the weeks preceding the founding congress.

"Day of destiny"

The three leaders described the occasion as "a day of destiny"; the DP setting out "to lay the foundation for a new nation".

A nation of 37 million South Africans united by common goals, not divided by racist laws, was the DP vision, said Dr de Beer.

While the new party came into being as an opposition party, it had every intention of gaining power, he said.

And while it was presently mainly a white party, it was committed to creating a base that would cross all boundaries of colour, culture and language.

Dr de Beer said the DP would support any step the government took towards democracy and universal dignity, but anything that was done to further its own sectional interests and divide people would be fought relentlessly.

Demokratiese Party
Democratic Party

The Democratic Party logo is a bright yellow sun partly encircled by a turquoise disc with "DP" in white letters.

"Let it be known to all, the DP fights corruption and does not regard corruption as confined to financial matters. To discriminate against any citizen is corruption. Racism is corruption of the most heinous kind.

"Law cannot be established by denying people's freedoms and order cannot be built on a foundation of tyranny. The foundation of both law and order is justice."

The DP welcomed the Bill of Rights recently published by the Law Commission and challenged the government to implement it.

Dr de Beer said the DP shared some important long-term goals with the African National Congress and its associates but he urged the ANC to end its campaign of symbolic terror.

He stressed the DP's opposition to sanctions and challenged the ANC, the United Democratic Front and others to reconsider their stand.

Dr Worrall said the party had a clear message: it stood for a non-racial or apartheid-free democratic and free-enterprise South Africa.

It was committed to negotiating the political future of the country on an open-ended basis with all major movements, inside and outside the parliamentary system.

The party also believed in the relevance of white South Africa.

Mr Malan said many South Africans were still afraid of those who advocated change. They should rather be afraid of those who promised that nothing would change. Change could not be stopped.

One of the main challenges was to draw in parties that represented the black community, he said.

The DP would develop links with all other political organisations whether they shared its aims or not. It would try to scout a pathway to the future.

Standing ovation

Mr Jannie Momberg, who chaired the first part of the congress, welcomed representatives of the Labour Party, the Natal-Kwazulu Indaba and the Five Freedoms Forum, Sapa reports.

Delegates were in high spirits and gave a long standing ovation to Mrs Helen Suzman, who Mr Momberg described as the greatest lady in South African politics.

Also addressing the congress was Dr Willem de Klerk. He said the DP believed parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics should not be separated and hoped to create a forum for negotiation as soon as possible.

● Kwazulu leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi released a statement today welcoming the new party but urging it to concentrate its efforts in the forum of white politics.

Reimburse Group Areas losers, says Labour MP

PARLIAMENT — The Government should reimburse all those who had suffered financially from Group Areas Act expropriations, Mr Willie Dietrich (Labo)ur Party, Bethelsdorp) said yesterday.

Speaking during the First Reading debate on the Budget, Mr Dietrich said this would be a valuable contribution to improving human relations in South Africa, as well as its world image.

Even today, the misery and exploitation under the Act were continuing.

In Fairview, Port Elizabeth, land which was not yet in white hands was being expropriated, Mr Dietrich said.

Mr John Malcomess (Progressive Federal Party, Port Elizabeth Central) asked that the Government urgently investigate all property deals in Port Elizabeth involving general affairs and the own affairs administrations. — Sapa.

Opponents shed no tears for PFP

w/e ARGUS 8/4/89

30/4

Most agree on its importance

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

POLITICAL opponents of the Progressive Federal Party are shedding no tears over its demise — but most of them acknowledge the party played an important role in South African politics over the years.

In the National Party, significant differences of opinion on the PFP's role have come to the fore, ranging from outright condemnation of PFP policies as "dangerous" to the belief that the PFP helped to pioneer the reform process.

The Conservative Party, on the other hand, seems to be unanimous in writing off the PFP — and the new Democratic Party — as unwanted "negative" forces in South African politics.

Meanwhile the last remaining MP of the New Republic Party which no longer functions as a party, Mr Ralph Hardingham, is among those who recognise the PFP's contribution to reform initiatives. But he sees as a factor in its decline the image created of the PFP as being "soft on security".

The official National Party viewpoint, as reflected by its chief information director Mr Con Botha is that PFP policies were a threat to the "continued existence of the whites."

On the left

In an interview this week Mr Botha, MP for Umlazi, put the NP viewpoint like this: "The PFP, since it was founded 30 years ago (as the Progressive Party), played an important role in South African politics because it represented the opinion of white voters on the left of the political spectrum and gave them a political home.

"And yet, to the majority of voters, it presented a clear picture of the dangers to the continued existence of whites that were inherent in its policy directions. If this is continued in the new Democratic Party, its role will be the same as that of the PFP."

Mr Botha said a question widely asked was whether the PFP's successors would follow a "more centrist direction" or whether it would, under the leadership of people like Mr Wynand Malan (of the National Democratic Movement), move "further away from the political viewpoint of white voters and be driven more and more into the arms of the extra-parliamentary opposition."

Asked whether he regarded the demise of the PFP as a loss or a gain, Mr Botha said he did not think the formation of the new party would make any difference.

Change of name

"It is merely a change of name but still the same old crowd. Therefore I do not believe it will be a loss or a gain in politics."

A National Party MP, who asked that his name should not be disclosed, gave a somewhat different shade of opinion on the PFP. He said in his view — which was unofficial — there was no doubt that the PFP had been a "pioneer of reform" and many of its ideas had, in fact, been adopted by the NP government.

In this respect the PFP ought to be given more credit by all parties, including the NP and the government. However, the failure of the PFP to make significant headway at the polls was partly due to its inability to offer a message that appealed to more white voters outside the traditional opposition groupings.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said it was clear that the PFP never had real political viability among the white people.

"You cannot conduct politics if you do not link up with the deep-rooted desires and striving of a people and a community for freedom and self-determination. In this regard the PFP actually played a negative role. From an Afrikaner and a patriotic English-speaking standpoint this was a mistake and a defect."

Mouthpiece

On the other hand, the PFP had tried to act as a mouthpiece for non-whites — "but it was weighed and was found too light. It was an unacceptable political medium."

Dr Treurnicht said it was "pathetic" that the PFP should have reached a stage where it had to dissolve itself. In doing so it had admitted that it did not have a case of its own.

"I am not sorry about the passing of the PFP. I offer no wreath. If it had made any progress it would have been a danger sign for us."

Mr Ralph Hardingham, MP for Mooi River, said: "It is always a traumatic moment for any political party to sign its own death warrant. I must admit that the PFP did contribute to the reform initiatives and I think its biggest mistake was the fact that it opposed the change in the constitution which brought about the tricameral system.

"While I accept that this system is inadequate in that it does not make provision for the inclusion of the black community, it cannot be denied that the 1984 constitution showed the way to constitutional reform in this country.

"There can be no doubt that one of the factors that led to the declining support of the PFP was irresponsible statements by some of its members which enabled its opponents to brand them as 'soft on security'. This was the price that was paid in the last election by both the NRP and the PFP as a result of their 1987 election agreement."

Mr Hardingham said he was reluctant to comment on the future prospects of the Democratic Parfty, about to be formed, until such time as its policy and philosophy were "laid fairly and squarely on the table."

"No political party will be able to attract the support of white voters in this country if it bases its philosophy on 'airy-fairy' ideologies."

Mr Albert Nothnagel, National Party MP for Innesdal, said he believed the PFP, with its particular power base, had played an important role in South African politics.

However, it had been harmed by its own liberal image and by the fact that it was traditionally seen as a political party outside the Afrikaner environment.

Mr Nothnagel said he doubted whether the new Democratic Party could become a stronger political movement than the PFP had been. In recent years the PFP had lost many English-speaking voters to the NP.

A big dilemma for the PFP had been the fact that the Conservative Party became the official opposition in the House of Assembly.

He believed many PFP supporters would rather vote for the NP than contribute to the strengthening of the CP.

It was "regrettable" that the CP had become the official opposition, but this also had certain advantages.

"I believe the opposition on the left will have a hard time in the coming general election. Their dilemma will become bigger as the NP progresses with its reform policy," Mr Nothnagel said.

Acrimony absent as PFP dissolves

THE Progressive Federal Party dissolved itself yesterday and decided unanimously to merge with the Independent Party and the National Democratic Party to form the Democratic Party — which will be launched today.

Despite expectations of a stormy ending, the last congress of the PFP held in Johannesburg yesterday made the historic decision to dissolve after a brief and nostalgic but largely uneventful debate.

A crowd of about 500 attended the dissolving congress at the Johannesburg College of Education.

It was a nostalgic affair as old stalwarts reminisced about the early days after the orginal Progressive Party was founded in 1959. The emotional high-point was a five-minute standing ovation for Mrs Helen Suzman, the MP for Houghton who for 15 years was the only "Prog" in Parliament.

The party buried the differences that have beset the merger into the Democratic Party and put on a united front. PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the dissolution of the PFP was an end and a beginning.

"Some of us have been involved in the

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

same process of fighting for the dignity of the individual for many years. We have done that in whatever party we belonged to and we will continue to do it in the Democratic Party," he said. "I ask you to see today as a very important milepost."

Mr Colin Eglin, the previous party leader and present national chairman, said the "task was to bring down the curtain on a worthy era but to do it in such a way that we are more effective than in the past.

"This is a new opportunity to play a role in South Africa politics. One thing that will not be new in the new party is the principles of the old PP, PRP and PFP.

"The simple concept of the freedom and dignity of the individual under the rule of law will not die in the DP."

Mr Harry Schwarz, MP for Yeoville, said: "At a time when there were people who did not stand up to be counted, we were prepared to stand up and speak. We will be remembered in history."

After serious rumblings in the run-up to the merger, there was no open dissension at the congress and all problems were smoothly ironed out. The leadership issue, which was expected to cause problems, was resolved without acrimony.

A motion by Mr Tony Leon, PFP leader in the Johannesburg city council, that the DP should elect a single leader well before the coming general election, was carried — but not as a precondition to the merger.

Dr de Beer said he recognised there were matters which were causing concern about the merger.

The first was that the DP would be led by a triumvirate leadership at the start. This was being done to break a deadlock over who should be leader.

He had never believed that it should be a permanent arrangement.

"I want you to know that, provided you want me, I am extremely keen to be leader of the DP and will run for that office," he said. "But I will also serve loyally under anyone else who is chosen for that office."

The vagueness and incompleteness of the DP draft policy documents were also a problem, he said, but it had been agreed by all three parties that where there were omissions in policy they would be filled in by the official policies of the PFP, NDM and IP, duly adopted by their congresses.

A resolution to this effect by Mr Harry Schwarz was passed unanimously.

We must talk to ANC – Malan

ESMARE VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

THE National Democratic Movement's political idealism and focus on negotiation had made a vast impact on South African politics and would be an integral feature of the new Democratic Party, NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

Addressing the disbanding congress of the NDM in Randburg, he highlighted the party's achievements in its short existence of 1½ years.

The NDM, Independent Party and Progressive Federal Party are to merge tomorrow to form the Democratic Party (DP).

Referring to Namibia, Mr Malan said one of the reasons for the current tension there was that the internal parties had mobilised against Swapo and never established communications with it.

A lesson for South Africa was: We should not make the same mistake by organising against the "common enemy" — the bogy of the African National Congress.

He stressed the importance of including the ANC in negotiations.

State won't call Jani Allan in Terre'Blanche hearing

by KATY MACDONALD
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—THE State prosecutor in the trial of AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche will not be calling Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan to the witness stand.

He announced this in court this week shortly before the trial was postponed until May 8.

Ms Allan is a key witness to Mr Terre'Blanche's trial as she was with him on the night of December 27 last year when he allegedly drove his car into the gates of the Paaredekraal Monument and swore at two policemen investigating the incident.

Mr Zas van Zyl said he could not comment on his reasons for dropping Ms Allan as a witness after sending her a subpoena to attend court on the first day of the AWB leader's trial.

Mr van Zyl, who also made available to the defence four other witnesses, including Mr Terre'Blanche's gardener, Mr Mischak Tawane, said he did not know whether the defence would call Ms Allan to testify. He conceded that if the defence did not call her, there was "a real possibility" the magistrate himself would do so.

A legal source said it was probable Mr van Zyl had decided not to call Ms Allan as she would be more useful as a witness he could cross-examine.

The trial has been set down for three days, from May 8 to 10. The State is expected to complete its case on May 8.



Eugene Terre'Blanche



Jani Allan

The court setting is far from glamorous. The stocky, grey-bearded Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging leader sat on a hard wooden bench in a small courtroom with a scratched parquet floor and brick walls.

Proceedings were heard to the buzz of faulty fluorescent lighting. His lawyers were dressed unceremoniously in everyday suits, and sat on wooden chairs reminiscent of a drab schoolroom.

But the road outside the court building was patrolled by a water cannon lorry before the trial started, the press attended in their hordes, the public gallery was packed to overflowing and a heavy police presence was glaringly visible.

No one was really concerned about the bent and rusty gates which seemed half to fill the court as they rested upside down against the dock.

What everyone had really come to see was ET on trial and Jani Allan in the witness box. To hear about the AWB leader's connection with this glamorous journalist from a "bliksemse" English newspaper. To see if the leader winced when his dealings with her in the dark on the ground of the Paardekraal Monument were spelt out in court.

The drabness of the setting could not suppress the drama of the situation. Aware she was giving evidence against a powerful political figure, Miss Wanda Kearney, a young witness for the State, fled the court building and ran down the road in tears when told by Mr Terre'Blanche's aggressive advocate Johan Rousseau her evidence contradicted that of her father.

Retrieved by her mother and a plainclothes policewoman, she returned redeyed to the witness stand to ask chokingly that her evidence be withdrawn.

Magistrate Mr S W van Niekerk told her sternly this was impossible, and the relentless cross-examination continued, reducing Miss Kearney to tears again.

The same day, a meeting between blacks and white right-wingers nearly exploded into confrontation after blacks filled every available space in the public gallery during a tea break.

Tension mounted as the AWB, realising they had been displaced, glared at the seated blacks. An anxious-faced policeman announced the court must be cleared to look for explosives. The blacks were ushered quickly out of the court and two sniffer dogs brought in.

Eventually the courtroom was pronounced safe, and its doors opened. Most AWB members managed to enter through the front door and regain their places before the blacks standing by the back door were allowed in.

As the blacks entered the court, Mr Terre'Blanche stood up, turned to face them and watched, unsmiling, as they sat down in the one row left free by whites. When court resumed after lunch, there was not a black face to be seen.

This was probably the largest black audience Mr Terre'Blanche had ever drawn.

Obviously cramped and restless, Mr Terre'Blanche constantly shifted position in the dock. However, his piercing blue-eyed gaze did not move from the State witnesses giving evidence against him.

His lawyer, Mr Johan Rousseau, who was advised by two attorneys, sat in front of his client, not more than two metres away. A tall man with smoothed-down white hair, gold watch and large gold ring, he appeared (was it merely coincidence?) on the first and third day of the trial in red tie, white shirt and black suit — the colours of the AWB.

Decks cleared for DP

From Page 1

the moment of its formal birth today.

The PFP congress was preceded by reports of discontent in the PFP ranks at the merger. They were said to focus on exclusion of the word "Progressive" from the name of the new party — it has been associated with the PFP in its various forms for nearly 30 years — and on suspicions that the PFP was being hijacked by smaller parties.

But the reported discontent failed to manifest itself yesterday. The resolution that the PFP merge with the NDP and the IP was carried unanimously.

The resolution was, however, linked with an amendment proposed by a PFP stalwart, Mr Harry Schwarz, insisting that PFP policy be referred to where there were omissions or ambiguities in present DP policy.

At a much smaller final NDM congress, a similar resolution in favour of the merger was accepted without dissent. Another resolution urged that NDM policy be used as a guide where present DP policy — which has been sketched in broad detail by a steering committee — was incomplete.

In his final address to the NDM, which is less than two years old, Mr Wynand Malan referred briefly to the war on Namibia's northern border

The tragedy there was that Namibia's internal parties had co-operated on a basis of forming an alliance against Mr Sam Nujomà's Swapo; the lesson for South Africa was not to organise against the ANC as though it were a common enemy.

"We must work together on an inclusive basis," Mr Malan told about 100 delegates.

The IP, founded barely more than a year ago, agreed to the merger, although there was some concern that the IP's commitment to a federal system was not expressed strongly enough in the DP draft constitution.

Its unequivocal commitment to universal adult suffrage, coupled with its relatively large support basis in the dominant white community, gives it a unique position in the annals of white political parties.

SEE PAGE 6.

Accent on groups' difference should never have been tolerated

SOMEONE in the public relations department of the new Democratic Party ought to have his backside kicked. He simply didn't do his job.

Instead of portraying the image of a serious attempt to move the political debate in South Africa to the left and towards democracy, the DP has successfully managed to show us how much LIKE-MINDED people can threaten and fight among themselves.

On the eve of its launch, the party went out and shot itself in the foot by allowing about every second party official to make public statements about their disgruntlement with the new venture — and in the process project an image of infighting, backbiting and pettiness.

It is, of course, to be expected that a new political party could hardly become a reality without differences and strife, especially in the case where three different existing parties are risking their necks in order to capture the growing numbers to the left of the National Party.

But the way in which the differences between the former Progressive Federal Party of Dr Zach de Beer, the Independent Party of Dr Denis Worrall, the National Democratic Movement of Mr Wynand Malan and Professor Willem de Klerk's so-called Fourth Force have actually been accentuated during the past few weeks should never have been tolerated.

Already it has tarnished the image of the new party — as being the same old bunch of differing opinions under a new label. It is a poor reflection on the hopeful lyrics of the new party's Info-type theme song which paints an optimistic picture of brotherhood and meeting the future in togetherness.

Above all, it has fed the war machinery of other political parties and given sceptics and would-be supporters more food for doubt — something a fledgling party facing the hard task of convincing potential supporters to join it could ill afford.

What gave rise to this unpalatable situation?

It seems to be a case where the party leaders have found one another around many of the differences that have been named in the past few weeks, but that the consensus reached between them has not filtered through to grass roots level within the different parties.

Issues such as Mr Malan's close ties with the ANC, the leadership question as well as the Malan camp's semi-socialist approach to an economic policy were ironed out among the four leaders a long time ago.

Says Professor de Klerk, who is still maintaining a low profile in the new party and has not been included in the leadership troika: "In terms of the big principles, there is absolutely no difference between the four groupings in the DP. The same applies to broader policy. But there might have remained some differences in accent, for example, with regards to the End Conscription Campaign, but these differences are becoming less and ought to be straightened out within the next few months."

Mr Harald Pakendorf, former member of the NDM leadership committee, confirms that differences on issues such as participation in the coloured and Indian Houses of Parliament and talks to the ANC were ironed out on the very first day the leaders met at Mr Louis

By KARIN BRYNARD, political writer for *Insig* magazine

Luyt's house last year. Among the leadership and the ordinary supporters of the four groups, the accent is on solving the differences and not dwelling upon them.

In that sense, the launching congress today is merely a rubber stamp of what has already been decided upon and ironed out by the four leaders.

It seems therefore that the message of the consensus reached then has not been passed on properly beyond leadership level. That could also be the reason why queries and difficulties raised so far have mostly come from party officials and caucus members, and not the leaders themselves.

On economy and the ANC, for instance, people like the PFP's Mr Harry Schwarz have raised their voices. And on full participation in the three-tiered Parliament, voices such as Mr Pat Poovelingam's (PFP member in the House of Delegates) have been heard.

On face value, it may seem that Dr de Beer didn't keep his caucus well enough informed and that senior members might have felt a little bit left in the dark, which explains their fears of their party being swallowed up by the smaller ones.

At first glance, it does look as though the PFP was short circuited by the other three. Even though it had more seats in Parliament and much more money than the others, it stands on equal footing with the IP and NDM in the leadership troika and in the national council (executive management of the new party), the two most important positions in the new party. In the national council, for instance, each of the four groups has an equal number (four) of representatives.

But consider the latest *Rapport* opinion poll and it becomes clear that the PFP has been steadily losing support among its English-speaking supporters (it never had much Afrikaner support).

Although voter support for political parties left of the NP had grown from 15,6 percent to 22,5 percent in the past two years, the PFP's support had actually shrunk (along with its number of seats in Parliament and its position as official Opposition). In the two months between November last year and January this year, its support had fallen from 10 percent to 8,7 percent. In the same period, the support of the IP as well as the NDM has grown. The IP alone had 10,2 percent of voter support in January.

As far as the PFP's infrastructure is concerned, it is well known that is has not been the best over the past few years. Its organisational machinery is in bad shape. With this in mind, the PFP did not have that much to offer, as was claimed.

To survive, it did need Afrikaner support and therefore needed the other parties. The growth to the left of the NP has been among Afrikaners and they apparently didn't join the PFP (together the IP and NDM enjoy almost 14 percent support as against the 8,7 percent of the PFP).

To win sufficient Afrikaner support, the DP will have to work on its image. Both Dr Worrall and Mr Malan experienced the negative effects on voter support of their split after the 1987 elections. Apart from keeping existing support, it will be hard to win over new support on an image of infighting and disharmony, of being slack on discipline, on having weak leadership.

In line with its broad vision of life beyond apartheid, namely a non-racial democracy based on a system of one man one vote in a territorial federation with proportional representation, the party strives to be an agent to bring people and factions together. It wants to create a forum for negotiation which establishes alliances within both system and struggle politics.

But in order to do this, it is essential to have an image that wary and doubtful groups and individuals could trust.

Thus far the response from outside has not been overwhelmingly favourable.

And then there is the so called "F W factor" — a considerable number of impatient NP voters, who were ready to leave the party, are now again filled with hope of something yet to come from the NP under new leadership. There are calculations that as much as 15 percent of the 22 percent in the NP who were on the point of leaving the party now may stay on.

If the DP could solve the doubts and scepticism created by its image, its prospects at the polls later this year seem much brighter.

SA on the verge of a new era, says De Klerk

304/15

5FW 8/4/84

TIM COHEN

HOURS after the announcement in Parliament that an election would be held later this year, the National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, said he believed South Africa needed to design a new constitution.

Speaking at the Rand Show on Thursday night, Mr de Klerk refused to comment directly on President Botha's decision to retire or on the impending election.

However, he announced that that South Africa stood at the dawn of a new chapter in its history — a time when South Africans needed to build new understanding and develop a new spirit of co-operation.

"We undoubtedly need the courage of pioneers who established and developed this land and who were not afraid of the unknown," he said.

Speaking at a function to mark the transfer of the National Sport and Recreation Centre (Nasrec) to new owners, Mr de Klerk announced a plan to create an ambitious national sport, recreation and exhibitions project.

It was important the event was taking place on Founders' Day, he said. "May this venture symbolise the spirit and courage of a new South Africa."

When it is complete the development will include the National Exhibition Centre, Shareworld, Bob Stadium at Soccer City and multi-sport facility that will meet international standards.

As far back as 1978 the then Minister of Sport and Recreation, Dr Gerrit Viljoen had appointed a committee to advise him on the suitability of a site for the erection of sport and recreation facilities of international standard, Mr de Klerk said.

"By purchasing the site in 1981, the Government had given effect to the need and the desire to establish a facility where the people or our country could meet and participate in the various forms of sport and recreation."



FW DE KLERK . . . calling for a new spirit.

De Beer seeks leadership of Democratic Party

THE scene was set yesterday for the emergence today of the Democratic Party (DP) as a potentially powerful force committed to liberal ideas when three existing political parties dissolved without major dispute from their own ranks.

The three parties which agreed to disband and merge into the DP, the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party, did so at separate congresses in Johannesburg.

The pending general election, due between late July and early September, added an element of urgency to their plans to amalgamate.

Delegates to the PFP special congress gave notice, however, that they would push for an earlier end to the DP interim troika leadership arrangement.

The DP will emerge as a political force with three leaders: Dr Zach de Beer, outgoing PFP leader, Mr Wynand Malan, who headed the NDM, and Dr Denis Worrall, who founded the IP.

PATRICK LAURENCE

In one of its last actions, the PFP federal congress declared that the "best interests of the DP will be served by fighting the forthcoming general election under the leadership of a single leader, supported by a coherent and relevant election manifesto".

It strongly urged the National Board of the DP — its highest policy-making body — to convene a full national congress within six weeks of the announcement of the date of the election, or, if it comes first, before nomination day, for the express purpose of:

- Electing one national leader.
- Finalising an election manifesto.

The resolution was proposed by Mr Tony Leon, one of the toughminded newer generation of PFP leaders. It was carried overwhelmingly.

Earlier, Dr de Beer declared to cheers from the delegates: "Provided you and your friends want me, I am extremely keen to be leader of the DP and I shall run for that office."

Read together, Mr Leon's resolution and Dr de Beer's statement meant that the elevation of Dr de Beer to supreme leader would be on the agenda of the DP from

● To Page 2

Pretoria is ours — Vlok

OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE National Party has vowed to stay in control of Pretoria.

The chairman of the NP's Pretoria Regional Committee, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said yesterday: "Our aim with the general election is to keep Pretoria National."

DP 'will be official opposition'

THE Independent Party (IP) transferred to the Democratic Party a sense of confidence and optimism based on it's extraordinary success achieved in the one year of it's existence, IP leader Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

The IP's disbanding congress was held in Rosebank yesterday — a day day before the formation of the DP.

Dr Worrall and IP co-leaders, Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr David Gant, highlighted the success of the DP.

Dr Worrall predicted that the DP would become the official opposition in the House of Assembly at the next election and that it would be part of the Government in five years' time.

Ex-officer in women's army on executive

30403
Star 8/4/89

THE former commanding officer of the SADF women's college at George has been elected to the executive of the new Democratic Party, which will be launched today.

She is Mrs Hilda Burnett, who was elected one of the four representatives of the so-called fourth force.

The Progressive Federal Party has elected national chairman Mr Colin Eglin, Yeoville MP Mr Harry Schwarz, PFP Johannesburg council leader Mr Tony Leon and Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe as its representatives.

PETER FABRICIUS

The four leaders were chosen at the dissolving federal congress of the PFP at the Johannesburg College of Education yesterday.

The congress also elected four members to be representatives of the so-called "fourth force" on the chief executive body, which is to be known as the National Board.

Apart from Mrs Burnett, they are Professor Marinus Weichers of the department of constitutional law at Unisa; Dr Louis Luyt, chairman of the Transvaal Rugby board and Professor Sampie Terre blanche of the economics department at the University of Stellenbosch.

The National Board will also consist of the three co-leaders of the DP — the PFP's Dr Zach de Beer, the Independent Party's Dr Denis Worrall and the National Democratic Movement's Mr Wynand Malan.

Mixed views over PW's post-election retirement

PRESIDENT Botha's announcement this week that he would retire after a general election later this year, drew mixed reaction from opposition politicians.

Most said Mr Botha had lost the fight with the National Party (NP) and that the election had been timed to solve the leadership crisis in the NP and to go to the polls before the independence elections in Namibia.

Within the NP there was some disappointment that Mr Botha had indicated he would only retire after the elections.

This would mean the party would have go to the polls without giving the electorate certainty about who the next State President would be.

PETER FABRICIUS

However, Labour Party leader, the Rev Alan Hendrickse, "warmly welcomed" the news.

He said it had cleared the air concerning the position of the State President and had given the NP the chance to prove the sincerity of its claims that it wanted to move away from apartheid.

It also gave the LP a "welcome advantage to capitalise on its political gains over the last five years".

Both the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party strongly criticised the fact that no redelimitation of constituencies would take place before an election.

PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer said the NP had shown "contempt of the public interest in order to solve a party problem".

"I think the nation should take note of the fact that the election is going ahead with no delimitation."

This would allow the situation to continue where some constituencies had up to 40 000 voters and others fewer than 10 000.

In some constituencies more than half the voters had moved out and it was difficult to contact them.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said it was clear that Mr Botha had "lost all the rounds" against the NP and had had to step down.

Cnet Texts 8/4/89 3044



Dr Zach de Beer



Mr Tony Leon

DP should have one leader for election, says PFP

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PFP yesterday backed a resolution calling for the Democratic Party to fight the general election under a single leader.

While endorsing a resolution paving the way for the appointment of Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan at today's founding congress, the party's final congress made it clear that this state of affairs should not be allowed to continue for much longer.

And PFP leader Dr De Beer said to applause that, despite certain "mischievous" remarks by Nationalist ministers, he was "extremely keen" to be the new party's leader.

Shortly afterwards, the congress approved by a significant majority a motion by the party's federal council that "the best interests of the DP will be served

I'm extremely keen for the job, De Beer tells congress

by fighting the forthcoming general election under the leadership of a single leader, supported by a coherent and relevant election manifesto".

The motion went on to "strongly urge" the National Board of the DP to convene a fully representative national congress within six weeks of the first announcement of an election date to elect a new leader and finalise an election manifesto.

In motivating the motion, Mr Tony Leon told delegates that a single leader was necessary to spearhead the DP "to success and victory" in an election.

"We need one leader," he said to applause.

He said delegates wanted the new party to fly and "a bird cannot fly with three heads in the longer term".

However, another delegate appealed for the motion to be withdrawn as it might rouse sensitivities on the eve of the formation of the new party.

However, Dr De Beer said he felt the congress should be allowed to vote on the matter, stressing that the question of a single leader and who that leader should be were separate issues

He said: "I am keen to be elected DP leader, but not because I have been the leader of the PFP."

Dr De Beer urged delegates to avoid "clique forming" once the new party was established and to rather "go for a spirit of unity".

He then added: "I cannot think of a particular reason why a bird with three heads that is alive and well cannot fly."

Worrall on DP's 'clear position'

Own Correspondent

THE new Democratic Party, to be formed today, will have to adopt clear positions on different issues, Dr Denis Worrall, leader of the Independent Party, said at the IP's dissolution congress in Rosebank yesterday.

"The profile of a political party, how it is viewed by the voters, is not determined by detailed policies written in fine words. It is rather the position it adopts."

Dr Worrall said that according to the latest Rapport poll, the IP, formed just over a year ago, had 10,3% of white voter support. Of the other components of the DP, the Progressive Federal Party had 8,3% and the National Democratic Movement 3,5%.

He ascribed the IP's success to several factors.

● "First, we have a clear message. A successful political party has sharp cutting edges. People must know where they stand in relation to it. This is precisely the problem with the NP. It has lost its sense of purpose, its sense of direction and its sense of mission."

● The IP also stood for a non-racial, democratic and free-market South Africa.

"This is the vision which we got across — and it clearly is a vision which is shared by many South Africans. Our commitment to a private enterprise system has enjoyed particular support."

He said the country's concern should be the generation of jobs, something that an economy that was private, free and as little regulated as possible, did best.

● The IP also got across "certain very clear positions".

"Nobody could doubt where the IP stood on things like sanctions, the use of violence in politics, private enterprise and the need to generate jobs, discrimination and racial injustice and crucial matters like the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary and NP government restrictions on the press."

Dr Worrall gave the assurance that "these positions will be taken into the DP".

Furthermore, he said, the party believed that white South Africans could, over the next five years, ensure that the inevitable apartheid-free society was "a democracy and prosperous (and therefore free enterprise)".

"We are committed to negotiating the political future of this country. And that means negotiating it on an open-ended basis with all major organisations — inside and outside of the system. But, make no mistake, nobody will determine our agenda."

Sammie Ex-SADF

serve balances, liquid ...

Advocate-General condemns ex-MP

Cape Times 8/4/89 3044

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE former Minister of Manpower, Mr Pietie du Plessis, has been roundly condemned by the Advocate-General, Mr Justice P J van der Walt, for allowing his son to receive indirect advantage from the state and making serious misrepresentations to the government.

Mr Du Plessis's son, Johan, made a cool R6,5 million profit on the sale of a Pretoria building which he bought for R2,1 million, renovated for R2,1 million and then leased to the government despite the fact that Sanlam had been unable to conclude a lease for the state for the same building.



Mr Pietie du Plessis

Mr Justice Van der Walt, whose report on the business dealings of the Du Plessis family was tabled in Parliament yesterday, said Mr Pietie du Plessis was guilty of making serious misrepresentations in trying to obtain improper advantage for Quinto Diamante, a company which tried to obtain a diamond lease in the Port Nolloth area.

The role of Mr Du Plessis, at the time the former Minister of Mineral Affairs and Energy but then the Minister of Manpower and Public Works, in requesting that Quinto Diamante's application should be expedited or should receive attention "is extremely suspect and amounts to a reprehensible suppression of the true facts".

Quinto Diamante's only shareholder and director was Mr Theuns van Schalkwyk, an unrehabilitated insolvent, who was employed by Mr Johan du Plessis and who assisted Mr Pietie Du Plessis in his campaign in the last election.

The company was registered at Mr Johan du Plessis's business address, but although Mr Pietie du Plessis knew these facts, he did not reveal them in his representations on Quinto Diamante's behalf to the Department of Mineral Affairs and Energy.

Mr Justice Van der Walt said Mr Pietie du Plessis's explanation amounted to a serious distortion of the true facts and it would be alarming if such an approach were common among ministers.

His actions as a minister and as an MP indicated "unethical conduct".

However, the Advocate-General made no recommendations on steps to be taken against Mr Du Plessis senior but pointed out that he had anticipated the findings of the Advocate-General's investigation by resigning as a minister and as an MP.

In a statement yesterday, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said it was apparent from the report that Mr Pietie du Plessis "has not rendered himself guilty of any criminal offence".

Mr Du Plessis dismissed the report and questioned the findings regarding him.

determine



Dr Louis Luyt

Ex-SADF college head to serve on DP body



Prof Terreblanche

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The former head of the SADF training college for women in George, Mrs Hilda Burnett, is to serve on the Democratic Party's chief executive body, the National Board.

Mrs Burnett was one of four joint nominees of the PFP, IP and NDM to the 21-member board.

The other joint nominees are: Professor Sampie Terreblanche of the Department of Economics at Stellenbosch University, Professor Marinus Wiechers of the Department of Constitutional Law at Unisa, and Transvaal rugby boss Dr Louis Luyt.

The board also includes the three co-leaders of the DP, four members elected by each of the three parties and two MPs to be elected by the parliamentary caucus of the new party.

The four PFP members elected by the party's federal congress are Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Tony Leon, Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Tiaan van der Merwe.

The NDM nominated former Nasionale Pers executive Mr "Lang" Dawid de Villiers, Dr Esther Lategan, Durban Central MP Mr Peter Gastrow and Greytown MP Mr Pierre Cronje.

The IP's representatives will be co-chairman Mr Jannie Momberg, co-chairman Mr Dave Gant, former King William's Town MP Mr Pat Rogers and ex-NRP leading member Professor Dan Kriek.

Does PW still have some cards to play?

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha is keeping Parliament guessing about plans for his last months in office.

That he will retire after a general election later this year was implicit in his speech to Parliament this week. But the question left unanswered in the cat-and-mouse game over how power will be shared between the President and the National Party leader is whether he will play an active part in public life.

Mr Botha gave in to the party's demand for an election as soon as was feasible this year — and gave Parliament a clear signal that he acknowledged an election meant the end of his term in the country's highest office.

This is because Mr Botha accepts, as does everyone else in the party, that he will not be the candidate when a new State President is elected by law after the election.

Subdued

But still left open is what Mr Botha has in mind for the months leading up to the election — which politicians expect any time between July and September.

Parliamentarians noted Mr Botha's uncharacteristic subdued manner when he announced his concession on the matter of an election.

Many took this as an indication of his having bowed to the will of the party. Some predicted relatively smooth sailing ahead for the President and the party leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

But others, particularly those who know Mr Botha well as a doughty political fighter, find it hard to believe he will go quietly.

They say potentially controversial issues lie ahead.

It is unlikely, if the election is as late as September, that the country will be left without a Minister of Manpower and of Public Works and Land Affairs until after the polls. The post was vacated with the resignation of Mr Pietie du Plessis.

Those in the know say it is unlikely he will go quietly

The question will arise: Whose man will be put in the job, Mr Botha's or Mr De Klerk's?

Mr Botha may also want to leave office with a landmark deed in the reform policy he introduced.

This could only be the creation of a national Indaba — which would necessitate the release of Mr Nelson Mandela.

However, Mr De Klerk is certain to want to retain such momentous initiatives for his term of office.

The State President's Vote, due in Parliament in about a week's time, may provide more clues to Mr Botha's intentions.

AWB threat to sound social structure in SA

AN Afrikaner sub-culture such as the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is potentially dangerous for a sound social structure in South Africa and also heightens the potential for inter-racial conflict.

This warning was sounded by Ian Liebernberg, a research consultant for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for SA.

Liebernberg said a similarity between the AWB and Afrikaner culture was the emphasis on own identity.

But he said that for the AWB material objects such as the "vierkleur" flag, horse commandos, the Voortrekker Monument and other emblems had extraordinary meaning, in contrast with the Afrikaner culture where they were simply meaningful.

A broad spectrum of social, religious and political groups supported an inclusive, wider South African nationalism and a certain amount of inter-cultural tolerance.

This contrasted with the static cultural views of right-wing extremists such as the AWB, Liebernberg said.

From a social and political perspective, the norms set by the AWB were unacceptable for others and their idealised views were incompatible with a growing South African culture, Liebernberg said. – Sapa



A woman who has been on the waiting list for a home in Zithobeni for 20 years. Pict EVANS MBOWENI

SAY BAAS!

Squatters outlawed in dusty dorp

By SAMKELO KUMALO and JAPIE MOKWEBO

BRONKHORSTSPRUIT is a rural one-horse town hardly visible on the map.

The town's name does not conjure a picture of street lights, skyscrapers or even a tarred road. Yet it has these – and a supermarket, too. The latest 24-hour banking facilities are dragging the dorp into the 20th Century.

Like all rural dorpies, particularly in the Transvaal, it is a stronghold of rightwing Afrikaner organisations and most of its inhabitants hack a living from the surrounding land

This is a conservative town where a black man knows his place. There is no way for a black man to address a white man other than saying baas

The town is a mere 45 minutes from Pretoria and Johannesburg, and many black residents work in these cities.

When Soweto and other townships around the country were burning and KwaNdebele, a few kilometres away, was having its share of the riots, Bronkhorstspruit's black township was as peaceful as paradise itself

A sticker on the rear window of a bakkie drives the message home It proclaims *Ons Ondersteun Treurnicht* (We support Treurnicht) The bakkie is driven by a black man

Despite the expanse of empty land around Bronkhorstspruit, there is no land allocated for new black housing

Like all other rural towns, this dorp has its own labour dormitory – Zithobeni, with 483 houses, established in 1953 It is unbelievable that there is housing shortage and the township looks like an islet in an ocean of open land.

A railway line cuts Zithobeni off from the growing shack settlement shared by more than 52 families

Two types of residents live in these shacks: those who are on the waiting list for houses and were living in backyard shacks, and those who have been displaced from surrounding farms and were lucky enough to get employment in Bronkhorstspruit industries

Faces of anguish stared at us as we entered the tiny and dusty shack location Perched on a nearby koppie near a sewage dam were a dozen youths, reminiscent of sentries waiting for the bulldozers to come and demolish their makeshift homes

They had to be on alert as their parents had been told that on this day they would be removed to KwaNdebele, some 20km away

The 52 families staying in the shacks have reason to despair when seeing strangers as they had been rejected by the Bronkhorstspruit and Zithobeni town councils

"No one wants us We have been told in no uncertain terms that we must go some 20km away as a place has been found for us," said one resident.

What seems to worry everyone is why the authorities cannot accommodate them at Zithobeni when the township has less than 500 houses and vast open land

A number of houses were built by the Zithobeni council last year, and a few shack-dwellers were given homes The mayor of the place is alleged to have said no more houses would be built again

Towards the end of last year the first batch crossed the railway line to erect shacks on what was believed to be no-man's land

They chose the site they are at now because there is a fresh water tap at the nearby sewage dam. As soon as they settled down, the authorities refused them the right to draw water from the tap

They had to go cap in hand begging for water from the township The allegations are that some of the township residents refuse to allow the shack-dwellers to draw water from their taps Water from the nearby stream is used for washing

Pauline X said the Bronkhorstspruit council made them sign forms agreeing to be removed

"When we were told about our pending removal we were given the impression that we were to be settled in or near the township To our surprise we have just discovered that we are to be taken to Rethabisent (Restfontein) in KwaNdebele.

"If those are the conditions, we will not move an inch from here," she said.

The Bronkhorstspruit council sent the shack-dwellers notices of eviction early this year in which they were told they were told to leave the farm by February 28

The reasons given were that the place was unhealthy.

'bettered' Sanlam

Political Staff

THE insurance and financial giant Sanlam was convinced that Mr Johan du Plessis, son of ex-minister Mr Pietie du Plessis, was in a better position than it to conclude a lease with the state for a property in Pretoria.

This was disclosed yesterday by the Advocate-General, Mr Justice P J van der Walt, in his report into the financial transactions of Mr Du Plessis, senior, and his son.

Mr Justice Van der Walt said that although Sanlam's conclusions were "most certainly subjective", they were "disturbing" and "still indicative of the frustration felt by officials of Sanlam".

More reports — PAGE 6

The comments were made in an internal memorandum by the Property Manager of Sanlam Properties, Mr S H Gerber, to his head office to justify the sale of the Housing Building to Mr Johan du Plessis.

Sanlam sold the Housing Building to Johannesburg Mercantile and Investment Company (Pty) Ltd, which was owned by Mr Johan du Plessis, for R2 136 000.

After it had been renovated, the building was leased to the Department of Education and Training in a contract negotiated by the Department of Public Works and Land Affairs, when Mr Du Plessis, senior, was Minister of Public Works and Land Affairs.

State workers warned against gifts

Political Staff

THE Advocate-General, Mr P J van der Walt, yesterday warned government officials to treat gifts and favours from casual acquaintances with "great circumspection".

Entering the now growing public debate about the need for a code of ethics for public officials, Mr Van der Walt said his latest investigations had found that former cabinet minister Mr P T C du Plessis had acted "improperly as a minister" in connection with the affairs of the state in which his son, Mr J P L du Plessis, was involved.

Mr Du Plessis has disputed the Advocate-General's findings which, among others, were that his son had "received improper advantage, this indicates unethical conduct on the part of Mr P T C du Plessis as Minister and Member of Parliament".

"This," said Mr Van der Walt, "brings to the fore the ethical norms applying to the conduct of ministers, MPs and other officials in the state sector."

He raised several issues which he said did not cover all matters which were causing concern.

"It is improper for relatives of an official in the state sector or companies in which such relatives have an interest to conclude contracts with a government institution in which that official has a political or executive post, which carries the possibility that that official has or may have decision-making power in respect of that particular agreement, or is in a position that could influence decision-making in respect of that agreement," he said.

Pictures: The Cape Times

AWB chase blacks from court

Citizen 304A 9/4/89

By DESMOND BLOW

THE State this week threw *Sunday Times* columnist Jani Allan back to AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche – as a witness for his defence.

The State had originally subpoenaed Allan to give evidence against Terre'Blanche for allegedly damaging the locked gates of the Afrikaans monument, Paardekraal, in Krugersdorp, and swearing at policemen.

The case was postponed to May 8.

The State also allowed the defence to have Meshack Thabane, who was the gardener at Paardekraal at the time of the incident.

If Terre'Blanche calls Thabane as a witness he will probably be the only black in the court.

On Tuesday, khaki-clad AWB members disrupted court proceedings by objecting to black people "taking our seats".

About 100 black spectators who entered the court during a recess were told by AWB supporters they had no right to be present.

Police ordered everyone out and when the spectators filed back, whites took all the seats.

There was a strong police presence at the court. The road in front of the court was closed to traffic and police searched all who entered.

When the hearing was adjourned about a dozen uniformed stormtroopers – his bodyguard – escorted Terre'Blanche out.

Govt has widening powers of control

CP Correspondent

WHEN the National Party came to power in 1948, it preferred to use the wide-ranging provisions of the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 against activists, the Human Rights Commission (HRC) says in its latest update.

Section 10 of this Act empowered the Justice Minister to impose restrictions on the freedom of movement and expression of any person who advocated communism or engaged in activities furthering the aims of communism.

The first banning order was issued in 1951 and by 1978 a total number of 841 people had been banned.

The HRC says that in 1950 the government began its first major offensive against organised opposition by persecuting any individual or group intending to bring about any kind of change.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 was not only directed at the Communist Party and left-wing multiracial trade union groups.

In 1960 a state of emergency was imposed from March 30 to August 31 under the Public Safety Act of 1953.

In 1962 the General Laws Amendment Act (No 76) increased police powers to arrest people who left the area to which they had been confined in terms of their banning orders.

NP has banned those who threaten it

The Act, points out the HRC, widened the scope of action that could be taken against people listed as being members of an unlawful organisation.

The HRC says there was political revival in the 1970s, peaking around 1976.

In 1976 the government complemented the Suppression of Communism Act with the Internal Security Act, extending its powers to those who were deemed to be endangering the security of the state or the maintenance of public order.

The HRC says restriction orders often have the effects of prohibiting persons from returning to their professions.

Banning orders have also been imposed as a condition of a suspended sentence, as happened in the Delmas treason trial early this year. – Ano

Bannings and restrictions

Figures of bannings from 1979 to 1985:

1979	–	152
1980	–	24
1981	–	Not available
1982	–	82
1983	–	61
1984	–	11
1985	–	10

Restrictions of persons under emergency regulations:

July 1985 to March 1986	–	68
June 12, 1986, to June 10, 1987	Under Regulation 3(6) –	45
	Under Regulation 7(1) –	37
June 11, 1987 to June 9, 1988	Under Regulation 3(9)(b) –	25
	Under Regulation 6(b) –	18
June 10, 1988, to December 31, 1988	Under Regulation 3(8)(b) –	25
	Under Regulation 8 –	25

Attorney-General to look at conduct

CAPE TOWN — Government was to implement a recommendation by the Advocate-General that several aspects of the business conduct of J P L du Plessis, son of former Manpower Minister Pietie du Plessis, be referred to the Attorney-General, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said last week. B1 Day 12/4/87 (30/4/87)

He said government had also noted different findings of the Advocate-General regarding Pietie du Plessis and the fact that it was apparent from the Advocate-General's report on the conduct of the two men that the former Minister had not made himself guilty of any criminal offence.

However, government was to refer the matter of the former Minister's gratuity and/or pension benefits or other privileges that Parliament may deem fit, to the joint committee on pension benefits for MPs and political office-bearers.

The Advocate-General had already referred the aspect surrounding the financial gain made by J P L du Plessis from the sale of the housing building to the directorate of Inland Revenue for them to assess any taxes which might be payable.

□ Both Pietie du Plessis and his son said on Friday that they disputed the Advocate-General's findings. — Sapa.

DP faces pressure from ex-PFP members on single leader

ONE of the first challenges the national board of the newly launched Democratic Party will face is pressure from former PFP members to elect a single leader soon after the date of the coming general election is known.

At its closing congress on Friday, the PFP mandated its members on the national board of the DP to push for the election of a single leader within six weeks of the announcement of the date of the general election, or before nomination day.

The motion, moved by the party's leader in the Johannesburg City Council Tony Leon, calls on the PFP members of the

MIKE ROBERTSON

national board to urge strongly that a national congress be convened to elect a single leader and finalise an election manifesto in the stipulated time period.

However, the PFP members face a tough task in persuading the board to accept the need to finalise the leadership issue soon.

Despite the fact the PFP delivered the vast majority of the new party's more than 40 000 members, it agreed to have the same representation on the national board as the other two parties and the so-called "fourth force".

The national board is composed of 22 members: four from each of the parties and the "fourth force"; the three leaders; two members of the Parliamentary caucus; and the MP for Pinelands Jaspar Walsh, who was co-opted to the board because he will have special head office duties.

This means there are only eight former PFP members on the board.

They will have a tough task persuading the other board members to agree to an early resolution of the leadership question as former IP leader Denis Worrall has already made it clear he is opposed to electing a single leader until the DP has established an independent identity.

Worrall's reluctance to make an early decision is also linked to the fact that it will favour former PFP leader Zach de Beer, who said on Friday he was keen on becomming DP leader.

With this in mind, the PFP, at its closing congress, elected possibly its toughest negotiators to represent the party on the DP board.

● To Page 2

DP faces pressure to elect single leader

● From Page 1

They are: former leader Colin Eglin, senior MPs Harry Schwarz and Tiaan van der Merwe and Leon, who achieved a major success in defeating provincial leaders Roger Burrows, Roger Hulley and Douglas Gibson.

The two caucus members will be elected today. They will both be former PFP members as the three former IDM MPs have already been elected to the board.

Professor Marinus Wiechers, Louis Luyt, Professor Sampie Terreblanche and Hilda Burnett were elected as the representatives of the "fourth force" on the board. Burnett is the former OC of the SADF women's college at George.

The IP elected former King William's Town MP Pat Rogers, businessmen Jannie Momberg and David Gant and former NRP adviser Dan Kriek.

The NDM elected David de Villiers, Esther Lategan and MPs Peter Gastrow and Pierre Cronje.

The board reflects the changing face of white opposition politics in that it has on it three Broederbond members, Malan, De Villiers and Terreblanche, and is dominated by Afrikaans-speaking members.

It will also have to decide on the application for membership by Claremont MP Jan van Eck, who has been sitting as an independent after leaving the PFP.

Without Van Eck, the DP has 20 MPs in the House of Assembly — 17 from the PFP and three from the NDM.

● See Pages 3 and 4

Stoffel Botha to retire from politics

AKGS 10/5/89 (304A)

By BRUCE CAMERON
Political Staff

NATAL National Party leader and Cabinet Minister Mr Stoffel Botha is to retire from politics.

He is the third and most important member of the Cabinet to announce his retirement before the general election.

The others are Mr Danie Steyn, Minister of Economic Affairs, and Mr Greyling Wentzel, Minister of Agriculture.

Mr Botha said today that he will step down as party leader at the NP Natal congress on July 28 and as MP for Port Natal and Minister of Home Affairs and Posts and Telecommunications on election day, September 6.

Mr Botha has played an influential role in Natal, first as provincial Administrator and then as National Party leader, winning the long-sought-after plum of political control of the province.

Mr Botha, who has been heading the government team in talks with Kwazulu in an attempt to iron out obstacles to proper negotiations, said he would be available to carry on with finding solutions to problems, but not as a party politician.

With seven potential candidates to succeed him as provincial leader, the party is trying to avoid a bitter scrap.

Mr Botha, 60 in September, said he felt that he and his wife



Mr Stoffel Botha

Lucy had had a full life in politics for the past 16 years.

"It is now time for me to step down and make way for young blood. There is no other reason for my retirement. I will remain a member and supporter of the National Party."

Although seven Natal Nationalists could be in the running for the leadership, indications are that by the time of the provincial congress the field will have narrowed.

2. Parliament 9. Motoring 12.

The Botha paradox: reform at the cost of liberty

B/Day 10/4/89

30 APR

KEN OWEN

IN South African politics there is no more powerful convention that that which other cultures apply to graveyards and mortuaries: *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*. Do not speak ill of the departed.

I do not intend to defy that convention, but it would be a pity not to observe, before the historical record is smothered by the obsequies, the great paradox of President Botha's decade in office.

In that decade, he transformed the country, undoing the work of Hendrik Verwoerd so thoroughly that Verwoerd's son must seek to fulfil his father's vision of a white, Afrikaner state in Morgenzon, the Transvaal town where the Oranjewerkers are sadly trying to establish a kind of kibbutz-apartheid.

In reforming, President Botha was the instrument of history rather than its maker, but if he has not created a revolution, he has at least permitted it to happen. Mikhail Gorbachev, with whom he is often compared, will be lucky to achieve half so much.

Literally hundreds of oppressive apartheid laws and regulations have been dismantled, setting in motion great, pent-up social forces that are carrying the country helter-skelter into the next century, when Verwoerd's apartheid will be a bitter memory like Hitler's Nazism in Germany.

The abolition of the pass laws has opened the way for the greatest trek of all, by 10-million South Africans or more, from the feudal darkness of the platteland to the great urban cauldrons. All attempts to control this human tide have fallen away, and now even the pretence of control within the cities has become threadbare.

Recognising the inevitable, President Botha has flattened race barriers in every direction, equalised salaries in the public service, poked great holes in the Group Areas Act and abolished legal barriers to sex and marriage, and even to eating and drinking, if not to all animal functions of life. He has put millions of young blacks into schools, and thousands into universities.

In foreign affairs, he has driven the ANC and its cadres from Lesotho, and embarked on that great and necessary undertaking, the Lesotho Highlands water scheme that will bind both countries forever. He has — though it is not polite to say so — broken the defiance of Mozambique's Marxist regime, and offered to assist in its reconstruction. He has driven the ANC camps far to the north.

In Namibia, he has turned history — to give the credit to underlings like Pik Botha or Neil van Heerden is fun, but politically illiterate — and possibly, just possibly, he has extricated SA from its most dangerous confrontation with the entire international community.

He has brought people of colour, to use an old-fashioned phrase for an old-fashioned institution, into Parliament, forcing Andries Treurnicht and the neanderthals to listen, face-to-face, to the accusations of their victims. No longer is victim of oppression anonymous, out of sight.

President Botha has recreated the National Party, bringing young, modern men — Barend du Plessis, Dawie de Villiers, Sam de Beer, Leon Wessels, even F W de Klerk — into positions of real influence, even modest power. He has positioned his party roughly where the old United Party used to stand, so that it pleads now for the interests of business against agriculture, and flings at the CP the accusations that Harry Lawrence once flung at Botha himself.



□ P W BOTHA ... great paradox

The effect has been to shatter the Progressive Federal Party, demoralised anyway by the demoralisation of its most talented leader, and to cause it to merge with ideological splinter groups that it once scorned. Politically, Botha's triumph is complete.

Yet he leaves office a failure, repudiated by his own party, condemned for refusal to reform, branded a militarist, a lonely, beaten, friendless old man.

If that were the entire story, President Botha would have a claim on our pity, but the paradox goes deeper. Running parallel with his progressive reforms was an equally strong strand of brute oppression, an abuse of power that engaged and gave expression to the worst characteristics of a man who was, at his best, never very likeable.

The popular theory that he imposed on the country a covert military regime, manipulated by all-knowing, ubiquitous "securo-crats," is an academic and journalistic fallacy. It had its origins, I think, in an early interview given by Magnus Malan to Fleur de Villiers, then political correspondent of The Sunday Times, in which he spelled out his totalitarian theory of "total mobilisation" to meet "total war".

Malan, the ponderous military technocrat, was not the man to go for the nation's jugular, but President Botha might have done so. Indeed, for a time he seemed to be trying. The bureaucratic system with which he blanketed the civil administration, especially since it included a strong military component, was the instrument of dictators. He had the force of character, the ruthlessness, and the ability.

Besides, after his merciless elimination of all potential rivals in the first days of his (dare one say?) reign, there was nobody to challenge him either in his own party or outside it. As the years passed, it became apparent to an anxious public that his entourage, and the man himself, were showing symptoms of imperial vanity — the graciously condescending family, the tight inner circle of Tuynhuys *aparatchiks*, the lofty, finger-wagging stance.

Yet, in the end it did not happen. The security system was never used to its full potential, as John Vorster used the security laws in the Sixties to obliterate opposition. Indeed, while I do not wish to fall into the obscene trap of trying to compare atrocities, the existing state of emergency seems to me a good deal *less* complete in its oppression (if more randomly brutal) than Vorster's rule *after* the Sharpeville emergency.

Judges visit the detainees, torture in detention is less evident, the treatment of Mandela shows a flexibility that Vorster lacked, the Press is more intimidated and obstructed than gagged, and so forth.

The real harm done by President Botha lies elsewhere: in the damage, perhaps permanent, done to our idea of democracy. President Botha rose above himself, his party and his own past when he embarked on his reforms, and for that he deserves great respect, but he never rose to a full grasp of the ideas of liberty or of democracy.

His passion was not for freedom but for order, and in pursuit of order he tossed aside the Westminster tradition as though it were a set of municipal regulations, never understanding that the defence of freedom lies ultimately in the habits of free men.

In its place, he has set up a centralised bureaucratic state which, like Bismarck's Germany, reduces Parliament to a talking shop, and locates power where it can be seized and wielded by any savage who may come along.

He has set the stage for the great, perhaps terrible, constitutional struggle that, I do believe, he tried to avert by embarking on reform.

B/Day 10/4/89 3049

Party born for new era — Worrall

MIKE ROBERTSON

IT WAS not pie-in-the-sky to think the Democratic Party (DP) could be the official Opposition or even part of government after the next election, co-leader Denis Worrall said at the weekend.

He said the DP was a party born for a new era. The immediate task was to define itself crisply and clearly as a party which stood for a non-racial, democratic and free enterprise SA.

With just a 7% increase in voter support, the DP could win more than 40 seats at the next election.

The DP was committed to negotiating the political future of SA. That meant negotiating on an open-ended basis with all major organisations. Worrall said: "But nobody will determine our agenda for us.

"This party must be hungry for power, not for the sake of power but for the simple reason that this party has a message and policies which can turn things around in SA."

Co-leader Wynand Malan said the top prize for the DP was to bring about an SA which would enhance the quality of life for all. "The opportunities for change are there. The challenge at hand is to liberate them. To seek out a non-violent transformation of society."

The DP believed in negotiating a future with all SA's interest groups.

40 seats in the hunt, say party's three chiefs

304A B/Day 10/4/89

De Beer puts stress on DP's centrist position

MIKE ROBERTSON

TO THE spirited sounds of a specially commissioned anthem "Getting there Together", the Democratic Party was launched at the weekend with one of its leaders setting sights on winning more than 40 seats in the coming general election.

Nostalgia brought about by the end of an era when the PFP disbanded on Friday turned to optimism as almost 1 500 delegates were caught up in the stylish launch at the Johannesburg College of Education on Saturday.

The three leaders' speeches placed emphasis on different things.

Zach de Beer placed the DP firmly in the centre of SA politics, pledging to work only with those who shared its objectives. Dennis Worrall said the DP could be part of government within five months. Wynand Malan said the DP would develop links with all other political organisations "whether they share our aims or not".

De Beer said the DP would talk to everyone but would only work with those who shared its objectives.

There were areas where it would support government, but as long as it based it policies on race, it remained the new party's political enemy. The DP was committed to both law and order: "to government through law, not through the arbitrary decisions of officials".

"Law cannot be established by denying people's freedoms and order cannot be built on a foundation of tyranny. The foundation of both law and order is justice."

He welcomed the Law Commission proposal for a Bill of Rights and challenged government to implement it in its entirety.



At the DP congress, from left, Colin Eglin, Wynand Malan, Denis Worrall and Zach de Beer.

The DP, he said, shared with the ANC and its associates important long-term goals like full and equal freedom, human dignity and political rights.

"This is a just claim here and now, as it has been everywhere and throughout human history. But this claim is undermined and vitiated by actions and policies which in their certain consequences deny dignity and freedom. We condemn all use of violence for political ends. Democracy can never be built on the foundation of Wimpy Bar bombs and township necklaces." It also took issue with those who advocated sanctions, disinvestment and economic isolation.

The challenge facing SA was to build a democracy which eschewed the authoritarianism of the right and the left.

"Let no-one tell us that South Africans are unready for or incapable of liberal free enterprise democracy: we reject any such insult to our people. We say we are ready, and that it is indeed the denial of that system which causes the conflict and the creeping poverty we now endure. Let us go forward from this place today as a new party, not of the right or the left, but of the moderate liberal democratic centre, determined to expand that centre until it becomes the South African way of life."

Voters' rolls 'will result in farcical poll'

10/4/87

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — An election held on the chaotic voters' rolls would be farcical and a travesty of the democratic process, former research chief of the PFP, Nic Olivier, said at the weekend.

He said the latest voters' rolls showed the Transvaal, with 76 of the 166 elected Assembly seats, was grossly under-represented.

The total of voters, according to the December rolls, was 3 139 699, with more than half of them — 1 685 271 — in the Transvaal.

The Cape had 852 577, in its 56 seats, Natal 365 237 in 20 seats and the Free State 236 614 in 14 seats.

Olivier said based on the latest figures the average quota for the 166 seats was around 19 000.

Of the Cape's 56 constituencies, 47 had less than the quota, of Natal's 20, 12, and of the Free State's 14, 10. But only 15 of the Transvaal's seats, had less than 19 000 voters.

The imbalance was clear when it was taken into account the Transvaal had 49 constituencies with more than 20 000 voters, including four with more than 30 000, and one, North Rand, with more than 40 000.

The Cape had only seven with more than 20 000, Natal four and the Free State four.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said had it not been for the Nationalist government playing political games the gross distortions in the voters' rolls would have been eliminated long ago.

Last year, a parliamentary committee recommended the number of Transvaal seats be increased by 15 to 91.

Hi-tech launch cost 'tens of thousands'

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

Months of painstaking planning by a special marketing committee culminated in a designer display of Democratic fervour on Saturday.

Mr Ken Andrew, convenor of the committee, yesterday drew the curtain on the behind-the-scenes work for the Democratic Party's hi-tech launch which, he said, cost "a few tens of thousands of rands".

The blue and yellow logo, coincidentally the same colours as used by the Conservative Party, symbolised "a new dawn, a bright sun rising out of the sea", he said.

However, the committee was quite happy that there would be no confusion with CP colours because the DP had chosen different shades of colours.

Mr Andrew said the logo was elected from 45 proposed logos.

"We narrowed them down till about 15, and then asked every committee member to choose his or her first choice. All the members chose this one."

The committee comprised party officials and volunteers, many of whom were active in the advertising field.

Demokratiese Party
Democratic Party

The DP's catchy theme song, "Getting there together", was composed and written by two committee members free of charge, he said.

Much of the creative work for Saturday's launch was done free of charge or at cost.

A model of the Johannesburg College of Education's Linder Auditorium was built to assist the decorators in its work.

Mr Andrew said the spectacular audio-visual which was screened on Saturday would in future be used at DP meetings where venues and audio-visual equipment allowed for it.

DP memorabilia, including savings tins, keyholders, buttons, T-shirts and caps would also be sold in future. All the memorabilia manufactured for Saturday's launch were sold out, he added.

Asked why the South African flag was not displayed at the founding congress, Mr Andrew said it was not done intentionally.

A South African flag displayed at the DP's first meeting in a non-white area two weeks ago caused an outburst from people who said the flag was a dividing symbol in South Africa.

New govt ethics code punted

B/Day 10/4/87

304A

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

CAPE TOWN — Increasing pressure is being placed on Parliament to introduce a comprehensive code of ethics embodying strict penalties for MPs, and ministers and office bearers in particular, who transgress that code.

This is the crux of the recommendations in the report of Advocate-General P J van der Walt into the business activities of former Manpower and Public Works Minister Pietie du Plessis's family and his involvement as an officer of the state.

They are reinforced by the Harms Commission of Inquiry into corruption and the findings of the James Commission of Inquiry into the activities of former Minister Amichand Rajbansi.

Mr Justice van der Walt stresses that the "improper" and "unethical" actions of Du Plessis in his official capacity as MP and Minister, in which his son received improper advantages in dealing with state bodies, brought to the fore the ethical norms governing the conduct of ministers, MPs and other officials.

Mr Justice van der Walt specifically remarks that Du Plessis, by resigning, anticipated his findings. But, he, nevertheless, suggests that Parliament still consider whether he does improperly benefit from the substantial gratuities and pension pay-outs which are his due as a result of the preferred handling of his portfolio.

He says the Du Plessis affair highlights several issues that need to be explored and which are a matter of public concern:

☐ It is improper for relatives of an official in the state sector to conclude contracts with a government institution in which that official has a political or executive post which carries the possibility that the official has decision-making power in respect of that particular agreement;

☐ Even should such an agreement be to the advantage of the state, the image of proper and impartial decision-making and consideration must be maintained, possibly through adherence to the tender procedure;

☐ Officials of the state should treat with great circumspection casual favours and advantages such as invitations from casual aquaintances or unknown people to entertainments such as hunting expeditions and other weekend excursions;



● DU PLESSIS

☐ It is needful for Parliament to decide whether political parties should be obliged to publish annual lists of donations to that party, emanating from a single source that exceed a determined amount of R1 000, R5 000 or R10 000;

☐ Consideration should be given to a time lapse whereby officials who leave or retire from state departments may enter the private sector in companies which could accrue preferential treatment because of their previous connections.

Mr Justice van der Walt uses as an example, the appointment of a former Finance Minister, Owen Horwood, as chairman of NedBank.

He poses an important question: "Is it not improper for an MP who also practises a profession, such as an attorney or an advocate, to deal with any government institution on behalf of any person in his professional capacity for reward ?"

In his view such an approach would be improper.

This also brings into focus whether it is proper for a public official, while still occupying his official position, to become involved in his private capacity in a business that does business with the state, or that depends on or utilises state finances or concessions.

Mr Justice van der Walt concludes that guidelines for the protection of government, as contained in the existing guidelines for ministers, are not sufficient, and new legislation with suitable sanctions is required to rectify the situation.

Worrall spells out his hopes for his party

Political Reporter

White South Africans have about five years in which to determine whether South Africa will be a democratic and a prosperous, free enterprise society, according to Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Addressing about 1 500 enthusiastic supporters at the DP's founding congress on Saturday, Dr Worrall said whites had a crucial role in shaping the future.

The DP was born out of political necessity. On its shoulders rested the task of facilitating negotiations on a future dispensation and of building a non-racial, free enterprise democracy.

To play this role, the DP must define itself and not let the National Party or anybody else define it.

"A successful political party has sharp cutting edges. People must know where they stand in relation to it. That is precisely the problem with the NP — it has lost its sense of purpose, its sense of direction, and it sense of mission."

Dr Worrall said voters' views of a political party were not determined by detailed policies written in fine words, but by the clear position it adopted.

"And nobody should doubt where the DP stands on things like sanctions, the use of violence in politics, private enterprise and the need to generate jobs, discrimination and racial injustice, and crucial matters like the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, and the NP government's restrictions on the press."

He said the DP must be hungry for power. A 7 percent improvement on the creative opposition's performance in the 1987 general election could increase its current 21 Parliamentary seats to "well into the forties".

Malan: DP out to woo black parties

Political Reporter

The Democratic Party's first and foremost challenge was to "draw in" the parties that represented the black community, because without them a new nation could not be built, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said at the party's founding congress.

"We will develop strategic, interactive links with all other political organisations whether they share our aims or not.

"We will invite others to participate, but we won't sit back and wait for them to accept our invitations. We will go out and engage them, and if necessary we will kick down the doors which are keeping us out."

CRUCIAL ERROR

Mr Malan said the historic forces of "system" and "struggle" politics would both be part of one future South African nation.

Referring to the current Namibian crisis, he said the internal parties had made a crucial mistake in jointly mobilising against "the common enemy", Swapo.

"We believe in negotiating a future with all South Arica's interest groups as they manifest themselves in political organisations.

"We know that liberation and reconciliation go hand in hand. The one is not possible without the other. We will be making this so clear that the two concepts become not only interlinked, but synonymous. This will bring lasting peace and security for all."

DP rejects violence, sanctions — De Beer

Star 10/4/87

304 PP

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Democratic Party has extended a hand of friendship to the ANC, but has challenged the outlawed organisation to denounce violence and reject sanctions.

In a bold policy speech at the DP's founding congress in Johannesburg on Saturday, co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said the new left-of-centre party shared some important long-term goals with the ANC and its "associates".

FREEDOM

"They articulate a claim for full and equal freedom, human dignity and political rights, and this is a just claim here and now and as it has been everywhere and throughout human history.

"But this claim is undermined and vitiated by actions and policies which in their certain consequences deny dignity and freedom. We condemn all use of violence for political ends.

"Democracy can never be built on the foundation of Wimpy Bar bombs and township necklaces. The ANC must end the campaign of symbolic terror."

Dr de Beer said the DP would take issue strongly with those who follow the strategy of seeking political progress through disinvestment, sanctions and the economic isolation of the country.

Poverty bred bitterness, prejudice and violence, while growth and economic empowerment created the best conditions for democracy.

"It is the poor who most feel the hurt of sanctions. We challenge the ANC, the UDF and others to reconsider their stance on these matters. For our part, let there be no doubt of our determined opposition to sanctions and what goes with them."

The common denominator between the National Party and the ANC was that they both insisted on viewing South Africa as a polarised nation in which one was either for racism or violence.

"When the Nats say that those who oppose them are *ipso facto* allies of the ANC, they lie. And when the ANC say that those who oppose apartheid but do not join them are fellow-travellers of the Nats, they lie also," he said to thunderous applause.

The DP was determined to expand the moderate liberal democratic centre until it became the South African way of life, Dr de Beer said.

Dropping of charges 'a gimmick'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Justice Louis Harms has strongly criticised Transvaal Attorney-General Mr Don Brunette's decision to withdraw charges against Pretoria attorneys Mr Albert Vermaas and Mr Eugene Berg.

In his report tabled in Parliament last week, he said Mr Brunette employed a "gimmick" which embarrassed the Harms Commission when he unexpectedly dropped the criminal charges.

The commission first became aware of Mr Brunette's action through reports published on February 20, in which Mr Brunette said he dropped the charges to give Mr Vermaas and Mr Berg a chance to testify before the commission.

Prosecution was always a possibility and Mr Vermaas and Mr Berg could have declined to answer incriminating questions in any case, said the report.

Mr Brunette's argument that he had not received any information from the commission on which he could base his decision was criticised by the judge.

Mr Justice Harms sent a letter dated December 12 to Mr Brunette asking that Mr Brunette be specifically told "he can phone me if he needs any information about the commisson's investigations".

No response was received to the letter but on February 24 — shortly after Mr Brunette met Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee about the matter — a request for information was made by Mr Brunette, Mr Justice Harms said.

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De Beer likely to get key DP post

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE Democratic Party leadership stakes move into top gear today with the expected elevation of former PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer to the key position of parliamentary leader.

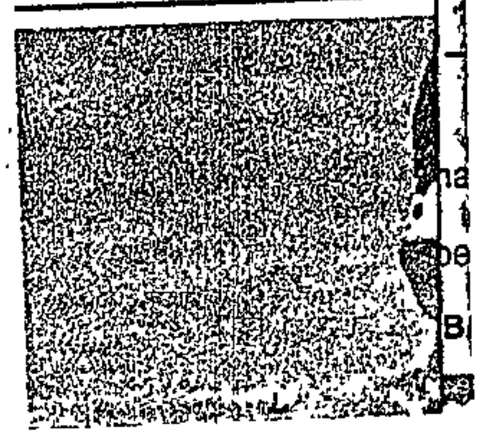
If Dr De Beer is elected to head the parliamentary component of the party, it would be a significant fillip for his prospects of becoming overall leader.

The other frontrunner in the leadership race, Dr Denis Worrall, is not a candidate for parliamentary leader because he is not an MP.

However, a significant minority of former PFP members appear to favour Dr Worrall's accession to office of sole DP leader and even his critics at the party's founding congress concede that he is a shrewd political operator who cannot be written off in the leadership race.

The founding congress — Dr De Beer, Dr Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan drew lots to decide their speaking order — also served as a "beauty contest" at which the roughly 1 200 delegates could assess the leadership potential of the troika.

More reports on Democrats' launch on page 2



Outpourings of optimism

Political Correspondent

THE founding of the Democratic Party at the weekend has been welcomed by a broad cross-section of organisations and individuals.

But the fledgling party will have to move with considerable skill if it hopes to retain the outpourings of goodwill and optimism that marked its commitment to unified non-racial democracy at its founding congress in Johannesburg at the weekend.

A number of prominent anti-apartheid figures attended the congress as observers, including UDF president Mr Azar Cachalia, and representatives from the Natal Indian Congress, the KwaNatal Indaba, the Five Freedoms Forum, Idasa and the Labour Party.

Also present were ministers from homeland governments — including KwaZulu, Lebowa and Qwa Qwa — and a number of diplomats.

Messages of goodwill and support were also read out at the congress from sources as diverse as the "mass democratic movement" (UDF and Cosatu), Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, educationalist Mr Franklin Sonn, academic Dr Erika Theron, former chief of the SA Air Force Lt-Gen Bob Rogers, Anglo American's Mr Bobby Godsell, former UCT vice-chancellor Sir Richard Luyt, entertainers Des and Dawn Lindberg, and EP cricketing hero Mark Rushmere.

While the vast majority of the 1 500 delegates and supporters who crammed into the auditorium and sourrounding corridors at the launch were white, the party's leadership is committed to reversing this imbalance.

A number of speakers at the congress — launched with high-tech razzmatazz including flashy videos, catchy DP theme songs, spotlights, party logos that lit up, and a slick slide show — said they were heartened by the large number of young people attending.

Proceedings were conducted in both English and Afrikaans.

Despite the outward displays of agreement and goodwill displayed at the launch, delegates were frank about the fact that it had not been easy to reach current levels of unity and that unresolved issues remained

Van Eck, Redcliffe decision held over

Political Correspondent

A DECISION on whether MPs Mr Jan van Eck (independent Claremont) and Mr Charles Redcliffe (independent Schauderville) will be admitted as members to the new Democratic Party will be made on Saturday at the earliest.

The DP body empowered to make such a decision, the 21-person National Board, will be properly constituted only today when the DP's parliamentary caucus votes to fill the two outstanding vacancies on the board.

The board met in Johannesburg after the DP's launch but several decisions were held over because it was not yet properly constituted.

19 so far

The board meets again in Cape Town on Saturday when Mr Van Eck and Mr Redcliffe's applications to join the party were "likely to be discussed but not necessarily so", a member of the board said yesterday.

The 19 people on the board so far are Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan (the co-leaders of the new party); Prof Sampie Terreblanche, Prof Marinus Wiechers, Mrs Hilda Burnett, Dr Luis Luyt, Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Tian van der Merwe, Mr Harry Schwarz, Mr Tony Leon, Mr Jannie Momberg, Prof Dan Kriek, Mr David Gant, Mr Pat Rogers, Mr Peter Gastrow, Mr Pierre Cronje, Dr Esther Lategan and Mr "Lang Dawid" de Villiers.



ZACH DE BEER ... New party "will strive to build the strongest possible basis of support, eschewing the authoritarianism of the right and the left".



DENIS WORRALL ... "Negotiating on an open-ended basis with all major organisations, inside and outside the system".



NEW PARTY ... Part of the large crowd which attended the Democratic Party's launch in Johannesburg at the weekend.

'Nation building' the key theme

Political Correspondent

THE three co-leaders of the Democratic Party spelled out their views on "nation building" towards a new South Africa at the new party's founding congress at the weekend.

Former NDM leader, Mr Wynand Malan, told delegates that the task facing democrats was not merely to establish a news party but to lay the foundations for a new nation.

"The ultimate prize to be won is not just to build a party, but to build a new nation — one nation for all our people.

"This goal of building a nation can't be measured in terms of the number of seats that we are going to win in the next election ...

"The challenge at hand is first and foremost to draw in the parties that represent the black community. Without them we can't build a new nation."

Mr Malan said to applause that South Africans should not make the same mistake as Namibia's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance which failed to include Swapo, an important political force

"We have to include everyone in the process of nation building," he said.

Security

Mr Malan said the long-term objective of nation-building was to make liberation and reconciliation go hand in hand. "This will bring lasting peace and security for all."

Former IP leader, Dr Denis Worrall, declared to loud cheers from delegates: "This is a party of nation builders."

Dr Worrall said the DP believed that the political future of the country would be negotiated.

"And that means negotiating it on an open-ended basis with all major organisations — inside and outside the system.

"But, make no mistake, nobody will determine our agenda for us."

Former PFP leader,

CT
11/4/89
(B04A)

We're going for power, says DP

Political Correspondent

THE newly launched Democratic Party hopes to double the 22 seats it currently holds in Parliament and become the official opposition in the House of Assembly.

However, the DP's leadership emphasized repeatedly at the party's founding congress at the weekend that the party was "going for power" and ultimately aimed to wrest control of the government from the NP.

As a first step in its ambitious expansion drive, the DP has launched the Democratic Future Fund aimed at raising R20 million for an election "war-chest" and more than doubling its party membership to 100 000.

Announcing the fund-raising campaign, its director, Mr Robin Carlisle, said it would involve all 45 000 of the DP's current members in 90 constituencies.

Mr Carlisle said there had already been a "massive commitment" among DP supporters and that the party aimed to have pledges for the R20m and 10 000 new members by the end of July.

He predicted that the campaign would help turn the DP into "an unstoppable force in SA politics" and "start sweeping the Nats off the political stage and into the dustbin of history where they belong".

Earlier, DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said to thunderous applause: "This party is going for power.

"It is not pie in the sky to think in terms of a hung Parliament strategy where no party in the assembly has a majority.

"It is not pie in the sky to imagine this party being the official opposition after September (the expected election date).

"It is not pie in the sky to think that this party can be part of government in five months."

All that was needed was a seven percent growth in electoral support for the party to take its representation in Parliament from the low 20s to the low 40s, he said.

Hungry for power

"This party must be hungry for power, not for the sake of power, but for the simple reason that this party has a message and policies that can turn us around in SA," Dr Worrall said.

DO co-leader Dr Zach de Beer told delegates: "We Democrats are coming into being as an opposition party, though we have every intention of gaining power."

He acknowledged that the DP at its launch was "chiefly a white party" — not out of choice but for historical reasons.

He then added to appaluse: "We commit ourselves now to change this."

The third leader, Mr Wynand Malan, said: "We are going to surprise the hell out of them."

Dr Zach de Beer, said the new party had a vision of building a single nation of 37 million people which was united by common goals, not divided by racist laws.

The party would strive to build the strongest possible basis of support for the democratic ideal it cherished.

Dr de Beer said: "The great positive challenge which awaits us is to do precisely this: To build a South Africa in which democracy eschews the authoritarianism of the right and the left."

First city meeting

THE Democratic Party will have its first public meeting in Cape Town tomorrow night. The DP's three co-leaders, Dr Zach de Beer, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, will speak at the Cape Town City Hall.

Race to complete merger before election

Political Correspondent

THE newly formed Democratic Party is racing to complete the process of merging the constituency and regional structures in preparation for a general election.

The leadership troika of the DP has asked Mr Tian van der Merwe to convene a three-person committee that will include Mr Jannie Momberg and Mr Pierre Cronje to facilitate the merging process.

Mr Van der Merwe said last night that his committee would also ensure that the first general meeting where committees were elected take place without "unnecessary delay."

He said: "We would like this process to be completed well before the general election and we would like to harness the enormous enthusiasm that has been generated for DP in last few months." Large-scale membership recruitment would be taking place in the next few weeks.

Marius Barnard refuses to join new party

Argus 10/4/89
3064

By TOS WENTZEL Political Correspondent

ONE of the old Progressive Federal Party's 17 MPs has refused to join the new Democratic Party.

He is Dr Marius Barnard, MP for Parktown.

Dr Zac de Beer is to try for the DP's nomination in Parktown in this year's general election. He was MP for Parktown from 1977 to 1980.

Dr Barnard said today he abstained when a decision on merging with the new DP was taken at the PFP's disbanding congress on Friday.

He did not have confidence in the new leadership of the party and would not attend its first caucus meeting today.

He still regarded himself as the PFP MP for Parktown. This was what he had been elected as.

Dr de Beer, who is one of the joint leaders of the DP, said today he was very sorry an old friend such as Dr Barnard felt as he did. He had spoken to him and respected his viewpoint and the manner in which he was handling the matter.



Dr Marius Barnard

If Dr Barnard was not going to seek the DP nomination in Parktown he would ask to be considered, Dr de Beer said.

The first caucus meeting will elect Dr de Beer as parliamentary leader.

The new party will have its first public meeting in the Cape Town city hall tomorrow night. Speakers will be Dr de Beer and the other two party leaders, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

Efforts to activate constituency committees of the new party will soon be completed. The work on coordinating the efforts of the three parties which merged into the new one has been going on for some time.

In the first Nationalist reaction to the new party, Mr F W de Klerk said it would be weak-kneed on security and was only the PFP in a new form.

Dr de Beer said today that Mr de Klerk was noted for expressing old-style Nationalist propaganda in soft, modern language.

"As I told the DP congress, we are a party that stands for law and order based on justice," Dr De Beer said.

● See page 10.

304A (W) 4/W 10/4/89.

Leaders to discuss Pretoria apartheid



Dr Willie Hood . . . the CP is honest.

Pretoria Correspondent

Community leaders from Eersterus, Laudium, Atteridgeville and Mamelodi are to meet within days to discuss the continued practice of apartheid by the Pretoria City Council.

Dr Willie Hoods, Transvaal MEC and Transvaal region deputy chairman of the Labour Party, who took the initiative, said it had become necessary to take action after the refusal of the National Party to do away with petty apartheid.

Among those invited to the special meeting are Mr Patrick da Gama, MP for Eersterus; Mr Boetie Abramjee, MP for Laudium; Mr Willie Filander, chairman of the Eersterus Management Committee; Mr Bernard Ndlazi, mayor of Mamelodi; Mr Abdul Cassim, chairman of the Laudium management committee; and Mr Joseph Matebula, mayor of Atteridgeville.

Dr Hoods said it would be an informal meeting where a strategy would be formed to voice opposition to the city council's continued practice of petty apartheid.

BOKSBURG

He said that in recent weeks it had become clear that National Party policy in Pretoria did not differ from Conservative Party policy in Boksburg and Carletonville.

"The CP is honest about its intentions. It is using laws created by the NP to practise petty apartheid. The Nat outcry about Boksburg and Carletonville is farcical," he said.

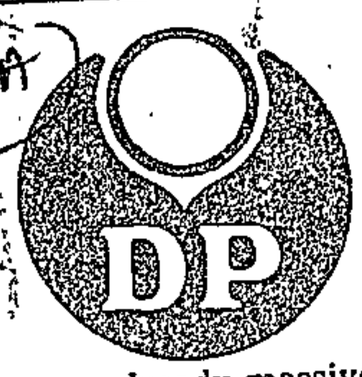
This will be the first meeting between such leaders to discuss racial problems in the city.

Dr Hoods said incidents during the past few weeks had shown that the city council did not want to move away from apartheid. Action was needed to show that the black residents of Pretoria rejected such actions.

"Amenities created with public money must be used to the benefit of all."

Dr Hoods said it would be decided at the meeting whether to organise communities to demonstrate their disapproval of the council's continued policy of petty apartheid.

DP targets 12 Nat Party seats



By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The Democratic Party has identified 12 House of Assembly seats which it can win from the National Party in the general election expected for September.

Speaking in his personal capacity, the DP's Mr Robin Carlisle, who is studying the chances of increasing the left-of-Government party's current 21 seats in the House, said yesterday a marginal swing was needed in 12 seats.

Targets were North Rand, Hillbrow and Edenvale in the Transvaal, Wynberg, Simonstown, Helderberg, Walmer and Albany in the Cape and Mooi River, Umhlanga, Maritzburg North and Umbilo in Natal.

The NP's 1987 election majorities in these seats ranged from under 100 to just more than 1 000.

Although the NP's majorities in East London City and East London North were huge in the 1987 election, the DP's prospects of winning them were good.

"The two East London seats are traditional opposition territory, and the impact of corruption was already massive in last year's general election during which not one NP candidate was elected and many lost their deposits."

Mr Carlisle said "interesting, if not winnable", seats included Benoni, Waterkloof, Johannesburg West, Amanzimtoti, Umhlatuzana and Maritzburg South. Durban Point was the only House of Assembly seat which could go either to the DP, NP or Conservative Party.

He said much would depend on the NP's election strategies.

Contrary to general opinion, he said, if the NP emphasised reform, the DP would benefit.

"If the Nats go for the warm, soothing message of reform, the DP can push issues such as corruption, economic hardships and the fact that the Nats have not produced reform in 40 years.

"A reform election will create the climate in which our message is more, and not less, potent."

Mr Carlisle said none of the liberal opposition's current 21 seats was marginal.

The NP would concentrate on Randburg in the Transvaal, Pinetown in Natal and Green Point and Port Elizabeth City in the Cape.

The NP would focus its attention on the DP rather than the CP, he said.

See Page 6.

Restrictions

The Star is being produced under the severe restrictions of the emergency regulations.



Strength in numbers . . . an enthusiastic, multiracial 1 500-strong crowd witnessed the birth of the Democratic Party on Saturday. ● Picture by David Sandison.

Star 10/4/89

De Klerk spells out six-point policy

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Dr Wimpie de Klerk spelt out clearly for the first time on Saturday the six-pillar "political confession" of the Democratic Party.

Dr de Klerk, the DP's chief adviser on policy matters, revealed the policy framework of the new left-of-centre party which was founded in Johannesburg.

The six basic principles were:

● A non-racial dispensation.

This meant a representative, multiparty government based on general adult franchise exercised at regular free elections.

There would be no discrimination on the grounds of race, class, sex or religion, and there would be protection against domination of minorities.

● The best traditions of democracy.

This included the protection of fundamental human rights, freedom of speech and association and the right of the individual to own property; the restriction of central government by bringing government as close to the people as possible; a federal system in which the powers of the authorities are entrenched at the different levels of government; sound labour relations based on free collective negotiations; a charter of human rights supported by the courts; and a system of private enterprise which recognised the state's functions of human development and upheaval.

● The recognition and support of cultural diversity.

The cultural, religious and linguistic diversity of society would be recognised and protected.

POLITICAL DIVERSITY

The voting system would provide for the highest degree of political diversity and would ensure that minority political parties were represented in legislative institutions.

Dr de Klerk said: "The DP rejects discrimination and domination of cultures and groups. The essence is that simple majority rule is not the only form of democracy."

● An independent judiciary and the supremacy of the law.

● Security as a democratic value.

Law, order and security should be maintained by defusing conflict, combating economic and social inequalities and protecting civil rights.

The DP rejected violence as a political instrument.

● The principle of negotiation.

The DP believed that parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics could not and should not be separated.

Its plan of action was the development of strong power bases in Parliament and other representative bodies with a view of obtaining control; the expansion of interaction between groups and individuals with a view to promote negotiation, settlement and compromise; and the development of a broad front for peaceful co-operation and joint strategies with organisations inside and outside of Parliament.

Said Dr de Klerk: "With this network of negotiations, the DP hopes to create a forum for negotiation as soon as possible. This process of negotiation will lead South Africa through a phase of transition to a fully participating democracy."

Zach slams ANC terror

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC should end its campaign of terror and should reconsider its stance on sanctions and disinvestment, a co-leader of the newly-formed Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said at the weekend.

Addressing the founding congress of the party, he said democracy could never be built on the foundation of Wimpy Bar bombs and township necklaces.

Though the DP shared some important long-term goals with the ANC and its associates, their claims for full and equal freedom, human dignity and political rights were often vitiated by actions and policies which in certain circumstances denied dignity and freedom. He said the ANC should end its campaign of symbolic terror.

Star 10/4/89. (3044)

Razzmatazz as left-of-Government grouping comes into being

Democratic Party is hungry for power



At last, solidarity . . . the Democratic Party's three co-leaders — Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zach de Beer — in a united front at the Democratic Party's founding congress in Johannesburg on Saturday. ● Picture by David Sandison.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

If the Democratic Party can sustain the momentum of its impressive launch in Johannesburg on Saturday, it should go far.

The DP took off with a dazzling display of American-style razzmatazz probably never before seen in South African politics: a dramatic audio-visual show, a catchy party-song — "We'll be getting there together" — and a ceremonial unfurling of its yellow-and-blue colours and logo.

More importantly, the theatrics on stage were matched by the enthusiasm of the unexpectedly large crowd of 1 500 who packed the Johannesburg College of Education hall to send the DP off.

Their message to the leaders who had toiled, bickered and horse-traded for months to get this far was clear: "You've got it together, now keep it that way."

One sign of the difficulties in reconciling the PFP "true blues" to the DP was the low-key role played by Mrs Helen Suzman. Accolades and ovations aplenty came her way, but she did not speak once.

But she did sit in the front row at the congress — probably more out of loyalty than conviction.

On the other hand, one of the most hopeful signs of reconciliation was the election of Yeoville PFP MP Mr Harry Schwarz to the 21-member national board — the DP's transitional chief executive. Mr Schwarz was known to be one of the most severe critics of the merger and his readiness to serve on the executive — which he refused to do for many years in the PFP — gave added impetus to Saturday's proceedings.

The party launched an amibitous fundraising and membership drive with, respectively, targets of R20 million in three years and 60 000 members by the end of July.

The DP declared itself "hungry for power" and predicted it could win more than 40 seats during a September election and thereby play a balance-of-power role in a hung Parliament.

Afrikaans yuppies targeted

That will depend on many factors. One of the most important is whether or not the National Party moves left under new leader Mr F W de Klerk. If it does not do so convincingly during the next few months — which will be difficult — observers believe

the DP could pick up many verlig Nat supporters.

Even a fairly sceptical Afrikaans journalist confessed at the congress that "this could attract a lot of Afrikaans yuppies" — the DP's main target group.

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer, formerly the PFP leader, presented a speech that, while consolidating traditional PFP support, also held strong appeal for the Afrikaans yuppies, clearly taking the middle line between the ANC and the NP, strongly condemning ANC violence and offering the NP support for genuine reform moves.

Co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, formerly Independent Party leader, already has the conservative image needed to attract this group while co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, former head of the National Democratic Movement, has some appeal to leftwing Afrikaners.

The DP's success will, of course, also depend on whether it fuses into a coherent, single force.

At the launch, the DP made no secret of the many problems still to be overcome.

"It would be wrong to tell the world that all differences between the four forces of the DP have been settled," said Mr Jannie Momberg in his opening remarks. "But what is true is that what binds us is greater than that which divides us."

The possible pitfalls still lying ahead were plain to see: the leadership question, ties with extra-parliamentary groups, participation in the other two Houses, the extent of protection for minorities, whether to hold a national convention, conscription, the precise economics policy and other issues.

Deciding who will lead the DP could be its most pressing problem and first major hurdle.

Although this decision is not scheduled to be taken before the first ordinary congress, the PFP precipitated the decision at its disbanding congress on Friday by resolving that the DP should choose a single leader — and a coherent policy manifesto — within six weeks of a general election being called.

The other two leaders might disagree with the PFP on the timing of this decision. Mr Malan is known to favour a permanent troika while the Worrall camp seems to want to postpone the decision until after an election.

The reason is almost certainly that Dr Worrall needs more time to woo the vastly bigger PFP membership — a process he clearly began on Saturday — and he probably also feels an election would boost his leadership chances by showing his ability to pull crowds and votes.

Forging a single policy is far from complete and Dr Wimpie de Klerk, head of the committee that drew up the DP policy document, said this would be addressed by a standing policy committee.

Advantage

The PFP persuaded the other parties that the gaps still remaining in policy should be filled by the existing policies of all three parties, as adopted by their formal congresses.

The PFP hopes this will give it an advantage as it has a much larger body of congress-endorsed policy than the others and it is clear the PFP representatives on the national board will jealously guard PFP policy.

The persistent issue of participation in the other two Houses arose again during the congress when Mr Pat Poovalingam, a former PFP MP in the House of Delegates, said he thought the DP should try to extend its support in all three Houses.

The DP's relationship with the ANC and UDF could also cause strain. Though DP policy is to talk to these groups, Mr Malan's close contact with them makes some uncomfortable.

But, for the most part, differences were put aside and the congress seemed to take to heart the advice of a delegate from the old United Party: "On your wedding night you should not try to establish who's boss."

ZACH'S ANSWER

THERE would be no freedom or an end to conflict in South Africa before the normal democratic policies practised in other countries were accepted in South Africa, the parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday. 304

He said during the first reading debate on the Budget that without real democracy there would be everlasting oppression, creeping poverty and continual conflict.

He called on the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, to scrap apartheid and opt for democracy. This would give the economy a chance to flourish. — Sapa. Sowetan 11/4/89



DR ZAC DE BEER



F W DE KLERK



HELEN SUZMAN

DP SET TO GO PLACES?

FOCUS

Low-key role played by Suzman

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Accolades and standing ovations aplenty came her way but she did not speak once. However, she did attend in the front row of the congress — probably more out of loyalty than conviction.

One of the most hopeful signs of reconciliation on the other hand, was the election of Yeoville PFP MP Mr Harry Schwarz to the 21-person national board — the DP's transitional chief executive.

Mr Schwarz was known to be one of the severest critics of the merger and his readiness to serve on the executive — which he refused to do for many years in the PFP — gave added impetus to the launch.

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"But what is true is that what binds us is greater than that which divides us."

The possible pitfalls still lying ahead were plain to see, the leadership question, the precise relationship with extra-parliamentary groups, participation in the other two houses, the extent of protection for minorities, whether or not to hold a national convention, the conscription problem, the precise economics policy and other policy issues.

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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Matlhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Called to account

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS in Cape Town

A DEBATE on the accountability to Parliament of public entities and corporations in SA has been in progress for more than 50 years — but with little result in the way of formal resolutions or conclusions.

Meanwhile, this essential foundation of the Westminster system has been constantly eroded by recent changes to that system. Warning signals about the dangers of diluting the principles of accountability led to the creation of a committee of inquiry three years ago, chaired by former finance secretary Gerald Browne.

His task was to investigate the desirability of more effective accountability to Parliament of "public corporations, undertakings and other institutions which are at present not subject to audit by the Auditor-General."

The committee's report was tabled in Parliament recently. It appears to have attracted little public response — yet it deals with important principles and matters about which considerable concern have been expressed.

It also recommends legislative changes to tighten control over public corporations and other public entities whose expenditure is defrayed directly or indirectly from funds voted by Parliament — but which have so far avoided being directly accountable to that institution.

The Browne Report is being studied by the parliamentary Standing Committee on Public Accounts, which will decide to what extent its recommendations be accepted. The report quotes comments from several "eminent" but unnamed officials, who sounded warnings over the extent to which general accountability of public bodies to Parliament had been eroded.

One official said of the Westminster model: "Whatever else we may have to discard from that increasingly more inappropriate system, dispensing with the tried and trusted principle of public accountability will be akin to throwing the baby out with the bathwater."

The committee stresses that during its investigations "no valid objection could be advanced to the principle of effective accountability to Parliament on the part of public entities. This reality, in a democratic system, cannot be avoided." It further argues that what's at issue is the way in which accountability should take place, not whether it should take place at all.

The committee quotes a former Australian Auditor-General as adding an important perspective to its argument: "There is no reason to expect that a reduction in executive controls would reduce Parliament's expectations concerning accountability of public enterprises for the use of powers and resources conferred on them. Indeed, the lessening of executive controls would logically suggest an increased need for assurance to be given to Parliament."

The report lists further arguments supportive of more effective accountability:

☐ The right to deal with public funds in secret, except where national security considerations are involved, is in direct conflict with the principle of public accountability in respect of the expenditure of public funds;

☐ Controlling bodies of public enterprises are largely dependent on information made available to them by executive members and other members of management. No matter how able the executive members may be, the question is whether the controlling body is not engaged in "correcting its own examination paper";

☐ The need for secrecy may be over-emphasised, as many public enterprises are monopolies not subject to competition. Further, the secrecy about certain activities of the SADF does not prevent that institution from rendering a public account;

☐ Tabling annual reports by the Minister concerned in Parliament does not necessarily constitute an effective instrument of public accountability. Ministers are seldom intimately involved in the affairs of public entities. The submission of reports to Parliament is sometimes regarded as a formality, and discussion takes the form almost exclusively of questions to the Minister when the budget vote is debated;

☐ The general format of annual reports, including annual financial statements, is often prescribed by legislation, but requirements laid down are inconsistent, often outdated and not very specific;

☐ Information compiled in accordance with principles applying to the private sector may be inadequate for evaluting the performance of a public entity, which is not subject to normal market forces.

One prominent author told the committee: "Annual reports are of little value for control purposes, because each enterprise is free to decide on the contents of its reports. As a result the reports consist of vague generalities or statistics offered without explanation ... one cannot ascertain whether the enterprise has been functioning effectively and economically."

He said auditors usually concentrated on legalistic and arithmetic correctness of accounts, as they were not required to indicate whether the public enterprises have been functioning effectively and economically. The result was a tendency "to propagate the profit figures of individual corporations and companies as indices of efficiency. However, it must be clear to even a casual observer that the profit made by any enterprise, whether public or private, does not necessarily prove its efficiency."

The committee concludes that SA's accountability structures and arrangements do not function effectively for all public corporations or entities. This includes some public bodies audited by or under the supervision of the Auditor-General. The committee stresses that the principles that need to be established in any new framework should embody the following formalised statements:

☐ It must be ensured that a force is not built up outside Parliament which by getting control of public money could defeat the purpose of the people of SA as expressed by Parliament;

☐ State corporations should be properly subordinated to the political powers through financial accountability.

It concluded that legislation should be drafted embodying uniform accountability structures and arrangements, and applicable to all public entities. The committee lists some 24 recommendations on the sort of provisions which should be included in draft legislation.

The committee stresses that its report should not be seen as conflicting with government's privatisation and deregulation initiatives. "The object is precisely to make those public entities that remain as the privatisation and deregulation initiatives progress subject to more effective accountability structures and arrangements."

REVIEW

Growing up's not so hard to do

DESPITE its explicit sex and un- some carnal knowledge and the sadistic pleasure of manipulating Maurice. Lili continues her tantalising

De Beer election unanimous — Malan

CAPE TOWN — After the election of only former PFP members to the new Democratic Party's (DP) caucus positions, Wynand Malan said yesterday Zach de Beer's election as parliamentary leader had been unanimous and fitted in with the agreement between the three DP leaders that De Beer handle parliamentary structures, he (Malan) be in charge of political contact and Denis Worrall in charge of marketing and public relations.

He said: "This is not to suggest I wanted the job — we are busy building a new party and we were looking for the best people in the various jobs at the moment."

MIKE ROBERTSON

All former NDM people were happy for John Malcomess and Dave Dalling to continue as whips. As regards the caucus chairman, it was tradition the most senior members take the positions of chairman and vice-chairman. Ray Swart and Harry Schwarz were senior MPs.

● See Page 3

Fighting talk by De Beer

3048 B | Day 11/9/89

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday became the newly launched party's first member to address Parliament.

He said the DP rejected racism of the right and violence of the left.

Parktown North MP Marius Barnard did not attend its first parliamentary caucus meeting. He said he had no confidence in the leadership and would continue in Parliament as a PFP member.

The caucus elected former PFP members to all positions. It is understood this was because the three members of the former NDM did not stand in order to avoid tensions in the new party.

Ray Swart (Berea) was elected as caucus chairman and Harry Schwarz (Yeoville) vice-chairman. John Malcomess (Port Elizabeth Central) was elected chief whip and Dave Dalling (Sandton) as his deputy.

De Beer rejected suggestions by NP leader F W de Klerk that he had liquidated the PFP and again called on government to implement fully the SA Law Commission's report on a bill of rights.

He told President P W Botha and De Klerk "everything you do which takes a step nearer to democracy, to universal human dignity, will receive our support."

De Beer added the DP would, however, fight relentlessly against anything done by government to further its own sectional interests, or divide and impoverish the people or restricts freedom.

Con Botha (NP Umlazi) mocked the DP for what he called its lack of a detailed policy and wondered whether it would draw lots to decide who would become president in the unlikely event it won the next general election.

Zach elected to key DP post

Cape Times 11/4/89

30KA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FORMER PFP MPs yesterday made a clean sweep of parliamentary posts up for grabs in the new Democratic Party.

Dr Zach de Beer, one of the DP's co-leaders, was elected parliamentary leader of the party at the DP's first caucus meeting yesterday.

Mr Ray Swart was elected caucus chairman, with Mr Harry Schwarz as vice-chairman.

The PFP's former chief whip, Mr John Malcomess, retains this position in the new party, with Mr Dave Dalling as the second whip.

The DP caucus also elected Mr Roger Burrows and Mr Dalling to the two outstanding vacancies on the DP's 21-person National Board.

Former PFP members now have one-third of the positions on the National Board, the highest decision-making body of the party.

It is understood that none of the three former NDM MPs now in the caucus — Mr Wynand Malan, Mr Peter Gastrow and Mr Pierre Cronje (all members of the National Board) — were nominated for any of the posts on offer yesterday.

The National Board, now fully constituted, will meet on Saturday to elect a chairman. If Dr De Beer is able to secure this position as well, he will have gone some way to enhancing his chances in the leadership race for overall DP leader.

The party is obliged to move away from the current troika leadership arrangement within the next six months, but the PFP moved at its dissolution congress for a single leader to take charge of the DP well ahead of the election.

● Dr De Beer said the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, could not offer the country a growth rate of more than 3% because the politics of his government were "wrong-headed and unjust".

"Whether the National Party likes it or not, South Africa needs sustained growth at 5% — not 3%," Dr De Beer said during the first speech made by a DP MP in Parliament.

Such a necessary growth rate was attainable only by far-reaching change in the NP's political policies, he said.

Dr De Beer said the serious economic problems facing the country were not chiefly financial in origin but political.

"Our economy is basically strong enough. Its problems flow from the government's continued enforcement of an undemocratic and thus unacceptable policy.

"My advice to the Minister of Finance is scrap apartheid, apply democracy, and then you create the chance for the economy to flourish. Then we will really be able to do better than 3%."

Barnard splits from new party

Political Correspondent

THE fledgling Democratic Party suffered its first setback yesterday when PFP stalwart and Parktown MP Dr Marius Barnard formally dissociated himself from the new party by refusing to attend its first caucus meeting.

The move coincides with the decision Dr Zach de Beer, one of the DP's co-leaders, to make himself available for a nomination contest in Parktown, one of the safest opposition seats in the country.

Dr Barnard yesterday declined to link his refusal to join the DP with the Parktown seat which has has held since 1981.

DP moderate, liberal party, says De Beer

By MICHAEL MORRIS
Parliamentary Staff

THE Democratic Party was not a party of the right or left, but of the moderate, liberal centre, said its parliamentary leader, Dr Zac de Beer.

While it was "coming into being" as an opposition party, "we have every intention of gaining power".

Delivering the first DP speech in Parliament during the joint first reading debate on the Budget, Dr de Beer said the DP supported neither the maintenance of white domination offered by parties to the right, nor the socialist policies of the left, which, in varying measure, supported violence and sanctions.

Individual dignity

The Democratic Party's vision was "of one nation, a nation of 37 million South Africans, a nation united by common goals, not divided by racist laws, a nation built on the reality of freedom, whose people take charge of their own lives, seek their own paths to personal progress and together build a society which honours ... dignity of the individual, a nation governed by all its people, for all its people: in a word, a democratic nation".

"We shall work creatively for these values and we shall fight against all parties and groups which oppose them. Racial discrimination is a denial of these aims. So is the employment of violence as a political weapon. Therefore we reject both the right and the left," Dr de Beer said.

He said that while the DP would back the government "in everything you do which takes a step nearer to democracy and universal human dignity," it would "relentlessly" fight anything which further divided or restricted South Africans or drove the country further away from the world community.

"The Democratic Party fights corruption and it does not regard corruption as confined to financial matters. To discriminate against any citizen is corruption."



Dr Zac de Beer



Jasper Walsh

Taunts, words of welcome as DP members take up seats

Parliamentary Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party MPs, taking their seats in Parliament as members of the new party for the first time, drew words of welcome and of contempt from their peers.

The party symbol, too, was given taunting scrutiny.

While Mr Jasper Walsh (DP, Pinelands) said the party would "meet the challenge" to build a democratic South Africa that could take its place among the world's leading nations, Mr Con Botha (NP, Umlazi) said that if one "removed the tinsel and gift-wrapping (from the new party), all you have is the same old shop-soiled demonstration model that has been in the shop window for years".

After all the "razzmatazz" of the launch, it appeared the party could offer little more than generalisations about policy, Mr Botha said.

RELATIONSHIP

But the DP MPs were warmly welcomed by the Labour Party.

Mr Peter Hendrickse (LP, Addo) said: "Listening to Dr Wimpie de Klerk explaining the goals and objectives of the Democratic Party I found no basic differences to those of the Labour Party.

"I look forward to a complimentary relationship with them and hope they will succeed in replacing the current negative Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, thereby assisting us in focusing attention on the future rather than on the past."

Mr David Graaf, (NP Wynberg) was eager to cast doubt on the "new dawn" symbolism of the party's logo.

It was, he said, more like "twilight falling, or, perhaps, the fall of the flawed concept".

"NEWLY-WEDS"

Alternatively, it represented a "a big fish, the Progressive Federal Party, swallowing the minnows of the National Democratic Movement and the Independent Party".

He said he had the impression that "not all the newly-weds were quite certain whether they had attended a woeful wake, or a joyful jamboree" at the official launch of the party.

But he was certain they would "come back in lesser numbers" after the next election.

'Australia South Africa's biggest enemy'

AUSTRALIA is South Africa's biggest enemy, according to Mr Derek Christophers (NP Germiston).

Speaking in the first-reading debate on the Budget, he said that the word apartheid did not exist.

He asked whether any member of the House of Representatives could have sat in the Chamber 40 years ago and discussed the Budget. That "original apartheid" had gone.

SWEAR WORD

Apartheid was like a swear word, and was being used by South Africa's enemies to justify the economic war they were waging.

This war was about resources, not apartheid, and the country's greatest enemy was Australia because it was in the same economic phase and produced the same things — gold, cars, wool, coal and wheat. — Sapa.

Big questions face DP

MR Ralph Hardingham, the New Republic Party MP for Mooi River, said he had accepted the dedication of the Democratic Party and wished it well, but there were a number of questions that the new party would have to consider very seriously before the election.

Speaking in the First Reading debate on the Budget, he asked whether the DP would give a clear indication how it intended to achieve the new vision the party's Parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer, had spoken of.

"How will you deal with the structures which have been put in place by the government over the past 40 years? How will you approach this challenge in practical terms and how will you start?"

● Mr Hardingham said the way objections to the tolling of the M3 at Mooi River had been handled reeked of inefficiency.

THE CHOICE

The Minister of Transport should not underestimate the reaction by the people of the Natal Midlands to a toll on a section of road which they justifiably felt they had a right to use as they had in the past.

The choice now was either to do away with the toll or to grant concessions to motorists living within a certain radius of Mooi River. — Sapa

to Namibia through deception.



Mr Tony Leon . . . some believe he should stick to municipal matters.

Flair could be his downfall

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter

Charismatic Tony Leon's meteoric rise continued at the weekend when he outstripped several PFP heavyweights to be elected one of the PFP's four members on the new Democratic Party's executive.

His rapid rise in municipal ranks, from ordinary councillor to leader of the Opposition in a mere three years, pales in comparison with his progress in party politics.

The 31-year-old "yuppie" attorney and lecturer in constitutional law at the University of the Witwatersrand undoubtedly has his eyes set on a parliamentary seat.

But ironically, his extraordinary flair for politics could count against him. For some of his party seniors believe he should for the time being stick to his present job of changing the country's biggest city into what he calls a "shining city on the hill".

Observers say Mr Leon boosted his stature — and ensured his election to the DP executive — by the resolution he put to the PFP disbanding-congress on Friday that the DP should choose one leader and finalise an election manifesto within six weeks of an election being called.

Although Mr Leon's proposal was interpreted as a "master plan" to ensure the election of Dr Zach de Beer as DP leader, Mr Leon was also shrewd enough not to be seen as being opposed to the DP merger.

He pointed out that though he did in fact support Dr de Beer for the leadership, the intention of the resolution was to "make sure the DP is a bird which can fly, and a bird cannot fly with three heads".

Mr Leon's sleeves-up, aggressive style would make him an ideal candidate for a marginal parliamentary seat such as Hillbrow. But his pin-stripe image would probably be better suited to traditional Prog territory such as Houghton.

... President Daniel arap Moi and Nigeria's ... African Government, of course.

"What talks does Mrs Thatcher mean?

Worrall has eye on Natal seat for general election

3044
MGW 11/4/89

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

CO-LEADER of the Democratic Party Dr Denis Worrall may stand in Natal in the general election later this year.



Dr Denis Worrall

Dr Worrall was not commenting today on where he will be standing — but indications are he will not stand again in Helderberg, where he missed defeating Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis by 39 votes last year.

He said a number of options were being considered.

Dr Worrall has in the past emphasised that he sees Natal as an important growth area for the Democratic Party.

He has had a close relationship with the region since he resigned as Ambassador to Britain over, among other things, the government's flat initial rejection of the Natal/KwaZulu indaba.

But there is resistance among former Progressive Federal Party members to giving him a safe seat in Natal.

Berea seat

It is understood he had his eye on the Berea seat of veteran Natal politician Mr Ray Swart, who is expected to retire.

Mr Swart would not comment on his future today.

At the time of the white general election in May 1987 Dr Worrall also considered standing against Natal National Party leader, Mr Stoffel Botha.

● The Democratic Party has moved quickly to counter a campaign alleging it is soft on security.

Dr Worrall said today that although he felt the questions he had been asked on a *Network* TV programme on Sunday night had been "angled", this had been to the advantage of the DP.

"It was my experience in the United Kingdom that whentelevision interviewers went over the top they triggered the sympathies of the viewer.

"I have had an overwhelmingly positive response to the interview. I always respond better under provocative questioning."

Dr Worrall said he hoped the interview would be the first of many in which aspects of DP policy would be examined.

● More reports, page 8.

Star 11/4/89

DP's vision of SA spelt out by Zach de Beer

Parliamentary Staff (704B)

The newly formed Democratic Party was not a party of the Right or Left, but of the moderate, liberal centre, the **DP's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach de Beer,** said yesterday.

While it was "coming into being" as an opposition party, "we have every intention of gaining power".

Delivering the first DP speech in Parliament during the joint first reading debate on the Budget, Dr de Beer said the DP supported neither the maintenance of white domination offered by parties to the Right nor the socialist policies of the Left, which, in varying measure, supported violence and sanctions.

The Democratic Party's vision was "of one nation, a nation of 37 million South Africans, a nation united by common goals, not divided by racist laws, a nation built on the reality of freedom, whose people take charge of their own lives, seek their own paths to personal progress and together build a society which honours dignity of the individual, a nation governed by all its people, for all its people: in a word, a democratic nation".

Working creatively

"We shall work creatively for these values, and we shall fight against all parties and groups which oppose them. Racial discrimination is a denial of these aims. So is the employment of violence as a political weapon."

He said that while the DP would back the Government "in everything you do which takes a step nearer to democracy and universal human dignity", it would relentlessly fight anything which further divided or restricted South Africans or drove the country farther away from the world community.

"The Democratic Party fights corruption, and it does not regard corruption as confined to financial matters. To discriminate against any citizen is corruption."

Death-

As many gaps as planks in Democratic platform

PETER FABRICIUS, The Star's Political Correspondent, highlights the large gaps that still exist in the policy of the newly formed Democratic Party and some of the issues that still have to be settled.

Several thorny policy issues will still have to be settled by the new Democratic Party which was launched in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Large gaps still exist in the party policy which will be filled by a standing policy committee to be appointed soon.

Dr Wimpie de Klerk, who headed the committee which drew up the policy document, said at the founding congress on Saturday that the document was not complete.

It would have been "presumptious" and "undemocratic" to do this before the DP itself had had a chance to discuss policy.

The standing committee would prepare a "very comprehensive policy document for discussion at the next congress".

The DP has also accepted a PFP proposal that gaps in policy should be filled by the policies of all three constituent parties as adopted by congresses.

Areas of confusion

One of the areas of confusion is the protection of minorities.

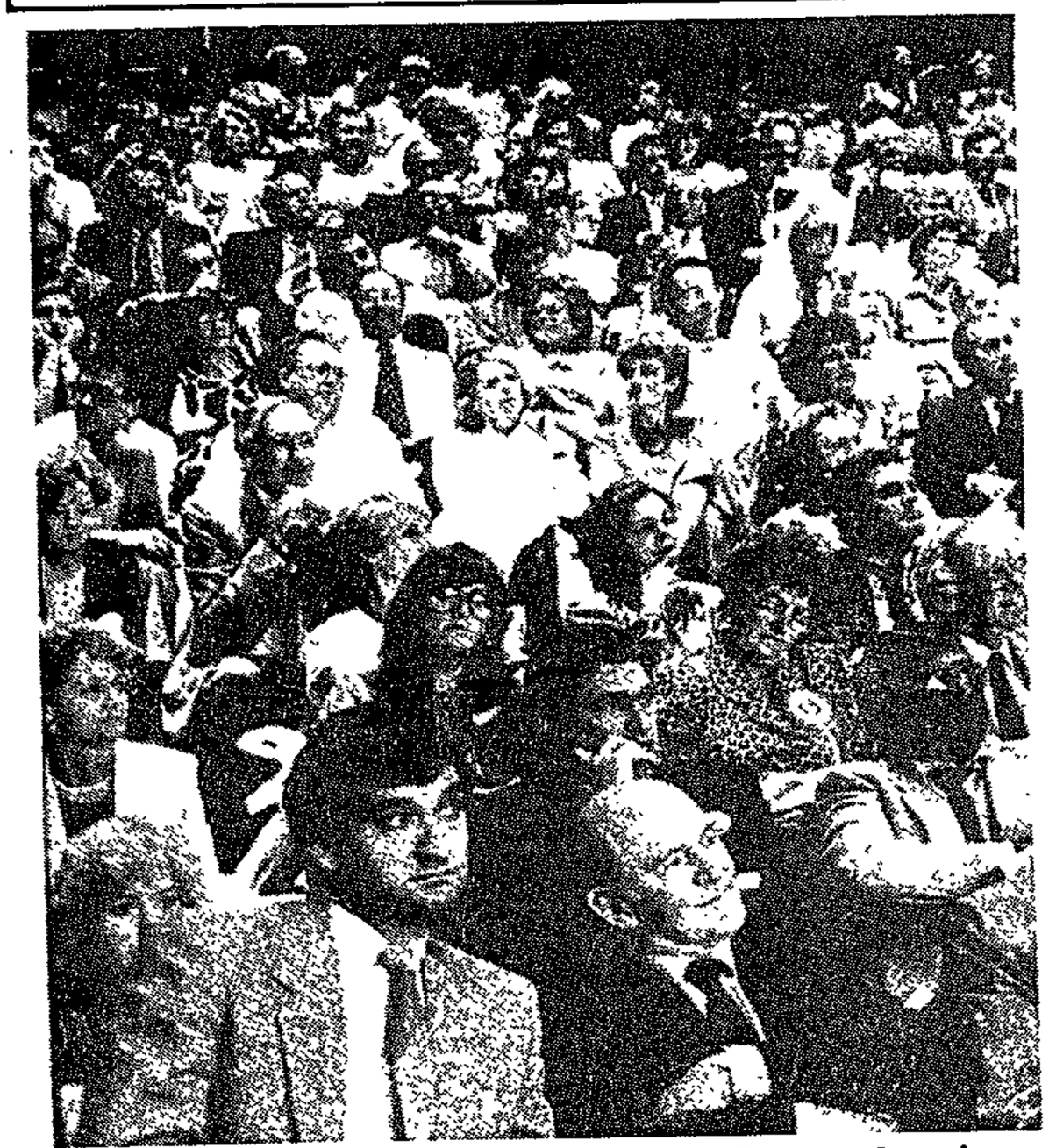
The DP's broad policy document makes no mention of political protection for minorities, but it was mentioned by Dr de Klerk in his speech to the congress.

"There shall be protection against domination of minorities," he said.

Later he said: "The DP rejects discrimination and domination of cultures and groups.

"The essence is that simple majority rule is not the only form of democracy." However, he went on to say that the "basis of race for a South African constitution is rejected".

Another area of policy that could cause problems is economic policy. In broad terms the policy document commits the DP to free enterprise, but with the proviso that the State has a duty to uplift deprived communities.



At the founding congress of the Democratic Party on Saturday the party's policy document had not been completed.

The State's precise role will have to be clarified as several DP leaders favour a policy of "economic democracy" where the State actively redistributes wealth.

Whether or not the DP should participate in the Indian and coloured Houses of Parliament also remains a divisive issue.

Mr Wynand Malan, the former NDM leader, who opposes participation, and Mr Pat Poovalingam the PFP MP in the House of Delegates, who favours it, are still at loggerheads about this.

It is understood too that the issue could come to a head soon as an MP of the Labour Party has applied for DP membership.

This could be a test of the policy.

The DP's conscription policy could also cause problems as there is a wide range of views on this.

Security policy is also very vague still, leaving wide areas for disagreement when the policy has to be finalised.

Emergency powers

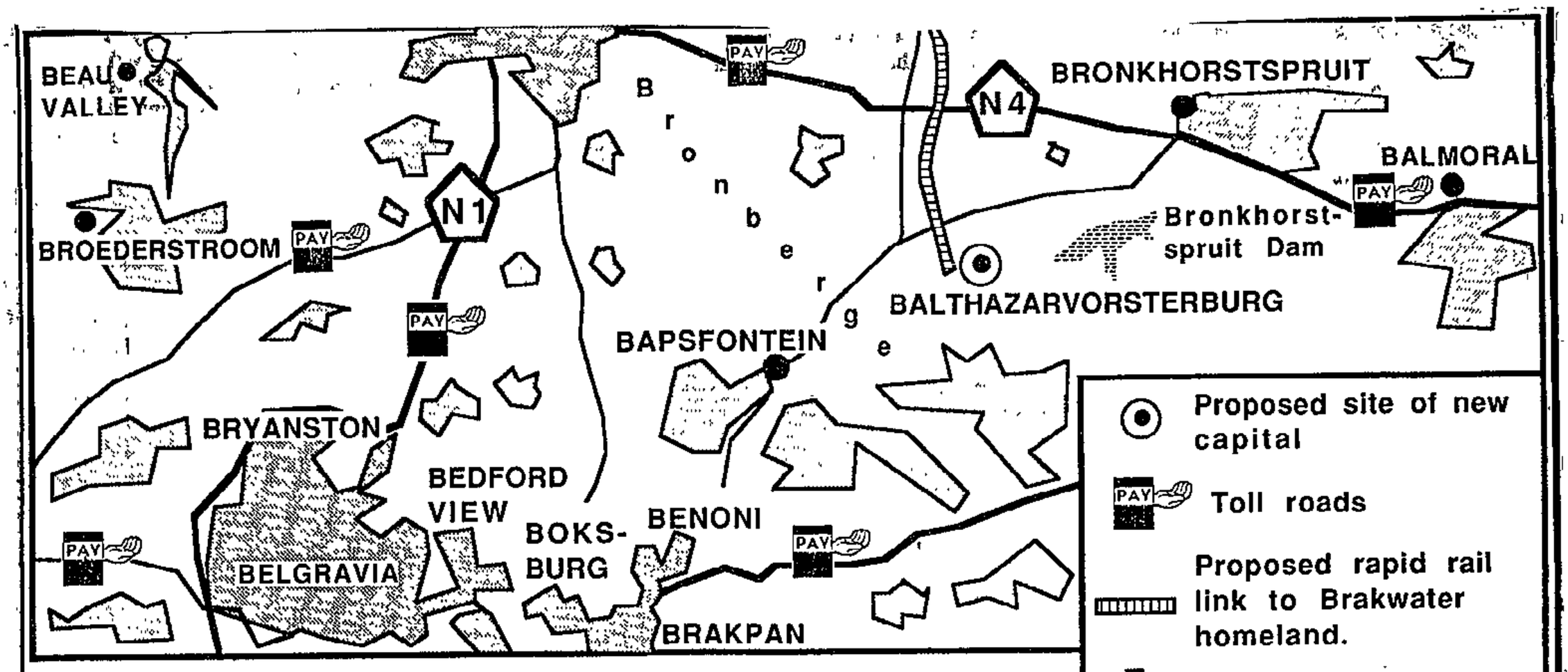
The broad policy document accepts the need to give the State emergency powers under control by the courts, but does not spell out how this will happen.

The need for a national convention could also spark heated debate between the NDM faction and Mr Harry Schwarz in particular.

Mr Schwarz favours a national convention at which a new constitution will be negotiated, and he assured the PFP disbanding congress that this would be part of DP policy.

However, Mr Malan made clear on Saturday that negotiation should be "a continuous process, not an event".

In the written version of his speech he specifically excluded the idea of a national convention, but left this out when he delivered the speech.



Star 11/4/84

Boerestaat capital will, sadly, be born in scandal

304AP

YESTERDAY we watched dust devils rising from exhausted mealie lands east of the Witwatersrand — but soon this land will accommodate a great new city: Balthazarvorsterburg, capital of the Boerestaat.

But the capital will be born in scandal.

Star Line has found the land was bought by a relative of a

PROPERTY REPORTER and STAR LINE

prominent Cabinet Minister for only R45 457 in January this year. Today, a mere three months later, it is worth an estimated R579 million.

The farmland, between Bapsfontein and Bronkhorstspruit, will soon witness the start of the instant capital which is expected to grow, eventually, to the size of Jankempdorp or even Alldays.

We spoke to Chief Phineas Mfasa who lives where the main street will be. He told us he has been given a week to move his sprawling village (given to his people by Paul Kruger in 1887) 270 km away.

Mr Mfasa showed us his pumpkin patch, soon to become the site of the new city's proposed R157 million civic centre.

At the nearby Bapsfontein marshalling yards — apparently to be ceded to the new Boere republic — we counted at least 5 751 surplus army vehicles and 37 aircraft parked.

These apparently belong to a local farmer "with connections" who is said to have "found them one morning parked on his farm". Some have already been painted (bright white) with the insignia "AHB (or AWB)".

When we knocked on the farmer's door, he refused to come out. When we said we were from The Star he opened fire through the letter box.

After we waved a white flag the farmer rushed out and hugged us. We then learned that a pure-white flag is likely to be the national flag.

Mr Piet H Botha (another local man with good connections) was more forthcoming and showed us a map of the capital whose main street, wide enough to turn an oxwagon in, is to be named "Die Glorieryke Eerste van Aprilrylaan" to commemmorate the day the Boerestaat was announced.

Jigsaw pieces of homeland will be linked by toll roads

STAFF REPORTER

TOWN planners were aghast last night when told the fragmented Boere homeland would have its jigsaw pieces linked by toll roads.

There is a rumour the toll gates will also demand passports.

Hundreds of thousands of people, residents and non-residents, will have to pass through bits and pieces of the state — and, therefore, through toll gates.

This will generate enough money for the fledgling state to obviate the need for income tax, making it a tax-free haven.

As its gesture to the new country, South Africa has agreed to maintain and develop all the toll roads.

Race relations

A Department of Constitutional Development spokesman last night denied the Government had agreed to the new republic using light meters to calibrate skin colours at its border posts.

"Race relations will be excellent. This is the sort of wicked rumour that can only cause division," he said.

However, the Constitution of the AHB (or AWB) is widely expected to provide for specific exclusion of "brown Afrikaners", or coloureds. It is generally believed all 4 300 tollgate keepers and passport controllers will be white.

Mr P L Botha, widely tipped as the new republic's chief executive, told the SABC last night: "We whites will be entirely independent. We will need black help only when it comes to constructing roads and rail links, buildings, bridges, telecommunication maintenance, and such things as agricultural labour, printing, car repairs, gardening and domestic work.

Bryanston to be included in new state

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE MOST surprising element in the Boerestaat plan is the inclusion of Bryanston. Said a source: "Bryanston has always been a conservative area, albeit mainly English-speaking.

"It was part of the deal for them to have an area of Sandton and the feeling was that the 'English' conservatives of Bryanston would understand and sympathise with the nationalistic aspirations of the Volk.

"English-speaking school children will be bussed out of Bryanston to neighbouring schools. If they don't fancy that, their parents should arrange extra Afrikaans lessons and in due course they could apply for 'Honorary Boer' status."

Radicals

Sources added that certain problems were foreseen with Belgravia, which has a distinct "grey area" character and is also inhabited by many young radicals who can't afford to live in Yeoville.

"However, these people will simply have to accept the facts of life," the source said.

"If they don't like being part of a Boerestaat, they could always move to some other suburb they find more compatible, such as Berea or Bellevue ... oops, which reminds me, we seem to have omitted those two suburbs through an oversight.

"The Cabinet will certainly have to go back to the drawing board on that one."

Election could cost parties R30m — analyst

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Cash-strapped political parties would have their begging cups out to finance the enormous costs of the coming general election, political sources said yesterday.

They said the 1987 election and the municipal elections last year were a heavy drain on party funds.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the normally well-heeled NP was going to have to dig deep into its pockets and rely heavily on its backers to support the huge costs involved in fighting most of the country's 166 constituencies.

He said, however, that the NP had a powerful and cheap propaganda machine at its beck and call — SABC Radio and TV.

It was conservatively estimated that all-party costs of the campaign could be in excess of R30m.

The former PFP's chief fund-raiser, Robin Carlisle, said the new DP's aim was to raise R20m before the election. Financing of the DP campaign would depend heavily on the new party's credibility and support among big business.

Kleynhans said major campaign costs included advertising, printing and distribution of propaganda material, pamphlets and posters; the hiring of halls; and the efforts, mainly telephonic, to trace missing voters.

During the 1987 elections, it was found that as much as a third of voters registered in any particular constituency had moved. In some areas, the percentage was even higher.

Nothnagel is SA's man in The Hague

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Albert Nothnagel, the NP's controversial MP for Innesdal, has been appointed Ambassador to the Netherlands from June, succeeding Frank Quint.

He was elected to the Transvaal Provincial Council in 1970 and to Parliament in 1974. He is now NP caucus deputy chairman.

He is known for his verligte views, which he has not hesitated to express, and was recently severely reprimanded for saying government would eventually have to talk to the banned ANC.



● NOTHNAGEL

No misappropriation of budget for State President's Office

J P ROUX, secretary general, State President's Office

BUSINESS DAY of March 22, 1989, contained an article claiming that officials in the State President's ffice are to receive on average % more pay in the 1989/90 nancial year than in the pre- ous year.

The March 29 edition of your ewspaper gave the deserved promi- ence to my reply, which pointed out lat the 43% figure was not correct. appears to me that our dispute on e calculation of average increases as now been adequately resolved.

Under present circumstances, owever, with insinuations of possi- le corruption being bandied about, I ould like to respond to your editor- al under the heading "Where did it o?" in Business Day of March 30.

I cannot but feel that the State President's Office has been singled ut for unfair treatment. Generally peaking, the issues aised by you de- erve the attention f Parliament, par- icularly as the tate President's ote is to be de- ated soon — as you o doubt know quite ell.

However, as your llegations cast a hadow over the inancial admini- tration in the State

PRESENTATION ACCORDING TO STANDARD ITEMS

Items	1989/90	1988/89
	R'000	R'000
A Personnel expenditure	11 676	9 501
B Administrative expenditure	3 605	3 398
C Stores and livestock	788	676
D Equipment	494	602
E Land and buildings	—	—
F Professional and special services	780	709
G Transfer payments	—	—

MANPOWER ESTIMATE IN MAN-YEARS — 1988/89

	R59 200 and more	R59 199-R35 100	R35 099-R17 300	R17 299-R7 800	R7 799-0	Total man-years
Programme 1	3	16	25	53	1	98
Programme 2	—	8	13	21	7	49
Programme 3	3	3	3	3	—	12
Programme 4	3	9	11	6	8	37
Total man-years	9	36	52	83	16	196*a*

a Authorised establishment excluding members of the President's Council but including the President's Council Secretariat and Office of the Administrator General 196

course of the year. Having pointed out that your criticism is to a large extent based on incorrect information, I get to the crux of the matter — namely, the allusion in your article that funds originally voted for personnel expenditure by the State President's Office might have been misappropriated.

This office budgeted for an average of 160 employees in the 1988/89 financial year, and not 196 as indicated by you. However, the final figure turned out to be only approximately 149, which is less than originally estimated for and this obviously resulted in a reduction of personnel expenditure, and hence the savings referred to above.

These savings were partly absorbed in financing the 15% general salary increase for civil servants effective from January 1 1989, plus new dispensations for certain professional categories and increased housing subsidies. The balance of savings in the total estimates for this office will be returned to the Exchequer after final audit, as indicated above. In the final instance, I would like to reiterate that the salary increases that accrued to officials in the State President's Office were

resident's [illegible] nd as I am the responsible accounting officer, I feel ompelled to respond even though ne 1989/90 Budget s still being debated in Parliament.

Some of your "indisputable facts" re, to say the least, imply not true. In he first place, it is ncorrect to say hat "... last year he State President's Office budgeted o employ 196 officials ...". In the econd place, it is wrong to state that '... the State President's Office has udgeted in the coming year to emloy only 169 officials ...".

Although there were 196 posts on he approved establishment of the tate President's Office during the 1988/89 financial year, all these posts were not filled. As in any organisation, there is a turnover of staff, and on average there were approximately 149 employees in the office during the course of the said financial year.

Although the number of 196 appeared in the estimates of expenditure for the State President's Office for 1988/89, it is stated quite clearly in a prominent footnote that the number refers to the authorised establishment excluding members of the President's Council, but including the President's Council Secretariat and Office of the Administrator-General.

For the 1989/90 financial year the authorised establishment of the State President's Office is 169. However, in not one of the two years did this office budget for the full authorised establishment. As a matter of fact, it is accepted practice not to budget for vacancies, with the exception of a small percentage of posts expected to be filled during the no different from those of officials employed in all other government departments. As a matter of fact, the remuneration and benefits applicable to all civil servants are determined by the Commission for Administration.

Expenditure by departments, including the State President's Office, is subject to strict audit by the Auditor-General and it is virtually impossible for funds voted for personnel expenditure to be misappropriated if the rules laid down by the Treasury are adhered to. I trust that the whole issue of expenditure by the State President's Office has now been put in a proper perspective.

H Miscellanious expenditure	—	—
Amount to be voted	17 343	14 886
Amount forming a direct charge on the State Revenue Fund Salary of State President	174	152
Total estimated expenditure	17 517	15 038

Departmental and miscellaneous receipts R230 000

☐ Extracts from the budgets for the State President's Office as contained in the 1988 and 1989 Estimates of Expenditure

MANPOWER ESTIMATE IN MAN-YEARS — 1989/90

	R80 000 and more	R79 999-R40 300	R40 299-R19 800	R19 799-R8 900	R8 899-0	Total man-years
Programme 1 .	4	24	23	30	4	85
Programme 2 .	—	7	11	19	2	39
Programme 3 .	2	3	1	2	—	8
Programme 4 .	3	9	11	6	8	37
Total man-years	9	43	46	57	14	169*a*

a Authorised establishment excluding members of the President's Council but including the President's Council Secretariat and Office of the Administrator General 169

Being placed third is not OK

LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Jo'burg 2000

Dear Sir,

REFER TO the report in Business Day of March 23 headlined: Checkers expects full power in 1991.

The claim that Checkers ranks 'number two among the big three" is surprising. By what standards does deputy MD Sergio Martinengo or your reporter justify this statement? Let us examine some of the facts.

Turnover for Pick 'n Pay in their recently published results for the year ended February 1989 totalled some R3 869m, and while OK's March 1989 results are yet to be announced, turnover for the 12 months ended March last was R3 121m, easily surpassing Mr Martinengo's forecast of R2 600m to the end June 1989.

My calculator informs me that the annual growth in Checkers's forecast of turnover totals a measly 11,5%, well below the food inflation estimated supermarket research specialist IBIS at 21% for the same period.

Checkers now asserts that "return (on shareholders' equity) is more than double that of OK". Unfortunately, there is no way of verifying this claim, as Checkers is an unlisted company which fails to publish the extent of its shareholders' funds.

However, given the cumulative losses incurred by the group to date, it seems likely that Checkers's equity is considerably lower that that of either the OK or Pick 'n Pay.

In addition, these losses would ensure Checkers is not in a tax-paying position, and would have the effect of artificially inflating their return even further.

Finally, Checkers's net margin at 0,54% for the six months ended December 1988 (and which includes the traditionally profitable Christmas period) compares unfavourably with OK's 0,85% as at September last year, and Pick 'n Pay's considerably higher figure.

Given the aforegoing, perhaps you will forgive my disappointment that your reputable and authoritative publication failed to check the demonstrably inaccurate claim that Checkers is "number two among the big three".

A A FABIG
Director, OK Bazaars

☐ Martinengo was referring to grocery sales of the three big supermarket chains. This was unfortunately not made clear in our report. — EDITOR.

COMMENT

SOUTH 12/4/87

Don't gloat yet

SOUTH AFRICAN euphoria, not to say glee, over the humiliation of Swapo and its leader, Sam Nujoma, is untimely, unseemly, and typically self-deluding. Whatever damage the foolish breach of Resolution 435 has done to Nujoma's international standing, it has neither enhanced South Africa's image abroad — except as a formidable killing machine — nor has it necessarily done any serious harm to Swapo's election prospects. The gloating, to say the least, is premature.

Besides, it misses the point about Namibian independence whose very purpose is to cut the colonial tie with South Africa. At worst, Namibia will be hostile and suspicious like Zimbabwe, and at best it will be neutral and disdainful like Botswana. And, most likely, it will be governed (or ruled, or misgoverned, as you wish) by Swapo under the leadership of Sam Nujoma.

To South Africa it hardly matters who rules the place after the end of the year. Whatever regime is installed, its leaders will be forced to compromise with the multinationals, or watch the territory's few industrial and mining ventures go the way of the Zambian Copperbelt. Of its white population, the majority will either leave quite soon, or lay long-term plans to leave, or at least send their children to be educated in Kakamas or Frankfurt. A little trade will pass through Walvis Bay, and a little will use the railway line, but the quantity will not be great because a desert territory of about 1,25-million people cannot generate much trade. Botswana is the prototype.

What does matter for South Africa — and this they had better consider seriously — is the degree of international co-operation and pressure which becomes possible wherever the two superpowers agree to work together. Nujoma was brought to heel by a combination of South African military force, UN mediation under the sponsorship of the US and the USSR, and direct pressure from Angola and Cuba. Nujoma literally had nowhere to turn.

Similar alliances under the sponsorship of the superpowers have been fashioned to deal with Afghanistan and Kampuchea; South Africa's time, and Israel's, will surely come. If a combination of superpowers, carefully marshalling smaller powers to behave as they are directed, can rescue the Namibian accords from the follies of Nujoma, similar combinations can surely exert irresistible pressure on South Africa itself.

This need be cause for alarm only to those South Africans who think the future can be averted. Foreign Minister Pik Botha has shown in Namibia that he happily engages the greater powers, and that he has the skill and experience — and the flexibility of mind — to manipulate the outcome. However, it must be plain to everybody that Botha succeeded in Namibia only because he was prepared to accept the liberation of Namibia on the basis of non-racialism, justice, and universal rights. The same will be true when the day comes, of South Africa itself.

Control of racing

HOW wide the proposed Highveld Racing Authority's powers will be is not yet clear, but indications are that control of the industry will stay with racing people. Only one of its 10 members will be appointed by the Administrator, and the extent to which the Jockey Club will lose authority will depend on further investigations.

The Administrator has deferred appointing a statutory Highveld Racing Commission to take control of horse-racing in the province, as recommended by his advisors in a policy document, but the implication is that there will be significant intervention unless the industry "gets its house in order".

While racing needs to be closely policed because of the many av nues open to abuse, this does n mean government must do the p licing. Nor for that matter shou bookmakers be abolished simp because a few are rumoured to involved in "skulduggery". Peo who break the common law sho be prosecuted in the normal w The enforcement of other reg tions should be in the hands of petent people in the industry w integrity is beyond question.

The new appeal measures jockeys have been welcomed, the Jockey Club has already m to improve its procedures. may be a case for further ing its powers, but these sh kept out of the hand government.

DP: Big on justice, not 'soft' on security

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

NATIONALIST propaganda that the Democratic Party would be "soft" on security was rejected last night by one of its joint leaders, Dr Zac de Beer.

He was addressing an enthusiastic meeting attended by about 2 000 people in the Cape Town City Hall.

The capacity crowd frequently applauded the three leaders, Dr de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

Dr de Beer said the citizens of South Africa were entitled to protection and it was a high priority of the DP to have an adequate police force.

"Get off the fence"

True and lasting security could, however, not be maintained unless it was built on a foundation of justice.

He said that not only was the DP committed to security for the people of South Africa but that, unlike the Nationalists, the DP had a policy which made longterm, lasting security possible.

He challlenged Mr F W de Klerk to "get off the fence".

It was presumably for this reason that nearly half the Nationalist caucus members voted against him in the leadership election and voted for Mr Barend du Plessis, who had the reputation of being reasonably verlig.

At the first opportunity following his election, Mr de Klerk made a "sweet-as-honey" speech full of quite liberal-sounding phrases but containing no undertakings at all.

Since then all had been silence. There were hints of a review of the constitution at some unspecified future date.

That was not good enough, said Dr de Beer. The people of South Africa wanted to know before this year's election whether they were dealing with a verligte or a verkrampte.

More specifically, did Mr de Klerk propose repealing the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

Mr Malan said South Africa found itself in a situation of crisis dimensions. In such a situation the hard truth was the only refuge and the real hard truth all South Africans had to face was that black liberation was coming.

Whites had a simple choice: they could resist it or be part of it. The DP offered them the opportunity to be part of it.



Pictures: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus.

OVATION! The joint leaders of the Democratic Party are welcomed with a standing ovation from an enthusiastic audience of more than 2 000 that packed the Cape Town City Hall last night.

12/4/89

Sun A

Argus

Dr Worrall said the fundamental reason why the National Party could not face up to the realities of South Africa's situation was that it knew that every step toward a post-apartheid South Africa was a step toward a post-National Party kind of politics.

Defence of SA flag

The result was a political leadership guided by short-term interests.

During question time Dr Worrall defended the display of the South African flag on the stage after a questioner said it was an obnoxious representation of an era riddled with apartheid.

He said it was still the flag of the country and men had died under it fighting for freedom. The DP ideal was to create a nation with symbols that would reflect the real-life emotions of the people.

Asked about Mr Jan van Eck's reported misgivings about an association with Inkatha, Dr Worrall said it was for the party to determine what Mr van Eck had said.

He hoped the DP could have the same association with Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha as it would have with any other movements.

Inkatha could be an important feature in shaping South Africa's future.



AT THE HELM: The joint leaders of the Democratic Party on the platform last night. They are, from left, Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Zac de Beer.

SABC-TV attacked over snub to party

Political Staff

THE SABC today came under fire from the fledgling Democratic Party for refusing to give television coverage to last night's DP launch meeting in the city.

DP media spokesman Mr Dave Dalling MP said today the SABC was discriminating against the party.

"When we asked the SABC to be present they agreed to cover the meeting — but not for television news.

"I appealed to Mr Johan Pretorius, the senior SABC man in Cape Town, to reverse the decision but he refused.

"He told me the SABC had been more than generous to the DP in the coverage of the launch and he would not change his decision.

"An SABC reporter told me the reason was that three leaders were speaking, making the meeting difficult to cover.

"This is fatuous and I intend taking up the matter with the SABC's director-general.

"If it had been a major NP meeting, with its three leaders speaking, the SABC would have been there with all its trappings."

This was a clear case of discrimination.

Govt called on to implement report

304A B/Day 12/4/89.

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — DP co-leader Wynand Malan yesterday called on government to have the courage to implement the Law Commission's report on a Bill of Rights.

He said the report was a monumental work which advocated a practical and accommodating approach.

Its recommendation for a five-phase programme for implementation might not be acceptable to fanatics and dogmatists, but that should not intimidate government.

The first phase called for Parliament to support the concept of a Bill of Rights and Malan called on government to have the courage to do that.

The report was one which had recommendations everybody could support.

Malan called on all organisations which believed in a Bill of Rights, such as Inkatha, the ANC, the UDF and SACC, to support the report by Mr Justice Olivier and discuss the contents with the commission. The report provided a meeting point for opposing parties and he was sure Mr Justice Oliver would welcome the opportunity to hold such discussions.

He also called on government to appoint the commission to investigate the development of constitutional models which met the conditions of a Bill of Rights.

Malan said he hoped a situation would not arise where groups such as Inkatha, the ANC and UDF would react favourably to the report, but government would not support proposals put forward by one of its own instruments. But, he had a feeling his hopes would be dashed.

Power will come to those relevant to blacks' needs

ULUNDI — Political power in SA would only come to those who were relevant to the needs of blacks, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Racist white minority rulers, black revolutionaries and "celebrity leaders" would be discarded by burgeoning economic realities, Buthelezi said in a memorandum for discussion in the Netherlands.

Buthelezi said political groups would be picked up or discarded until SA's political scene was dominated by those who set out to achieve what could be achieved and ceased trying to redirect history.



● BUTHELEZI

The NP's apartheid policy was doomed because it flew against historic trends in the development of SA's society, and was becoming the casualty of its misconceptions.

The NP began to "flounder" when, economically, it had to treat SA as one place, but politically, denied it was.

Revolutionaries assumed blacks could be abstracted from SA's central economy for long enough to ensure its collapse. They did not understand that SA's blacks made an invaluable contribution to keeping the wheels of industry turning.

Where black survival was at stake, blacks contributed to "assuring minimal degrees of normality", he said.

Democratic forces at work in SA were very real, and an unstoppable process of urbanisation was taking place. — Sapa.

Soviet Deputy Minister getting familiar with SA

SOVIET Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin is fast becoming familiar with the SA scene.

After wide-ranging talks with SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha in the Soviet Embassy in Maputo two weeks ago, Adamishin flew to Jan Smuts airport from where he left for a lengthy helicopter ride to inspect the Witwatersrand.

He later flew over the northern Transvaal on a commercial flight bound for Lusaka.

Later this month the Soviet Deputy Minister will make his first official visit to SA when the Angola-Cuba-SA joint commission — with the Soviets and Americans as observers — meets in Cape Town.

Political Staff

The Maputo meeting between Adamishin and Botha was their third. The two had previously held discussions in Brazzaville and New York, and met again at the weekend in Namibia.

The Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday declined to comment on Soviet-SA discussions, but it is understood that the Maputo talks ranged widely.

Subjects covered included jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela's possible release, sanctions, internal SA issues and relations between the two countries.

'Govt not considering more western Cape land for blacks'

Star Day 12/4/84

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government was not considering making more land available for black housing, commercial or industrial development in the western Cape, Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis said in the House of Assembly yesterday.

He said, however, should any applications be submitted to him in terms of the Black Communities Development Act for the provision of more land for black development in the western Cape, he would consider them on their merits.

Heunis was asked whether he was considering declaring any land available for blacks for informal housing or other development, but he replied: "No."

DP deposit: City makes 'mistake'

Municipal Reporter

A DIFFERENCE of R2 500 between the deposits required from the Democratic Party and from Cape Democrats for the hire of the City Hall on two consecutive nights this week had been a "mistake", a City Council official said yesterday.

The Democratic Party had to put down a deposit of R5 000 for last night's meeting. Yet the previous evening the Cape Democrats hired the same hall and paid a deposit of only R2 500.

Mr Jack Kloppers, Director of Civic Amenities, said yesterday that his officials had "made a mistake" in asking the Democratic Party for a R5 000 deposit.

Late last year Mr Kloppers recommended to the City Council that political, protest or union meetings should be banned from the City Hall, or that the organisations involved should have to pay a R5 000 deposit to cover possible damages.

The council decided the deposit should be "between R1 000 and R5 000".

Big vote

By BRUCE CAMERON, Political Staff

THE government has opened the way for massive pre-polling day voting in the general election.

Changes allowing unrestricted pre-polling day voting are contained in an Elections and Identification Bill aimed at streamlining the election system in time for the tricameral elections expected in September.

Mr Con Botha (NP Umlazi), who headed a Joint Committee of Parliament on the issue, said today one of the main targets of the removal of restrictions on special and postal votes was to overcome intimidation problems on polling day in voting for the Houses of Delegates and Representatives.

The Bill allows for the casting of votes between 30 and 40 days before election day — depending on the period between nomination and polling day.

Previously only people with a valid reason — such as being ill or unable to leave a place of employment, or being out of a constituency on polling day — could use the postal and special vote system.

There would now no restrictions on using the special and postal vote system, making the system similar to the "prior vote" system used during the municipal elections last year.

Simplified

Mr Botha said he did not think the changes would open the way for greater abuses of the special and postal vote system because the system itself had been simplified to overcome abuses.

For example postal vote forms could now be posted to an individual after application and then returned by post without any party official having a hand in processing them.

According to a report tabled in Parliament on recommendations made by the committee, other contemplated changes are:

- To prevent intimidation, greater secrecy of voting documents to protect information on whether a person has voted;
- Extension of the vote to all South Africans abroad on condition they were registered as voters before they went abroad — a provision which at the moment applies only to government officials;
- Measures to improve the registration of voters, including keeping records on different forms to allow cross-checking;
- The introduction of a "B" voters' list of people who did not have up-to-date identity documents;
- Tougher identification procedures for voting because of past malpractices. Identification would be limited to an identity document or other document issued by the state on which the voter's name and photograph appear; and
- The virtual automatic removal of the name of a person from the voters' list after a change of address.

Other methods would be used to try to solve the problem of updating voters' lists, including giving local authorities statutory power to require voters to notify changes of address.

Returning officers would be obliged to record any new addresses found with applications for postal and special votes.

Louw warns medics on politics

Staff Reporter

ANC supporters in the medical professions were mixing their "extremist politics" with medical principles, Administrator of the Cape Mr Gene Louw said this week.

Speaking at a congress in the city on "Labour Relations in Health Services", Mr Louw warned that health services were "by no means excluded from the intensity of the revolutionary onslaught in South Africa today".

About 300 delegates attended the two-day congress which was organised by the Department of Health Services and Welfare, Administration, House of Assembly South-West Cape Region.

"We regrettably learnt of the fact that the ANC members of the medical profession organise under the banner of 'Natural Health System' and 'Health for All', and are thus launching a strong medico-political health strategy in which extremist politics are inextricably bound with medical principles," he said.

While the health services could expect increased political attacks, several "so-called health organisations" whose main purpose was "purely political", would appear occasionally, Mr Louw said.

The National Medical and Dental Association (Namda) had, for example, subscribed to an advertisement commemorating "75 years of the ANC" and the ANC had, in turn, referred to Namda as a "front organisation", he said.

Reacting to Mr Louw's statements last night, a Namda spokesman said apartheid, besides "predetermining" an individual's political, economic and social status, had a "profound effect" on their health status.

It could not be denied that blacks in SA suffered from diseases of poverty such as TB, kwashiorkor, malnutrition, gastro-enteritis etc, whereas whites generally suffered from diseases of affluence.

"Health for All", the spokesman said, was not a "radical or jargonised concept", but a strategy initiated by the World Health Organisation and one to which the majority of the countries in the world subscribed.

Mr Louw appealed to health practitioners to elevate the health profession "far above politics and to practise it with independent and unsullied professionalism".

PW, 2/4/89. (9) (3048)

Liberal Nat Nothnagel is made an ambassador



Mr Nothnagel ... takes over in July.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Innesdal MP Mr Albert Nothnagel, stormy petrel of the National Party, has been appointed ambassador to the Netherlands.

He will replace Dr Frank Quint, according to a statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Nothnagel (49) will probably take over in July from Dr Quint who has been ill and is to retire.

Mr Nothnagel, regarded as one of the NP's most liberal MPs, has represented the conservative Pretoria constituency of Innesdal as an MP since 1974.

He came close to being expelled from the NP shortly before the general election in May 1987 when he said the Government would eventually have to negotiate with the African National Congress.

Last night Mr Nothnagel said he regarded his new job as a "phase in my political life".

It had not come entirely out of the blue as he had indicated two years ago that he was ready for a break from mainstream politics.

"I think as a politician I have a lot of knowledge of, and insight into the changing South Africa to put across," he said. This would help him to improve South African/Netherlands relations.

The prospect of losing Innesdal to the Conservative Party had not influenced him, as he was sure it could be held. He was sad to be leaving the constituency he had served for 19 years, four of them as an MPC.

Mr Nothnagel's wife Stephanie and his children, Gert (21), Laura (20) and Mardie (16) will be going with him.

DP: Resist or be part of change

Cape Times 12/6/89

ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE hard truth that all South Africans had to face was that black liberation was coming, the co-leader of the Democratic Party, Mr Wynand Malan, said last night.

Speaking to more than 2 000 enthusiastic supporters in Cape Town City Hall at the launch of the newly formed DP in the Western Cape, Mr Malan said: "As whites we have one simple choice: Resist it or be part of it.

Before the troika of leaders made their speeches the audience clapped hands in time with the beat of the DP's theme song, "Getting there together".

Second co-leader Dr Zach De Beer said the NP government had failed to give South Africans peace, prosperity or security to which they were entitled.

Third co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, said to loud applause that the DP would be "going for power" in electoral politics.

CONCERN ABOUT SA UNDER-CLASS

THE possible development of a black "under-class" in SA was a matter of great concern, John Kane-Berman said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Testifying at the invitation of the social affairs committee of the President's Council, Kane-Berman, the South African Institute for Race Relations' (SAIRR) executive director, said this under-class would consist of "millions of people who were illiterate, unemployed, and with no real means of gaining access to the economy".

He said the SAIRR welcomed efforts government, the private sector, and organisations such as Eskom were making to reduce backlogs in facilities available to blacks. It deplored the fact that apartheid prevented blacks, whose facilities were overcrowded, from using under-utilised white facilities.

The SAIRR welcomed the view expressed increasingly in black circles that opportunities to deal with some of these problems should be sought now.

The SAIRR did not regard the homeland system as a constitutional solution for SA. It was concerned at allegations of waste and/or corruption in certain homelands. However, 15-million people were living in the homelands, and their claim on SA's resources was no less than that of blacks living outside them, or of whites.

It was unfortunate that opposition parties and newspapers routinely attacked central government's homelands budgetary allocations, and in so doing ignored the fact that most of the homelands' budgets were spent on education, health, and welfare, Kane-Berman said. — Sapa.

DIVERGENCE OF SA OPINIONS INTERESTING — SOVIETS

THEO RAWANA

THE divergence of opinion among South Africans was interesting, two Soviet journalists said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Yuri Pitchougin, Tass's chief correspondent in Zimbabwe, and Igor Taroutin, Pravda's regional correspondent for East/Southern Africa, are spending a week in SA after visiting Namibia.

Pitchougin said: "We have found our visit to SA informative, with the business sector holding different views from those of politicians and churchmen having their own views differing from any other."

Asked for their views on SA's economic policy, Troutin said the problem seemed mainly political rather than economic. He said: "But then you cannot divorce the two."

The two, who were assisted by the Department of Foreign Affairs to make a stop-over in SA, were touring the SBDC training areas as part of an arranged programme, "but we can go anywhere we want to".

A department spokesman said: "The men applied for visas for Namibia and later asked if they could visit SA. They asked us to arrange appointments for them and that was done. The SBDC visit is part of that."

Asked if their visit had anything to do with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin's visit here, Pitchougin said that was not the case.

He also would not give his impressions on the Namibian peace process.

Bishops call for more pressure on SA

CAPE TOWN — The banning of SA from international air routes and the refusal of international banks to roll over SA loans were yesterday proposed by Anglican Church leaders as forms of economic pressure to speed up change.

The synod of bishops was responding to comments made by parishes and individuals after the bishops' call last December for the imposition of "carefully selected and specifically targeted" forms of economic and diplomatic pressure to end apartheid.

"We have no desire or intention to destroy the economy. We also recognise that there is now a momentum about economic action which is not in our power to control," the bishops said in a statement.

They noted that the rescheduling of international bank loans to SA would be coming up within the next 12 months.

"It may well be that an appropriate signal to government would be a refusal on the part of the international banks to 'roll over' SA's loans."

The bishops suggested that this could be done with specific conditions attached, and a readiness to evaluate the response after a limited period.

The bishops added that another form of pressure "which needs seriously to be considered as an expression of moral outrage against apartheid" was the refusal of landing rights by major Western countries.

The bishops felt this would assist poorer states adjoining SA by increasing use of their airfields and thereby indirectly assisting their economies.

Other pressuring tactics listed by the bishops included "perservering prayer," negotiation and diplomacy.

304M Political Staff

BIDay 13/4/87

R1bn election sweetener denied

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Barend du Plessis yesterday rejected DP claims that the R1bn he had budgeted for unforeseen expenditure would be used as election sweeteners to entice voters to support the NP.

Speaking in the Budget debate, DP frontbencher Colin Eglin (Sea Point) said that by making R1bn available for "unforeseen expenditure" Du Plessis was guilty of sloppy and undisciplined budgeting.

"Who does the Minister think he is kidding? With an election looming I have no doubt that part of the R1bn is going to be used as an election sweetener in order to entice voters to vote for the NP."

Du Plessis replied that, not having been in government, Eglin was not aware of the thin line he walked.

Had government not set aside the R1bn it would have been forced to pass on any unforeseen expenditure to capital markets. In that case government would have been responsible for increasing pressure on interest rates.

In reply to criticism about his handling of inflation, Du Plessis said government



● EGLIN



● DU PLESSIS

had achieved its goal in this regard and was proud of that.

As little as 16% of imports last year were consumer goods. The rest were capital and intermediary goods that could not easily be done away with.

State debt as a percentage of GDP had declined from 41,3% in 1987 to 33% last year, and interest payments on state debt as a percentage of GDP had risen from 2,9% to 3,9% in the same period.

Du Plessis rejected calls to peg mortgage rates, saying this would bring about distortions in the economy and would cause permanent structural damage.

There was no way government could subsidise mortagages for all home-owners.

New electoral Bill to be operative by September

3/Dec 13/4/89

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — A Bill which makes provision for the temporary disenfranchisement of absentee voters and simplifies procedures for casting postal and special votes was tabled in Parliament yesterday and will be operative by the time of the general election in September.

Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said the Bill gave serious attention to the improvement of the existing system.

The Bill empowers electoral officers to temporarily remove a person's name from the voters' list if he is satisfied the

MIKE ROBERTSON

person is no longer resident at the address indicated on the voters' roll.

The procedures for postal votes are changed to enable people who want to use them to qualify by simply indicating they will not be able to attend a polling station on election day. At present, one of nine reasons has to be advanced to qualify for a postal vote.

Voters will also be able to cast postal votes without a political party acting as an intermediary.

Postal votes will have to reach returning officers on the tenth day before the election instead of the fifth day. The reason given for shortening the period for postal votes is that, at present, some votes are not received in time to be included in the counting.

The maximum fine for abusing postal votes is increased from R200 to R2 000.

The Bill also simplifies the procedure for casting special votes. As in the casting of postal votes, voters will simply have to indicate they will be unable to go to a polling station on election day.

Applications for special votes can be lodged until the fourth day before an election instead of the second day.

Voters will be allowed to record special votes in their own electoral divisions up to 2 pm on the day before the election.

The Electoral Act will also be amended to limit accessibility to applications for special votes to candidates and their representatives to protect special voters from intimidation.

Another first in the electoral legislation is the specific provision for criminal prosecution of persons damaging election posters. The Bill provides for a maximum fine of R10 000 or five years.

Maties, De Klerk discuss ANC talks

Cape Times 13/4/89

30 FA

Staff Reporter

THE recent talks between some members of the Matie Students' Representative Council and the ANC were discussed at a meeting between the SRC and National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk, SRC chairman Mr Pierre van der Spuy said last night.

NP policy and detention without trial were among the issues discussed at the 40-minute closed meeting.

It was conducted in a "very good atmosphere", Mr Van der Spuy said.

"It was a very pleasant meeting and we found it insightful."

The meeting had been organised "a long time ago", he said.

Two SRC members, vice-chairman Mr Andre Olivier and Ms Isa Burger, announced their resignations from the NP Youth League at a council meeting on Tuesday night.

'Political talks'

Ms Burger said yesterday she had distanced herself from the league and from the NP.

"As an SRC member I experienced more contact with black people and for the first time in my life, I realised the position of blacks in South Africa," she said.

The NP is seen as eliminating all opposition and the party does not conduct "political talks" with people from the whole South African political spectrum.

"The NP tries to find short-term solutions but does not look into the future."

At the SRC meeting, Mr Van der Spuy repeated his promise that if anything happened to the three SRC members who took part in the Lusaka talks, the other five members who went on the tour (including himself) would resign from the SRC.

Corruption 'maintained'

Cape Times 13/4/89 304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CORRUPTION is the hallmark of the political system and is constructed and maintained by the National Party government over the past 41 years, Professor Sampie Terreblanche said last night.

He said that corrupt practices and attitudes already disclosed are on such high levels and of such a deep-seated and ostensibly comprehensive nature that it has to be described as "structural".

Speaking at an Idasa lecture at UCT, Prof Terreblanche — a former key adviser to the government who now teaches economics at the University of Stellenbosch — said: "The government cannot get rid of structural corruption by appointing more commissions or by placing more laws on the statute book.

"The only way to get rid of structural corruption is to get rid of the corrupt system. The first prerequisite is to get rid of the NP government."

Prof Terreblanche said that it is not possible for the Nationalist government to get rid of the "corrupt and exploitative system" it has created and has allowed to develop.

"It has sunk too much ideological capital in it and the leader core has attained too much vested interest in its maintenance. The NP depends for its very existence on the corrupt system it has created."

The way in which the NP has restructured the political system to perpetuate its own term of office and "the way in which the bureaucratic system is often regarded and is operated as if it were an extended part of the NP" is the most important souce of structural corruption.

As long as the NP remains in government, the growing international isolation would in all probability continue.

"Consequently, the stagflation, creeping poverty, township unrest and ideological polarisation may be perpetuated or even get worse.

Prof Terreblanche will speak at the next meeting of the Seeff/Cape Times Executive Breakfast Club at the President Hotel, Sea Point, on May 2.

304A

SOUTH NEWS

DP faces uphill battle

By ELSABE WESSELS

THE success of the newly—launched Democratic Party (DP) as a relevant force in the South African political arena will be determined in the next few months as the party prepares for a general election while simultaneously reaching out to the broad democratic movement.

Launched with much fanfare in Johannesburg last Saturday, the DP introduced a new style of politics. The excitement among the predominantly young, white audience at the inaugural congress was evident.

The enthusiasm repeated itself at the DP's first public meeting in the Cape Town City Hall on Tuesday night.

The DP is generally regarded as a breath of fresh air in traditional white politics. But realism has to accompany the uphill battle the party will encounter in the forthcoming months.

The demands facing the fledgling party are numerous. Foremost is the challenge to straddle the critical divide between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics.

It is the expressed view of spokepersons within the mass democratic movement that the DP's relationship with the extra-parliamentary forces will be "forged in action against apartheid".

ment in politics outside parliament.

"To contribute to a solution the DP will have to not only call for, but be seen to be working towards, achieving an end to the state of emergency, an end to arbitrary detentions, the removal of troops from the townships, the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the unbanning of the ANC and other banned organisations.

"Also, the unconditional return of all exiles with guarantees for their safety, and the immediate end of all forms of apartheid and free political activity with the right of freedom of speech, assembly, movement and association for all South Africans."

There are obvious differences of opinion as regards policy between the troika-leadership of the party.

Former National Democratic Movement leader Wynand Malan is renowned for his wish to become a recognised partner in the extra-parliamentary political sphere.

In contrast, Denis Worrall and Zach de Beer wish to channel their assets in the realms of traditional white politics, their immediate aim being the ousting of the Conservative Party as the official opposition in the House of Assembly.

However, the three have posed a convincing united front in public appearances and in utterances to the press.

At present the DP hold 19 seats in the white House of Assembly and two in the House of Representatives.

A formal party line will still have to formulated on participation in the House of Representatives and House of Delegates.

While there is cautioned support on the side of the mass democratic movement for the party to challenge the NP in the House of Assembly, opposition to participation in the other two houses remains unbargainable.

An insistence by conservative factions in the DP to support a challenge in these houses can seriously damage any relationship with forces in the mass democratic movement.

Although they have "welcomed" the DP's expressed move away from apartheid and commitment to the establishment of a nonracial and democratic South Africa, the party's performance will be judged critically in the following months.

UDF and Cosatu affiliates have layed down the "demands" for the DP to become a recognised move-

Thousands of voters out in the cold?

Cape Times 13/4/89

304A

Political Staff

MAJOR amendments to the Electoral Act could mean that thousands of voters are temporarily disenfranchised at the next general election.

The Elections and Identification Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday:

- Allows for voters' names to be 'suspended' from the voters' roll, if it is shown they are no longer living at the residential address listed;
- Simplifies applications for postal and special votes;
- Makes provision for heavy penalities for malicious damage to placards and other election material, and
- Ups the fines for contraventions of the act.

The bill is the result of two years of work by a joint committee — and it is intended to make it law before September's general election.

An amendment provides that, if an objection is lodged on the grounds that a person no longer lives in the electoral division in which he is registered, the electoral officer may direct that his name be temporarily removed from the roll.

The objection must be accompanied by an affidavit signed by the person currently owning or occupying the residence.

The effect of this is that if a person moves to another constituency and he fails to register in the new division, he can be removed from the roll on which he was registered.

And notification of the action will be sent to his registered address — from which he has moved.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said last night that it was not intended to disenfranchise people but to make them 'do their duty' and register in the constituency where they lived.

Currently, he explained, people moved, did not re-register and made use of a postal vote at election time, creating an enormous volume of work for officials and political parties.

The bill also simplifies the postal and special vote procedures.

In terms of an amendment to section 47, anyone wishing to make use of a postal vote will qualify if they are not able to get to a polling booth on election day.

Ballot papers for postal votes will be issued from the 10th day after nomination day until the 10th day before polling day.

DP has support in west city suburbs

Municipal Reporter 304A

The new Democratic Party has been well accepted in Johannesburg's western suburbs, says Mr Hans Strydom chairman of the DP steering committee in the Johannesburg West constituency. Star 13/4/89

"Instead of doing a survey or opinion poll which is not always correct we implemented the ultimate test by making it possible for voters to sign DP membership forms. On the first Saturday we manned two points in Melville and signed up 61 members.

"To verify the accuracy we doubled up the number of points the following Saturday and the memberships signed that day more than doubled to 131. We also received offers of help and financial assistance," he said.

The membership sample was 53 percent Afrikaans and 47 percent English speakers — an indication the DP had broken the resistance Afrikaners had felt towards the PFP.

FW unlikely to stand for Parliament

Stars 13/4/89 (3048)

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk is unlikely to stand for Parliament in the general elections predicted for September, senior NP sources said today.

When Mr Koos van der Merwe (Conservative Party, Overvaal) asked him in Parliament yesterday if he intended standing again in his constituency, Vereeniging, he replied: "If I stand for Parliament, yes."

Senior government sources said it would be absurd for him to stand and then have to resign a few weeks later if he became State President.

It is likely the NP caucus will choose Mr de Klerk before the election as its candidate for State President.

The Conservative Party has made it clear it sees this as a ruse to avoid Mr de Klerk's defeat by them in Vereeniging.

There is understood to be some unease in the NP caucus about choosing Mr de Klerk as presidential candidate before the elections.

This would bind the post-election caucus to a decision taken by the present caucus.

And, if the NP suffers heavy losses in the Transvaal, Mr de Klerk's power base, he could lose his majority in the caucus.

If Mr de Klerk were to stand in Vereeniging and lose, it could damage his chances of becoming State President.

DP leaders keep up momentum

304A

STV 13/4/89

Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party kept up the momentum of its launch by holding three meetings last night.

At the founding meeting of the DP in East London, Mr Tony Leon, DP national board member and leader of the oppositon in the Johannesburg City Council, said the DP was ready to negotiate with all who renounced violence.

At the Melville Primary School in Johannesburg West, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said the DP must include everyone in negotiations whether or not they shared its goals and values.

In Vereeniging, DP board member and MP for Green Point, Mr Tian van der Merwe cast doubt on the new liberal image of NP leader Mr F W de Klerk. Mr de Klerk had established a conservative image over many years but after being elected NP leader by a narrow majority against a man with a more enlightend image, he made a reformist speech.

He challenged Mr de Klerk to make his position clear on a number of important issues, including:

- Shortly before the 1987 election Mr de Klerk called on whites to report to the police people of colour transgressing the Group Areas Act.
- In television debate with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in March 1988 Mr de Klerk commmitted the NP to maintaining separate beaches for whites.
- In August 1988 during the group areas debate in Parliament, Mr de Klerk suspended the rules of Parliament to force through group areas legislation when other parties were using the rules to block the Bills.

'Shared value system needed for SA'

South Africans need a shared value system, but the country's constitution made it very difficult to promote this, Mr John Kane-Berman, Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mr Kane-Berman was testifying before the social affairs committee of the President's Council at a hearing in Johannesburg's Civic Centre.

The committee is investigating strategies to promote positive relations in South Africa with due regard to cultural and other diversity and common ground in different value systems.

Mr Kane-Berman said that the single most important force creating common ground and a common value system was the economy, but that discriminatory laws were a handicap.

The Institute believed that common ground should be promoted on such issues as "freedom of speech, freedom of association, multiparty democracy, the need to maximise economic growth and job creation, and uphold the rule of law." However the present constitution made these difficult.

DIVERSITY

Mr Kane-Berman added that cultural and religious diversity obviously had to be catered for and that the country's constitution should simultaneously promote common ground and cater for diversity.

He said that strategies to promote positive relations between different races necessitated:

- Repeal of discriminatory laws.
- Negotiation of a new constitution; and
- Reduction of material inequalities.

Mr Kane-Berman said that the continued enforcement of segregation in government schools hindered the development of a shared value system. "All the children now entering school will be part of an almost completely integrated economy by the year 2 000. Yet these very children are not being adequately equipped for that economy, because they are being kept apart."

Widespread black rejection of the constitution had been repeatedly voiced prior to the white referendum in 1983, but ignored. This was one of the reasons why violence had broken out in September 1984, when the new constitution came into operation. — Sapa.

April 13 1989

Early voting to be encouraged in next general election

3048
Star 13/4/89

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Government has opened the way for massive pre-polling day voting in the general election later this year.

Changes that will allow unrestricted pre-polling day voting are contained in an Elections and Identification Bill.

The Bill is aimed at streamlining the election system in time for the tricameral elections. September has been mentioned as a likely date.

One of the main targets of the removal of restrictions on special and postal votes was to overcome problems of intimidation on polling day in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives, said Mr Con Botha (NP Umlazi).

Mr Botha headed a joint committee of Parliament on the issue.

Voters will now be able to cast votes between 30 and 40 days before election day, depending on the time gap between nomination and election day.

Previously only people with a valid reason — such as being ill, or being unable to leave a place of employment, or being out of a constituency on polling day — could use the postal and special vote system.

There are now no restrictions on using special and postal votes, making the system similar to the "prior vote" system used during the municipal elections last year.

In an interview, Mr Botha said he did not think that the changes would open the way for greater abuses of special and postal votes

Postal votes could now be posted to an individual after application and then returned again by post without any party official having a hand in processing it.

According to a report tabled in Parliament, other contemplated changes include:

- Greater secrecy of voting documents to protect voters against intimidation.
- Extending the vote to all South Africans abroad, provided they were registered as voters before they left.
- Measures to improve the registration of voters, including keeping records in different forms, to allow cross checking.
- The introduction of a "B" voters' list of people who have up-to-date identity documents.
- The virtual automatic removal of the name of a person from the voters' list after a change of address.
- Tougher identification procedures for voting because of past malpractices.

Can DP rally enough Afrikaners to its flag?

The future of the Democratic Party depends on how much Afrikaner support it can gain for its verlig policy of "general adult franchise for all South African citizens". PATRICK LAURENCE gives a historical perspective on the issue.



1959: Ray Swart was spat on over the Progressive Party's qualified non-racial franchise.



1961: Helen Suzman was the only Progressive Party candidate to keep her seat.



1989: Afrikaner Willem ... Klerk has been won over ... the DP's one man, one vote.

South Africa's newly formed Democratic Party has already earned itself at least a footnote in South African history: It is the first political party with a reasonable degree of white support to stand unequivocally *from its inception* for universal adult suffrage.

To put its policy in full perspective, it should be said it also stands for protection against domination of minorities.

Whether the DP, as the party is already known, will eventually command greater attention from future historians depends in large measure — but not solely — on whether it can expand beyond its present support base in the white community.

Judging from a recent opinion poll in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, 22,5 percent of whites support the DP.

Launched with fanfare and bold rhetoric, the DP was formed after three political parties voluntarily dissolved themselves to unite as a single party.

Each of the trio, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Independent Party (IP), bequeathed their supporters to the DP.

Universal adult suffrage has, of course, long been on the agenda of black nationalist movements and the Communist Party.

Even before the birth of the DP, however, one man, one vote was espoused by white-initiated bourgeois reform parties, notably the Liberal Party (LP) and the PFP, which started life 30 years ago in 1959 as the Progressive Party.

But these reform political parties either had minimal white support — like black nationalist movements and the CP — or they equivocated in their support for universal adult suffrage.

The LP started life in 1953 by advocating a qualified but non-racial franchise; it proposed to restrict the vote, initially at any rate, to people who fulfilled educational and property qualifications.

Only in 1960 — the year of the Sharpeville shootings, in which 69 unarmed black people were shot dead by police — did it finally adopt universal adult suffrage as policy.

Throughout its short 15-year history from 1953 to 1968, the Liberal Party (LP), however, failed to attract meaningful support among whites. Its adoption of universal adult suffrage caused its already small number of white supporters to decline further.

In the 1961 election it attracted fewer than 2 500 votes.

Qualification tests

The PFP began life as the Progressive Party in 1959. To begin with it stood for a qualified non-racial franchise, setting a series of educational, property and financial qualifications, ranging from standard eight to literacy in English or Afrikaans plus an annual income of £500 sterling or occupation of property valued at £500.

The PP found that the white electorate was unreceptive to even its cautious reformism; in the first general election after its formation in 1961 every candidate except Mrs Helen Suzman was defeated.

One of them, Mr Ray Swart, recalled on the eve of the launch of the DP how he was "spat on for the first time in his life" in the supposedly enlightened city of Durban shortly after the formation of the Progressive Party.

Slowly, however, the Progressive message of gradual reform began to win through. In the 1974 general election it won seven seats. It reached a high-water mark in 1981 when it captured 26 seats. In the most recent election in 1987 it held on to 19 of these seats.

The Progressive Party underwent two changes of name as the original Progressives fused with defectors from the essentially conservative United Party. So, too, did its franchise policy.

In 1978, reacting to growing pressures in the wider South African community, it accepted the principle of one man, one vote, subject to a series of safeguards, including proportional representation and minority veto.

But PFP spokesmen shied away from spelling out their commitment to universal adult suffrage, preferring to fudge the question with obfuscatory language.

Thus the PFP constitution carefully eschewed the words "vote" or "franchise"; it spoke instead of "full and equal citizenship rights for all South Africans".

The new DP is more forthright. Its freshly-drafted constitution declares its commitment to "representative government on the basis of general adult franchise for all South African citizens as one South African nation".

Apart from its unmistakable commitment, the DP has another distinguishing mark: It has won the backing of mainline Afrikaners with deep roots in the Afrikaner establishment.

The notables include: Mr Louis Luyt, who as president of the Transvaal Rugby Board can hardly be more mainline Afrikaner; Dr Willem de Klerk, an intellectual from a distinguished Afrikaner family and brother of the leader of the ruling National Party (NP), Mr F W de Klerk; and Mrs Hilda Burnett, former head of the SA Defence Force College for Women.

The immediate future of the DP depends on two factors: its ability successfully to woo supporters of the defunct United Party (UP) who took refuge in the NP laager with the demise of the UP and its successor, the New Republic Party; and its success in persuading the growing number of verligte or enlightened Afrikaners and others who are disenchanted with the NP to take the next step and vote for the DP.

Dr Denis Worrall, one of the DP's three co-leaders, seems to have been remarkably successful in winning the allegiance of old UP stalwarts. Whether the DP can lure large numbers to support its essentially verlig policy of one man, one vote is the crunch question.

With a general election in the offing, a testing time lies ahead.

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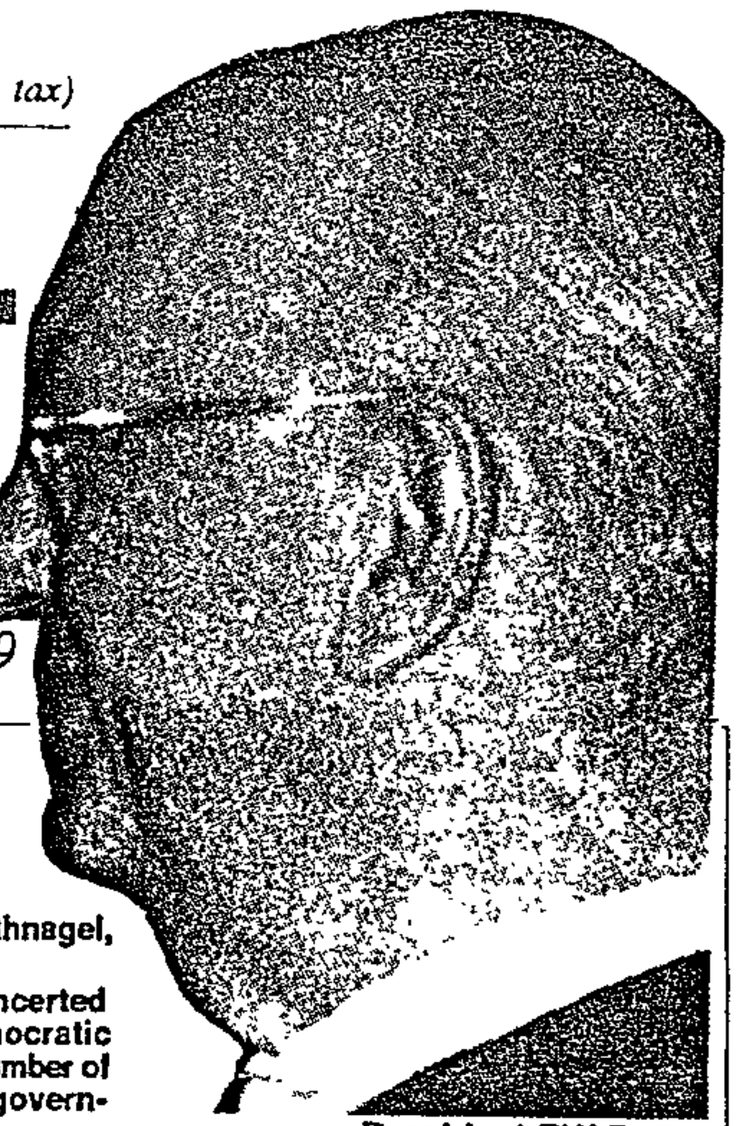
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WEEKLY MAIL

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304A WMAIL 7-13/4/89



President PW Botha

PW sets scene for bitter election war

PARLIAMENT TO DISSOLVE END OF MAY

Weekly Mail Correspondent, Cape Town

PRESIDENT PW Botha's announcement yesterday that parliament would be dissolved at the end of May has set the scene for a bitter election fight.

The election, which is likely to take place any time between July and September, will probably bring an end to the political careers of a large number of new MPs in all three Houses. Many will opt for retirement and others, particularly in the white House, could lose their seats.

It will also be the end of the PW Botha era, a period which saw a massive consolidation of power in the presidency and the introduction of the tricameral constitutional system.

The announcement will give renewed impetus to the scheduled launch this weekend of the new Democratic Party, which should unite the parliamentary forces to the left of the government in preparation for what will be a crucial election for them.

The only party which seems unlikely at this stage to face major problems at the hustings is the Labour Party which appears set to consolidate its hold over the House of Representatives and wipe out its ineffective opposition.

Although the new National Party leader, FW de Klerk, expresses confidence that it has the right-wing on the run, the NP could face trouble.

The Conservative Party is confident it will pick up a number of seats and, publicly at least, some of its leaders are talking about winning control of the white House. However, it is doubtful that it has the resources, let alone the support, to mount such a challenge.

What is clear is the government will face a determined challenge from the right-wing and there may well be some significant casualties such as Deputy Minister of Law and Order Leon Wessels, the MP for Krugersdorp, and the outspoken Albert Nothnagel, MP for Langlaagte.

The NP will also face a concerted challenge from the new Democratic Party, which believes a large number of white voters are tired of the government's race policies.

In the May 1987 election the NP captured a number of PFP seats which the DP is confident it will regain.

The NP will have to fight a battle on two fronts: convincing right-wing constituencies it is hawkish and strictly controlling reform, yet at the same time persuading those to the left of the government that it is serious about significant reform.

The situation regarding the House of Delegates remains somewhat confused.

Solidarity, the ruling party, faces a challenge from other groupings which have better campaign records. This could change if there is a reversal in the boycott strategy by those which have not participated in elections. However, this does not seem likely.

pril 12 1989

Bid to boost 'clean-up' campaign

Greater powers for the Auditor-General

304 B
Step 12/4/89

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Auditor-General — who probes Government spending — is to be given greater independence and wider powers under legislation tabled yesterday.

The Auditor-General Bill — aimed at boosting the Government's clean administration campaign — would, if passed, upgrade the Auditor-General to the status of the chairman of the Commission for Administration and give him the same freedom from arbitrary dismissal enjoyed by a judge.

It would also expand his powers to enable him to initiate his own investigation into departments and parastatals and not only to audit their annual reports, as is the case at present.

He would be given the power to "interrogate under oath" any person for the purposes of executing his duties.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Harry Schwarz yesterday welcomed the Bill and said: "It greatly enhances the status of the Auditor-General, ensures his complete independence and strengthens his hand in investigations."

The Bill stipulates that the State President may only discharge an Auditor-General if all three Houses request it "on the ground of misbehaviour or incapacity" — the same conditions that apply to a judge.

At the moment the State President may suspend the Auditor-General for unfitness, incapacity "or because his removal will promote efficiency". If Parliament does not decide otherwise, the State President may then remove the Auditor-General from office.

The Bill will bring the Auditor-General's job under a separate Act "to confirm the independence of the external audit function of the accounts of departments of State and statutory bodies," according to a memorandum accompanying it. A separate audit Act was also more in line with international practice.

The new Bill would "herald a new era in the history of the Auditor-General and his office". For the first time since 1911, audit legislation will be separated from other finance legislation and the independence of the State's external audit function will be reconfirmed.

POLITICS

'Co-operation essential'

CAPE TOWN — The southern African region would suffer if co-operation between government and the private sector did not continue, President P W Botha said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in his Budget Vote, he said it was of utmost importance for the economic development of SA that the consultation between government and the private sector, which he initiated in 1978, continued on a sound basis.

The close co-operation between government and the private sector was evident from the various occasions on which he had consulted with individuals and at organised conferences.

"These conferences not only gave an opportunity for constructive discussions but bore positive results which were in the interests of the region."

Botha said many practical results had flowed from the Carlton Conference in 1979 — leading to the inception of the SBDC Another example of co-operation was the key role played by the Development Bank in the Lesotho Highlands water scheme.

The Good Hope Conference in 1981 had led to large-scale job creation and training programmes as a result of decisions taken to involve the private sector in the development of the southern African region.

Even neighbouring states had shown great interest in these developments.

Botha said: "I have repeatedly said on visits to African countries that southern Africa needed greater co-operation to place itself on the road towards development." — Sapa.

PETER DELMAR

NP control of the Johannesburg City Council is in the balance after the death this week of management committee chairman and NP leader Danie van Zyl.

Democratic Party councillors believe they can definitely win his Linden ward in a by-election likely to be held within the next three months.

Councillors from both sides were reluctant yesterday to talk about going to the polls in deference to Van Zyl, who died on Wednesday from leukaemia.

The NP currently has a one-seat majority in the 51-member chamber and a defeat in the by-election would create a hung council.

Idasa: Soviets keen to play role in change

THE Soviet Union was prepared to play a positive and constructive role in bringing about a political settlement in SA and to reduce the potential for escalating violence in the region, KaNgwane's Chief Minister and president of the Inyandza National Movement Enos Mabuza said on his return from Moscow yesterday.

Mabuza was speaking on behalf of the Idasa delegation that visited the Soviet Union. BTDay 14/4/89 9p.

The delegation — Van Zyl Slabbert and his wife Jane; Stellenbosch University philosophy professor Johan Degenaar and Mabuza — were guests of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, based in Moscow, and visited Moscow and Leningrad.

"As far as SA itself is concerned, it was quite clear to the delegation that there is no prospect of medium-term or even long-term diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and SA as long as white minority domination or any aspect of the apartheid policy continues," Mabuza said.

"At the same time there is a clear and often stated desire by the Soviet Union to find a political, rather than a violent, settlement of the conflict in SA," he added. — Sapa.

Van Zyl's death loosens NP grip

PFP leaders were surprised at how well their party fared against Van Zyl in the October municipal elections. Their "flag-waving" candidate polled almost 1 000 votes and came within 300 votes of beating the NP strongman.

Van Zyl's former deputy leader Johan Fick has been mentioned as a possible successor, both as ward candidate and as manco chairman. Fick, a leading verligte, was defeated by the PFP in the biggest upset in the Johannesburg elections.

Steps under way for negotiating forum

CAPE TOWN — Steps to establish the statutory negotiating forum, which will deliberate on SA's new political dispensation, were formally set in motion yesterday morning.

At a meeting with the United Councils Association of SA (Ucasa), Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis agreed to initiate the process in consultation with interested parties.

Heunis said after the meeting Ucasa had insisted the negotiating forum be established as soon as possible.

Ucasa president Philip Nhlapo said the various regions should be demarcated to enable black local authorities to elect their representatives to the forum.

Heunis had agreed to initiate the process of demarcating the regions of the electoral colleges. The demarcation would be done in consultation with the interested parties.

Ucasa further urged Heunis to proceed urgently with the Bill to enable black people to be appointed to central government.

Ucasa also decided to establish a joint committee with government for continuing consultations. — Sapa.

Democratic Party must tackle two political 'disputes'

BDay 14/4/89

304A

PETER COLLINS

THERE ARE two political disputes which threaten to plague the new Democratic Party at its birth. In both cases, dispute is unnecessary. The first argument concerns economic policy, the second the question of "group rights".

On one side of the economic issue are supposed to be the classical liberals, also known (misleadingly) as capitalists and (less misleadingly) as free marketeers. Opposed to them are supposed to be so-called "social democrats," "welfare-statists" and advocates of a "mixed economy".

According to conventional wisdom, liberals are supposed to be good at generating prosperity but bad at distributing it in a way that takes adequate care of the needs of the least advantaged members of society.

The (non-Marxist) socialists, by contrast, are supposed to be good in the department of care, concern and compassion for the poor and the weak. Alas, however, all their schemes for actually helping these people turn out in practice — so it is alleged — to be either non-productive or counter-productive. Moreover, they cripple the community's capacity for generating the very wealth which is needed to pay for all this public charity.

To see that, and understand why this is really a non-debate, it is only necessary to spell out two fundamental propositions of political principle, about which liberals and socialists are in full agreement.

The first is that society ought, via taxation, to provide for the basic needs of those who, through no fault of their own, cannot provide for themselves. Sick orphans would one hopes be an uncontroversial example of people whose medical care should normally be funded by the community as a whole.

The second proposition which nobody disputes is that poverty is a bad thing and that, in general, it is good for communities to adopt policies whose effect is to achieve at least a reasonable level of prosperity of as many of their members as is possible.

Where, then, is the ideological difference between liberals and social democrats concerning economic policy? Free marketeers believe that government ought to provide a "safety net" for at least some categories of people, even though they may dispute who should be caught by the net and how high from the ground it should it be placed. Most of the argument, however, is about how to make the net as efficient as possible.

On the other hand, social democrats have little enthusiasm for a fully nationalised, centrally planned economy administered by uncountable and unaccountable bureaucrats who owe their jobs to political conformity rather than to their managerial skills or business acumen.

Nor, more generally, are they hostile to individual freedom. On the contrary, a key part of what they claim is that, in a society with much less inequality than presently exists, there would be more real freedom for many more people — including, of course, the freedom to enjoy good things which are at present only available to a minority of "haves".

What needs to be done in the South African context is only what needs to be done in any country committed to genuine democratic government. This is to discover as large a consensus as possible about the best ways of combining the generation of prosperity in society as a whole with adequate provision, funded by fair and effective taxation policies, for the needs of those who cannot afford essential health care, adequate education, legal assistance, etc, as well as the basic necessities for physical survival, notably food and shelter.

The overwhelming majority of South Africans, whatever their language group or socio-economic status, believe that government should certainly take care of at least these needs. However, they also overwhelmingly believe that people should be free to live where they like, to get work under conditions of fair, and especially colour-blind, competition, and to benefit materially and unequally if through their industry and ingenuity they provide more than others of the goods and services which people want and are willing to pay for.

Debate about economic policy in a future SA need not be a sterile, label-slinging ideological one. It should be focused on technical, empirical questions concerning how most effectively to organise the mix in a mixed economy.

The second dispute, which looks like becoming a noisome but unnecessary burden to the new democrats, concerns the question of minority or group rights.

If the "entrenchment of group rights" is code-speak for the preservation, through legal or consitutional means, of preferential treatment for Afrikaners or, more generally, whites, then it is a wholly indefensible notion.

There are no cogent moral arguments for claiming that groups, whether defined in terms of race, culture, language, colour or whatever, ought to be given better treatment than others with respect, most notably, to educational and employment opportunities.

If minority or group rights talk is perceived to be and actually is no more than a confidence trick designed to secure legitimacy for continued and unfair white privilege, this will never be acceptable to the majority of South Africans or to the outside world. And rightly so.

On the other hand, there is a second proposition which would seem to be entirely acceptable and which, I think, sincere Afrikaners of unquestionable moral integrity and fair-mindedness have in mind when they speak of the need to protect group rights.

This propositon is fundamentally about child-rearing: families should not only be allowed, but positively enabled, by law to bring up their children as they see fit with respect to language, religion, customs and culture.

This would mean that state education policy would make provision for Afrikaans-medium schools to which Afrikaans parents could send their children if enough of them so wished.

The most acceptable way in which legitimate group rights concerning child-rearing can be safeguarded consists in doing what is done in Germany — namely, allowing taxpayers on their income tax forms to indicate the kind of school which they wish the relevant portion of their taxes to be used to support.

Such a simple device would make it possible in SA for there to be schools devoted to Christian National Education as well as fully integrated secular schools of the sort found in America and specialist schools focused on, say, technology or music of the sort found in Russia.

☐ **Collins is a senior lecturer in political studies at UCT.**

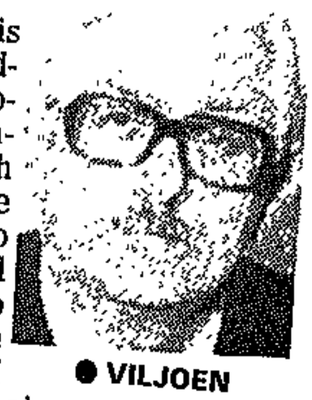
One SA for all, believes Viljoen

B/Day 14/4/89 (30GA)

THE rights of groups had to be protected, but all regions and communities in SA also had the right to participate in constitutional institutions up to the highest level, Minister of Education and Training Gerrit Viljoen said yesterday.

"We accept there is one South Africa with a general citizenship for all," he said when opening the new session of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly.

"Government is committed to finding democratic solutions in co-operation with South Africans who are also striving to achieve peaceful solutions and who renounce violence as a means of achieving political aims.



● VILJOEN

"Self-governing territories that prefer not to accept independence therefore remain part of South Africa and must thus, through reform, also be involved in the central political processes and structures.

Political Staff

"The rights of groups must be protected, and that is why there must be self-determination in own affairs side by side with power-sharing in general affairs."

He said SA's problems should be seen as challenges.

"We advocate group-based participation in political processes because we are convinced this is the only way to protect the interests of minorities and prevent domination by the majority," Viljoen said.

"The government is quite prepared, however, to discuss and negotiate a more flexible approach to groups.

"A new constitution can succeed only if it satisfies peoples' reasonable expectations to the greatest possible extent," he said.

"It can succeed only if it is worked out by South Africans, for South Africa."

NP will continue reform process — FW

BDay 14/4/89

(3049)

MARITZBURG — The NP would continue the reform process it had started, NP leader F W de Klerk said last night.

He also promised to speed up "renewal" and denied the NP had lost its zest for change. He and his Cabinet colleagues were battling in difficult financial times with the reform programme but were going ahead with urgency, and progress was being made.

"I want, and shall endeavour with my collegues, to give impetus to the process of renewal.

"Our country demands of us an about

Political Staff

'turn from the climate of tension and obduration. All SA's people want to see the broad, general reservoir of goodwill in the country reflected in deeds and in progress towards constructive negotiation."

But, De Klerk said, there were obstacles and one of them was the "game" sometimes played in Parliament — the game of opposing important reform measures for reasons which had nothing to with the legislation.

"'Another is the game of some leaders who put forward unrealistic prerequisites as a condition for participation."

Others bedevilled the process by misrepresenting what the NP wanted.

De Klerk said electioneering had already started and he hit out at the CP as well as the DP.

"The CP will inundate voters with gruesome tales, dark predictions, slanderous tittle-tattle, raw racism and idealogical solutions which can never be implemented.

"The DP will sound a clarion call for support of laudable but vague principles without translating them into definite policy."

FOUR-POINT PLAN OF ACTION FOR PW

CAPE TOWN — DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz yesterday outlined a four-point plan of action which, if implemented, would allow President P W Botha "to go out on a high note".

Speaking during the Budget debate, Schwarz said "those of us who are wrongly described as hawks" would always remember that he changed the nature of the SADF.

To enable Botha to end his term of office on a great note, he could do four things:



● SCHWARZ

☐ Firstly, call a major conference at which government would unveil its plans to safeguard the environment and listen to the ideas of interested people;

☐ Secondly, launch a job creation operation using the R1bn in its contingency fund to initiate a plan to build clinics, parks and other facilities. These projects would create jobs with purchasing power which would in turn create more jobs;

☐ Thirdly, Botha should take the initiative to have high-level discussions with black leadership as the issue of bringing blacks into central government was entirely unresolved;

☐ Fourthly, Botha should scrap the Separate Amenities Act.

Boksburg complex shelved

JOHANNESBURG. — Retail International (RI), developer of a proposed multi-million-rand East Rand shopping complex, has finally shelved its project till Boksburg Town Council scraps petty apartheid.

This is the second time RI has said it would scrap the R26m development. Soon after Boksburg reintroduced petty apartheid late last year, the company said the deal was off.

In March, RI said it would go ahead with the development because a survey had shown that the consumer boycott in Boksburg had not a ·cted the hypermarket area, bu· ·oolworths and Edgars said at ·ie time ·hat they had pulled out ot the project for political reasons.

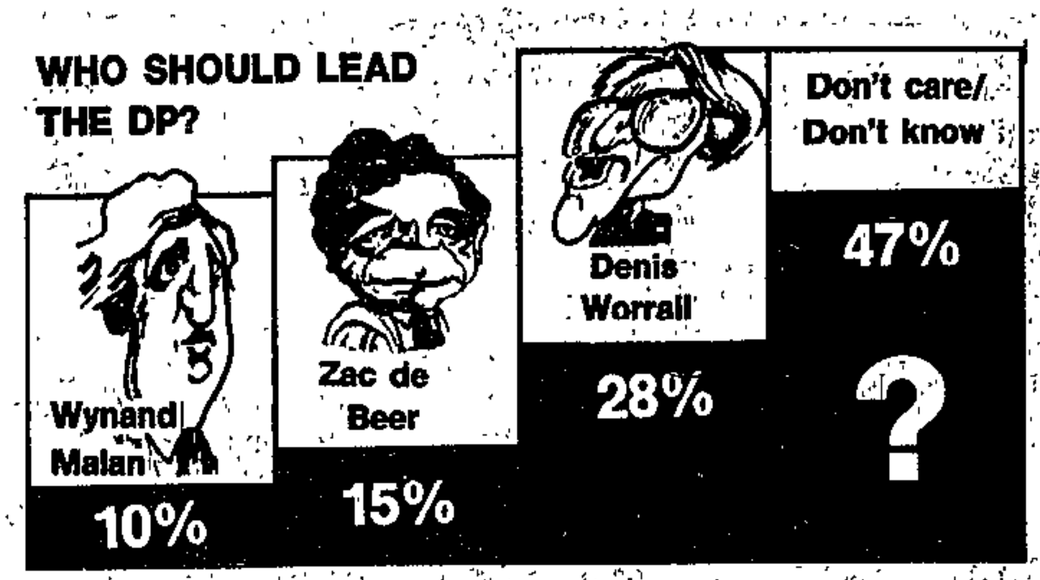
"The project will proceed only when the petty apartheid policy being applied in Boksburg is discontinued," said managing director Mr Joe Bentel. "Our decision is in line with the decision taken by Woolworths and Edgars, who will be major tenants in the development. As long as the political situation in Boksburg remains unchanged, our development is dead."

Town clerk Mr Brits Coetsee said this week that the council had not been told officially of the decision. The last discussions at management committee level were a month ago and then the project was going ahead.

Mr Bentel said RI was applying to have the site of its proposed development, adjacent to Boksburg's hypermarket area, declared an open trading area.

Woolworths spokesman Mr Simon Suzman said that even if the new development area were declared an open trading area, the company would shun the mall.

"We believe in principle that all trading areas should be open," he said. "We don't think it would be in our business interests to open new business in Boksburg with the prevailing attitudes there." — Sapa



Worrall top choice to lead DP — survey

Cape Times 14/4/89

30/61

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Denis Worrall is most widely perceived by the public as the most powerful contender for the leadership of the new Democratic Party. And the majority of the public have also given the party a definite go-ahead.

A telephone poll by Marketing and Media Research (MMR) which was commissioned by The Argus showed that of 1 822 people of all age groups in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban 28 percent preferred Dr Worrall as the leader; 15 percent chose the former Progressive Federal Party leader, Dr Zac de Beer; and 10 percent Mr Wynand Malan, former National Democratic Party leader.

The three jointly lead the party which was founded last weekend as a merger between the IP, PFP and NDM.

However, voters' uncertainty about the undecided question of the party's leadership was clearly demonstrated by the poll. Forty-seven percent did not know who should lead the new left-of-government party.

The respondents gave the go-ahead to the DP. Responding to the question "Do you think the DP has a future?", 54 percent answered positively, while 17 percent said it had no future and 29 percent felt they were not qualified to say.

Significantly, 39 percent of the respondents supported the National Party in the previous election.

Of the 1 822 people of all age groups contacted in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, 17 percent refused to participate. A further 27 percent were not registered voters and were excluded.

Of the 1 005 eligible respondents who did choose a leader, 53 percent supported Dr Worrall, 28 percent Dr de Beer and 19 percent Mr Malan.

According to MMR, a few respondents did not want to choose between the three because they felt another leader was needed.

A party-political breakdown of all the respondents revealed that 39 percent supported the National Party in the previous general election of 1987.

The three leaders welcomed the results as an clear indication that the DP could make major inroads among whites.

Dr Worrall said the large number of people who were as yet undecided about the party's future and its leader indicated that the triumvirate leadership still "has a lot of work to do".

He emphasised that the DP only really emerged last week. On that basis, the survey results regarding the future of the party were very encouraging.

Schwarz lashes out at Van Eck

Political Staff

THE bitter division in the ranks of the Democratic Party over the application by controversial independent MP Mr Jan van Eck spilled over into Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's Vote, Yeoville MP Mr Harry Schwarz lashed out at Mr Van Eck for describing the Inkatha movement as one of the "non-democratic groups".

Mr Van Eck made the remark at a public meeting on Monday hosted by the Cape Democrats.

The public airing of the divisions in the DP over Mr Van Eck follows a heated debate in yesterday's DP caucus on the issue.

And it comes just 36 hours before the National Board of the DP meets to decide whether to admit Mr Van Eck and two House of Representatives MPs, Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippen, to the party.

That meeting — the board's first — promises to be a very heated affair, with Mr Schwarz and his supporters now apparently linking the admission of Mr Van Eck with that of the other two MPs, whose admission now threatens the fragile accord with the Labour Party.

Govt negotiating forum

THE government is to go ahead with establishing a statutory forum for negotiation, although the idea has been rejected by almost all black leaders.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, said yesterday that the president of the Urban Councils Association of SA, Mr Phillip Nhlapo, had "insisted" that the negotiating forum be established as soon as possible.

Voters' details 'important'

VOTERS' rolls used in a general election normally closed four months before the election, the director-general of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, warned yesterday.

And, he added, it was therefore of "the utmost importance" that voters should report any change of address to the department immediately to ensure that their current addresses were on the latest voters' roll.

Viljoen on rights of groups in SA

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE rights of groups had to be protected but all regions and communities in South Africa had the right to participate in constitutional institutions up to the highest level, the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said yesterday.

"We accept that there is one South Africa, with a general citizenship for all South Africans," he said when he opened the new session of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly.

"The government is committed to finding democratic solutions in co-operation with South Africans who are also striving to achieve peaceful and democratic solutions and who renounce violence as a means of achieving political aims."

NP is for whites, Malan tells youth conference

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The National Party was a party for whites, Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said last night.

Addressing a NP youth conference in Graaff-Reinet, General Malan said whites were the NP's strength and its responsibility.

"The NP serves the interests of whites and as a government it cares for the interests of all in our beautiful country."

Turning to the crisis in Namibia, he said the events of the last week had sent a loud message to revolutionary and terrorist organisations who thought that they could achieve political aims with their weapons in their hands.

"That message is that South Africa stands relentlessly against violence, bloodshed and destruction. Against such people we act mercilessly.

"But at the same time I want to make it clear that I and the SADF reject a shoot-mentality.

SECURITY FORCES

"My standpoint is that you can't put the world right with bullets, that is why the security forces shoot only when they are given a task or when it is necessary. There are people, and some of them sit in the CP, who are trigger-happy.

"Have they thought who must do the shooting? If it's necessary I will accept the responsibility, but before that I must be convinced that every possible way has been tried to realise peace."

Other points made by General Malan about the Namibian situation were:

- The CP wanted to terminate the peace plan by unleashing bullets and throwing Untag out the back door.
- South Africa had chosen the path of negotiation but had ensured it was fully supported by effective security action.
- During the next few weeks Swapo and its international sympathisers could be expected to try and draw attention away from its failures.
- The retreat of Swapo was being watched carefully.
- He wanted to make it clear there was no ceasefire at this stage — this would follow when normality returned.

Enter the new liberal, pin-striped and *tweetalig*



A carefully orchestrated display of confidence ... 'the air was filled with a rich mix of goodwill and lofty ideals'. Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

A razzmatazz sun rose over a newly-packaged designer liberalism at the carefully orchestrated Democratic launch. But there was some substance behind the American-style hype: this was the first time the parliamentary left had shared a single platform since 1952.

ANTON HARBER reports

A PACKED auditorium. Dimmed lights. "It's been dark in South Africa for far too long," a voice booms from nowhere.

Projected on a massive screen are pictures of barbed wire, crying children, fear-filled black faces, stark landscapes, people running ...

"In the darkness, fear has flourished. Fear of recession, fear of unemployment, fear of violence, fear of other people.."

Then a picture of a rising sun: "Now there is something new on the horizon ... something all South Africa has been waiting for, a move away from the past, a real step forward that we can all take together."

The rising sun fades into a blue and yellow logo, and the soundtrack belts out a rousing song: "There's something new on the horizon, united and strong, making dreams of peace come true ..."

Lights come up to reveal that the logo has suddenly appeared all over the room, in gigantic proportions behind the speaker, in bright lights in front of the podium, in banners on all the walls.

And, as the song reaches a crescendo, doors on the side of the stage open and the three party leaders stride in, grinning from ear to ear.

This is the Democratic Party. This is the new-look liberalism, with a tub-thumping, aggressive image.

The combination of American convention-style razzmatazz and *platteland* kitsch at the party's launch in Johannesburg on Saturday was designed to drive home a crucial message: this is not simply a new-look bunch of old Progs; it is a dynamic new force, unlike anything this country has seen before.

And certainly the difference was evident during a weekend of events marking the mass burial of the three parliamentary parties to the left of the government and the birth of the new, united opposition.

For one thing, there was at least as much Afrikaans as English to be heard. The Prog English-speaker in a pin-striped suit has given way to the DP Afrikaans-speaker in a pin-striped suit.

Many of the better-known faces of the traditional parliamentary opposition were also less evident. Helen Suzman was present, and she still managed to draw the longest and most emotional standing ovation, but her role was conspicuously low-key. Instead, journalists who arrived at a cocktail party for the press on Friday night were greeted by Louis Luyt.

But most important of all, the new party was demonstrating a self-confidence and buoyancy that the Progs hadn't managed in their most "turbo-charged" days. "Today I feel the earth moving beneath my feet. This is a day of destiny, a time of great decision," co-leader Zach de Beer said in his opening remarks.

Everyone knew that Saturday morning's launch was a performance, a carefully orchestrated display of unity and confidence. There was no voting, no debate and no elections. Decisions were presented in neat packages and confirmed by acclamation. There were no speakers from the floor.

This was designer liberalism.

But the air was full of such a rich mix of goodwill and lofty democratic ideals that one had to be a hardened cynic to point out that the last time one saw such hype at the launch of a South African political organisation was at the Sandton Sun in 1985 when the National Convention Movement held its first — and last — meeting.

The hype certainly succeeded in driving home the message of hope, but it was also intended to hide something: the fact that the three co-leaders presented notably different visions of the future of the party during their inaugural speeches.

Denis Worrall said the DP "is going for power.

"It is not pie in the sky ... to think of this party as the official opposition after September — or as part of the government of this country in five years," he said.

And he had a fall-back position in case that didn't happen: "It is more than just (a question of) winning seats. We must encourage *verligte* factions in the National Party."

Worrall's approach is what he calls "the hung parliament strategy": the DP increases its number of seats, leaving the NP with a minority in the House of Assembly and forcing it to do a deal with his party, bringing it into a new ultra-reformist government.

Essentially, he is a reformist, frustrated that the government stopped moving after implementing the tricameral constitution he helped design in the early 1980s. The NP was the best government for white South Africa in its day, he argues; the only problem is that its day has passed.

De Beer was less polite about the NP, describing it as "our political enemy" as long as it pursued its present race-based policies.

He was also less polite about the African National Congress. Whereas Worrall spoke of the need to negotiate the future of the country "on an open-ended basis with all major organisations", De Beer stressed that the DP "must oppose both the Nats and the ANC".

De Beer is taking a more traditional PFP centrist position, attacking rightwing and leftwing with equal vehemence and placing the party in the "moderate, liberal, democratic centre, determined to expand that centre until it becomes the South African way of life".

Although he bemoaned the fact that the party was "primarily white" and promised to change this, he sees this as a process of winning black people over to centrist politics.

On the other hand, co-leader Wynand Malan wants to reach out to black South Africans on their own terms.



Carefully tweetalig: The would-be winning team, from right: Wynand Malan, Denis Worrall, Jan Momberg and Colin Eglin (both co-chairmen) and Zac De Beer

He was the only one of the leadership troika to play down the idea that the DP can win power, or even a significant number of new seats. The party's goals "can't be measured in terms of the number of seats that we are going to win in the next election.

"The challenge at hand is first and foremost to draw in the parties that represent the black community. Without them, we can't build a new nation," he said.

One should not exaggerate the differences between the three leaders. In the words of co-chairman Jan Momberg, "What binds us together is so much greater than that which divides us."

There is little doubt that all three leaders are deeply committed to the merger and they genuinely share a set of democratic principles.

These were summed up by former newspaper editor Willem de Klerk in the broadest of terms: a non-racial dispensation, the "best traditions of democracy" (such as sound labour relations and a bill of rights); recognition of cultural diversity, an independent judiciary and the supremacy of the law; security as "a democratic value"; and a commitment to negotiation.

The potential of the party is not simply hot air. This is the first time the parliamentary left has been united since 1952; it does have the potential to gain some of the support that the PFP always failed to win; and the presence of representatives of the "mass democratic movement", the Natal Indian Congress, Inkatha, the Labour Party and a host of homeland leaders signalled how much goodwill there is for the DP.

It would be foolish, however, to underestimate the importance of the differences between the three leaders.

It may at first glance seem convenient for the DP to be able to present different faces to the party's three audiences: the traditional PFP voter, the potential new voter and the black resistance movement.

However, the lack of a clear-cut message would probably bring disaster at the polls.

There are also fundamental contradictions between these different positions. One cannot hold much hope of developing extra-parliamentary links as long as one treats the NP and the ANC as equal enemies; or entertains ideas of contesting the elections in the Houses of Delegates and Representatives; or lavishes praise on homeland leaders.

Worrall's strategy of "going for power" and Malan's of "building a new nation" are not easily reconciled. If power is the DP's priority, it needs to win white votes and this is going to make contact with most extra-parliamentary groups difficult, if not impossible.

And only the most naive could believe that the party could keep equal contact with all black political groups. In the end the DP will have to choose between the NP's style of dealing only with those organisations it feels most comfortable with or of developing a relationship with popular organisations however difficult that may be.

The DP's official line is that there is no separation between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics. However, this ignores the enormous differences — not just in style but in content, strategy and tactics — between the two.

These issues were only raised obliquely at the launch, but observers — particularly in the black resistance movement — will be watching closely to see how they are played out. The next few months will be crucial as the party thrashes out a policy and chooses a leader, selecting which of these approaches becomes dominant.

Worrall pinpointed the problem: "A successful political party has sharp cutting edges. People must know where they stand in relation to it. That is precisely the problem with the National Party."

The DP will have to face up to some difficult decisions to avoid falling into the same trap.

NP relief as an *opstoker* is shipped out

(E) (304A) WMAIL 14-20/4/89.

Noisy Nat MP Albert Nothnagel could have lost his seat in the next election. But his timely appointment to The Hague has prevented this.

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE appointment of rebel National Party MP Albert Nothnagel as South Africa's next ambassador to Holland has saved from him from possible defeat in this year's election.

His outspoken statements in support of talking to the African National Congress and criticism of the banning of anti-apartheid organisations may spare the government embarassing moments in parliament but his touch of reality will be missed in debates.

The former leader of the Opposition, Colin Eglin, and the Labour Party's Peter Mopp expressed the general feeling in parliamentary circles that Nothnagel would be missed because he was prepared to nudge the Nationalist leadership into contentious areas.

It was a slightly odd role for Nothnagel. He was very much a product of the Nationalist system: he attended Afrikaanse Hoër Seunskool, Pretoria, and then attained a BA from Pretoria University before joining the civil service and becoming a private secretary to the deputy minister of bantu administration.

After leaving the civil service, he became the Nationalist MPC for Innesdal in 1970 and then its MP in 1974. It seemed he was set on a traditional political career in the NP.

But as long ago as 1977 he began developing a reputation for being an outspoken representative of the *verligte* cause. By the mid-1980s there was press speculation that he could be expelled from the NP.

In 1984 he said: "We want to say to black people that we want to be part of their total liberation" and whites had to recognise the position of blacks by getting away from paternalistic perceptions.

When the abolition of the pass laws was debated in parliament, Nothnagel caused another stir when he publically praised the PFP's Helen Suzman for her fight against influx control.

At the beginning of 1987, he was in trouble with the Nationalist hierarchy for saying that a lasting solution for peace in South Africa could not be found without involving the ANC.

He also said most Nationalists accepted that a solution was not possible without the release of ANC Nelson Mandela and that the ban on political organisations could not go on.

Later that year, he took on the white "own affairs" education department when he criticised the right-wing for infiltrating whites schools.

In April last year, he caused more problems for the NP leadership by saying that the ban on the ANC and the 18 organisations restricted in terms of the State of Emergency should not last and that these bodies were politically important.

A month later, he was saying a national identity could not be achieved if one said South Africa was a nation of minorities and one group was then elevated to a position of privilege.

In September last year, he called for a rethink on the Group Areas Act and said if he had been a "coloured" or Indian, he would have hated the law "with his heart and soul".

It is little wonder that he was in trouble in his conservative Pretoria constituency. Many observers believed he would probably lose Innesdal and this would be an embarrasment to the NP, particularly in an election. His appointment to The Hague will avoid these problems.

His future has been secured but a major question remains: why has he remained within the NP?

The answer, in part, is a question of loyalty to the party and a belief that it was only through the NP that change could be achieved.

"I remain loyal to the NP," he said last year, "because I believe it is the only party able to bring about the changes that are necessary to secure the future."

For him, working with the NP was the only way to prevent a right-wing takeover — and he was sceptical that the opposition groupings could achieve this.

De Klerk backs faster 'renewal'

CAPE TIMES 14/4/89 3 COL 4



Political Staff

THE National Party's new leader and president-to-be, Mr F W de Klerk, has promised to speed up "renewal" and said the NP would continue the reform process.

Addressing a party fund-raising dinner in Maritzburg last night, he said he and his cabinet colleagues were battling in difficult financial times with the reform programme but were going ahead with urgency, and progress was quietly being made.

"I want to and shall endevour with my collegues to give impetus to the process of renewal," said Mr De Klerk.

"Our country demands of us an about-turn from the present climate of tension and obduration. All South Africa's people want to see the broad, general reservoir of goodwill in the country reflected in deeds and in progress towards constructive negotiation."

But, he said, there were obstacles and one of them was the "game" sometimes played in Parliament of opposing important reform measures for reasons which had nothing to with the legislation.

"Another is the game of some leaders who put forward unrealistic prerequisites as a condition for participation."

Others bedevilled the process by constantly misrepresenting what the NP wanted. He and others were often criticised, not for what they actually wanted, but "in terms of twisted versions of our words".

Mr De Klerk said the general election had already started and hit out at the Conservative Party as well as the newly formed Democratic Party.

"The CP will inundate voters with gruesome tales, dark predictions, slanderous tittle-tattle, raw racism and ideological solutions which could never be implemented," he said.

"The new DP will sound a clarion call for support of laudable but vague principles without translating them into definite policy."

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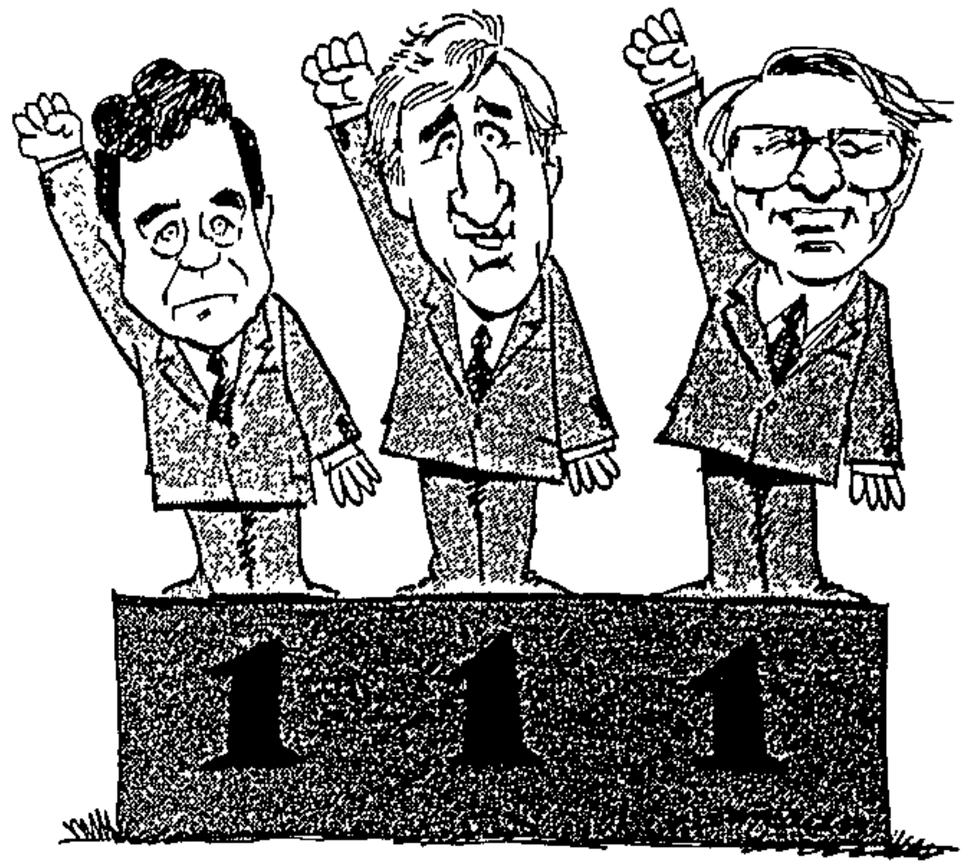
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Ignition — lift-off?

It had been expected that the pro-government press — still under pressure over the leadership crisis — would eagerly snipe at last weekend's formation of the Democratic Party (DP) to hide their own discomfort. With P W Botha unwilling to budge from Tuynhuys and the National Party backtracking on reform the DP serves conveniently as a lightning-conductor.

The DP's leadership troika — Zach de Beer, Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall — reflects a touchy situation. Given the looming general election it would certainly be wiser for the new party to enter the campaign united behind a strong man. But in fact it does not have the problems of the NP, and may fare better than expected.

Nonetheless, the birth pains were obvious. Johannesburg City Councillor Tony Leon attempted to resolve the leadership issue in the final congress of the Progressive Federal Party by proposing a motion that the issue be resolved six weeks after an election date is announced. Clearly he wants De Beer to be top man — and so does De Beer. "I am keen to run for that office," he told the cheering former Progs. But it is unlikely that the DP's executive board will support Leon.



In another example of the sensitivities facing the DP, Johannesburg businessman John Josslin proposed that Stellenbosch economist Sampie Terreblanche be removed as an adviser. Terreblanche, seen by many as a social democrat, has lately been involved in a polemic with *Business Day* editor Ken Owen who vehemently disagrees with Terreblanche's economic policies. Yet De Beer came to Terreblanche's rescue — calling for an end to "this kind of divisive debate."

De Beer is showing increasing resolution: barely hours after his "old friend" Parktown MP Marius Barnard told him that he would not join the DP, De Beer announced his intention to contest the constituency.

Predictably, the Johannesburg dailies *Beeld* and *Citizen*, in their reaction to the birth of the DP, saw fit to once again hammer the hackneyed "soft on security" theme. DP National Board member Hilda Brunette (née Botha), the former commanding officer of the George army college for women, could answer that. The responsibility of training SA's young women — often referred to as "Botha's babes" (among them P W Botha's daughter Rozanne) — was given to her by P W himself.

The Citizen implied that Malan's association with extra-parliamentary politics and the ANC would be a liability in the elections. But, countered De Beer, while "we want to talk to everyone . . . we will only cooperate with those who share our objectives." And that went for the NP too, he added. "Let there be no doubt that the DP is committed to both law and order; to govern through law, not through the arbitrary decisions of officials."

As for the ANC and its associates: "We do share some important long-term goals with these organisations. They articulate a claim for full and equal freedom, human dignity and political rights, and this is a just claim . . . (But) democracy can never be built on the foundation of Wimpy Bar bombs and township necklaces. The ANC must end the campaign of symbolic terror."

The point was also underlined by political commentator Willem de Klerk in his presentation on the DP's policy structure: "Any violent ways of achieving change and transition are . . . rejected."

The new party faces an uphill road. For the first time in the political history of SA various disparate elements and cultures have been thrown into the melting pot. Success could bring immeasurable benefits. In the words of De Klerk: "The party commits itself to the establishment of a genuine South African democracy which rejects race as its basis, protects the human dignity and liberty of all its citizens, promotes the welfare of the nation which is built on the principles which form the basis of a democratic society."

That sounds reasonable. ■

HOMELANDS

Cutting out courts

Government is again trying to force the 500 000-strong black community at Botshabelo near Bloemfontein into the neighbouring QwaQwa homeland — despite a Supreme Court ruling last year overturning an earlier attempt.

This time legislation has been prepared expressly denying courts the right to inquire into or pronounce on the validity of the incorporation or any similar actions involving other homelands. The Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, tabled in parliament last week, gives the State President the power to alter by proclamation the borders of non-independent homelands either by adding areas to them or by excising land.

The Bill also validates proclamations issued in the past in terms of the National States Constitution Act or any other law under which homeland borders were altered and which were subsequently invalidated (usually after being challenged in court). The validation of such proclamations will be retroactive to the time of their original publication in the government *Gazette*.

Two edicts in particular are affected by the Bill: Proclamation R169 of December 2 1987 in terms of which Botshabelo was incorporated into QwaQwa; and Proclamation R227 of 1985 which incorporated Moutse in the north-eastern Transvaal into KwaNdebele.

In the case of Botshabelo the Bloemfontein Supreme Court reversed Proclamation R169 last August. By implication, government was heavily criticised for its actions (*Current Affairs* September 2 1988). Though the court found that in terms of the National States Constitution Act the State President has the power to alter homeland borders, and that only the relevant homeland authority need be consulted (as is the case in the new Bill), this does not mean that he can do anything "under the sun" as one of the three judges put it.

Another, Justice A J Findlay, spoke of the judicial responsibility to safeguard the rights of people with no official representation. Government appealed against the judgment, but now appears to be unwilling to go through with the action — preferring, it seems, to pass yet another law with a clause

14/4/89

PARLIAMENT 304A FMML

Taking the final bow

As had been generally expected, P W Botha chose last week to allow himself to be eased out of office with as much dignity as he could salvage from a particularly bad situation.

His special address to a joint sitting of parliament (the first since his stroke in January) was, in effect, his public acknowledgement of F W de Klerk's victory in the battle that has raged between the two men since Botha's surprise resignation in February as National Party (NP) leader and De Klerk's election as his successor.

Botha back-tracked on his defiant television interview last month in which he said there would probably not be a general election this year, that a delimitation was necessary before the election, and that he may stand again as State President.

Not wanted

But the overwhelming and repeated rejection of his views (and of his continued leadership) by the Nat caucus and much of the Nat press eventually hammered home the message that he was no longer wanted.

He addressed what is understood to have been an emotional NP caucus meeting last Thursday and in effect accepted the caucus's verdict on his future. He also accepted the party's demand for an election as soon as possible. That afternoon in parliament he said there will not be a delimitation before the election which will now be held later this year (probably in September though some observers believe it may be much sooner so as to limit the possible damage to Nat support of the situation in Namibia and the worsening economic climate.)

304A

Botha did not say so, but there is little doubt he will retire after the election to make way for De Klerk. The NP has made it clear it wants the party leader to be president and De Klerk is their man of the moment.

Though Botha will remain in office until the election, he is now almost totally isolated from the NP. His wish to separate the posts of party leader and president has been rejected unanimously by the Nat caucus.

How he will work with De Klerk in the coming months remains a mystery. He chose not to mention the matter in parliament. It seems, however, that he will not rock the boat, but rather try to fade into retirement quietly and with dignity.

In the meantime De Klerk and the NP will prepare for the election they want so badly. The campaign, as always, will be bitter, but with the new Democratic Party still struggling for an identity and the Conservative Party reeling under a series of tactical blunders, the Nats are confident of returning to parliament stronger than ever before. ■

A system in 'total decay'



All governments are inclined to favouritism — but in SA this is openly for whites, says Stellenbosch Economics Professor Sampie Terreblanche in a paper delivered at an Idasa meeting at UCT.

Almost immediately after the National Party took office in 1948, it started to implement a three-pronged programme. Additional discriminatory laws were enacted and extended to coloureds and Indians. The bureaucracy was systematically enlarged and additional public corporations developed to create lucrative opportunities — mainly for Afrikaners. And a variety of welfare (or redistributional) programmes were launched to uplift the mainly Afrikaans poor-whites.

The improvement in the relative economic position of the Afrikaners over the last 40 years has been quite dramatic; and the too-rapid embourgeoisement of the Afrikaners has had unfortunate side-effects. It has not only spoiled the Afrikaners but corrupted many of them — firstly by turning them into typical *nouveaux riches*.

An unfortunate characteristic of the white *nouveaux riches* in this country is its inclination to display a pejorative attitude towards coloureds and blacks who have not been as successful as they have been. This is an alarming example of a sick and corrupt value orientation.

A third consequence of 40 years of favouritism is the unreasonable demanding attitude of large sections of the white electorate. The advent of the extreme rightwing in Afrikaner circles over the last 10 years can, to a large extent, be ascribed to the fiscal inability of the government to maintain the high level of patronage.

During the Seventies the government started to supplement its policy of favouritism with one of co-option. The motivation for this was a desperate attempt to broaden its support to other population groups.

The first group to be co-opted was the homeland leaders. As is now common knowledge, the price of this has been quite considerable over the years. The tricameral parliament represents a second example of co-option. To what extent it also opened a Pandora's box of corruption I do not know. Perhaps it is still too early to tell.

A third but more sophisticated type of co-option is the close co-operation that has developed over the last, say, 15 years between the mainly English-speaking business community (symbolised by Johannesburg) and the Afrikaner-controlled bureaucratic state (symbolised by Pretoria).

During the Seventies the business community apparently came to the hard (if still unpopular) conclusion that the only way to benefit from the bureaucracy was to co-operate with it. During the prime ministership of John Vorster (1966-1978) the government embarked on an economic policy designed to decrease SA's international dependency. Large subsidies were made available for import substitution while strategic industries, such as Armscor and Sasol, were developed and/or expanded. Large subsidies were also available for so-called border industries near the black homelands. For many English-speaking companies these developments created lucrative investment opportunities.

It seems, therefore, justifiable to conclude that large sections of the English-speaking business community have "swapped" their traditional explicit hostility towards the NP government for covert, but growing, economic co-operation because it has become far more convenient and more profitable to share in the spoils of government.

The corruption already disclosed and the corrupt attitudes discerned are on such high levels, of such a deep-seated nature, that we have to identify it as structural corruption. The only way to get rid of structural corruption — that is, corruption inherent to and caused by the political structure — is to get rid of the corrupt system.

There can be little doubt that it is not possible for the Nationalist government to get rid of the system it has created. It has sunk too much ideological capital in it and the leadership has attained too much vested interest in its maintenance.

Government has been trapped in a vicious circle. It is necessary to understand the mutual interaction between the NP government and structural corruption in its dynamic dimensions. As long as the NP remains the government, the growing international isolation will in all probability continue. Consequently, the stagflation, creeping poverty, township unrest and ideological polarisation may be perpetuated and may even become worse.

In their turn, these developments (or trends) may evoke an even greater number of influential people and companies to seek protection and/or favours in the bureaucratic and securocratic networks of patronage while the degree of dependency on these kinds of privilege may become much bigger to enable the beneficiaries to maintain their relative economic position.

Both the need and the opportunities for corruption will increase. Moral courage and public morality will decline even further and the NP government will become an even more powerless victim of the unethical, racist system it has created. Structural corruption is very much an integral part of a total system in an irreversible process of total decay. ■

3044

Democratic chairman in Vaal town is elected

Political Reporter

A young businessman and prominent former National Party member has been elected the Democratic Party's branch committee chairman in Vereeniging.

Mr Chris du Preez (33) is a leading figure in the Junior Rapportryers movement, a former deputy chairman of the Junior Afrikaanse Sakekamer and a former member of an NP branch committee.

He resigned from the NP last year and joined the former Independent Party.

The election of a DP branch committee in Vereeniging is the first formal organisational structure of the left-of-Government opposition in the town.

Mr du Preez yesterday said it had not yet been decided whether the DP would contest the next general election in Vereeniging.

"There is a scenario that a DP candidate can split the vote between the DP and the NP which will assure a victory for the CP.

"But the Nats must know that we will not stand back to help them. We will fight them tooth and nail."

Mr du Preez said the lesson to be learnt from the actions of CP town councils was that "racists should not be allowed to get onto town councils".

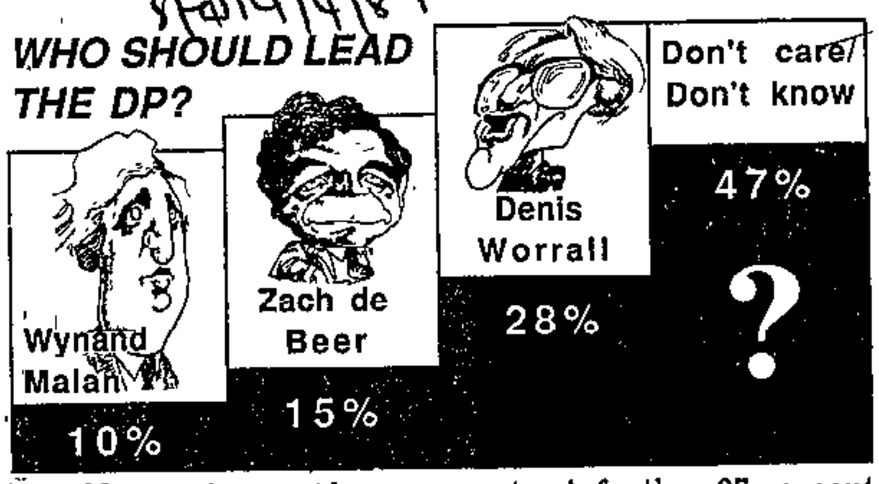
But he believed the CP would never come to power in South Africa, and therefore "one more or one less CP MP does not make any difference".

The DP would firstly concentrate on its organisational structure in Vereeniging.

"Mr F W de Klerk won the 1987 election with a majority of about 1 200 but the PFP candidate drew approximately 1 000 votes. We will not stand back for anyone," Mr du Preez vowed.

'Leaderless' DP has a future – poll

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter



The Democratic Party has a future in South African politics, urban white voters believe, but almost half are uncertain who should lead the party.

This was the finding of a telephone opinion poll conducted scientifically in three metropolitan areas of South Africa where the DP is expected to have most support.

The survey was conducted this week on behalf of The Star by Marketing and Media Research (MMR), the market research company which in 1987 correctly predicted the results in all six key marginal constituencies it polled ahead of the parliamentary general elections.

Some 47 percent of those polled did not know who should be the leader of the party. But former Independent Party leader Dr Denis Worrall, now one of the DP joint leaders, was strongly favoured ahead of former PFP leader Dr Zach de Beer and former NDM leader Mr Wynand Malan.

Twenty-eight percent of the respondents preferred Dr Worrall as the leader, while 15 percent chose Dr de Beer, and 10 percent Mr Wynand Malan.

But the respondents gave the go-ahead to the DP.

In response to the question "Do you think the DP has a future?", 54 percent answered positively, while 17 percent said it had no future and 29 percent felt they were not qualified to say.

Significantly, 39 percent of the respondents supported the National Party in the previous election.

Of the 1 822 people of all age groups contacted in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban, 17 percent refused to participate. A further 27 percent were not registered voters and were therefore excluded.

Of the 1 005 eligible respondents who did choose a leader, 53 percent supported Dr Worrall, 28 percent Dr de Beer and 19 percent Mr Malan.

According to MMR, a few respondents did not want to choose between the three because they felt another leader was needed. However, they were only asked to answer the question "Who do you think should be the leader of the DP — Dr Worrall, Dr de Beer or Mr Malan?". When the question was asked, the three names were regularly rotated to avoid bias.

Dr de Beer, the DP's newly elected parliamentary caucus leader, was slightly more popular among males. Females were generally likely to be undecided on the choice of a single leader.

In terms of age differences, younger voters were more likely to choose Dr Worrall, while respondents older than 35 were more undecided on the leadership issue. Former PFP support amounted to 26 percent and respondents who supported the Conservative Party totalled 5 percent.

Voters told to register quickly

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

In the event of a September general election, voters have only until the end of May to register for the voters' roll.

The Director-General of Home Affairs, Mr Gerrie van Zyl, yesterday urged voters to notify the department of changes of address as soon as possible.

Although the date of the forthcoming election had not yet been announced, the Electoral Act stipulated which voters roll must be used for an election. That usually was the voters roll which closed four months prior to election day, Mr van Zyl said.

"It is therefore of the utmost importance that voters should report changes of address to the department immediately to ensure that their current addresses are included in the latest voters' roll.

"An urgent appeal is made to the public to assist the Department with the compilation of up-to-date voters' rolls."

Notifications of change of address might be handed in at the nearest regional or district office of the Department of Home Affairs or at a municipal office.

A notification form was also placed inside the cover of a person's identity document.

Otherwise, changes of address might be reported by letter, stating full christian names, surnames, identity numbers and present residential and postal addresses.

Supplementary voters' lists were compiled only to correct administrative faults made by the Department.

Three due to be hanged on Tuesday

Three prisoners on death row at Pretoria Central prison have been notified they will be executed on Tuesday April 18, Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) said in a statement yesterday.

The three are Lazarus Mance, John Ndlovu and Harry Ngcqobo.

Mance and Ndlovu were convicted in the Rand Supreme Court of murder and robbery with aggravating circumstances. Their application for leave to appeal and their petition to the Chief Justice were refused.

PETITIONED

Although one of them has petitioned the State President for clemency, the other has not. LHR has therefore made representations to the Department of Justice that the execution of both be stayed, pending the outcome of the outstanding petition.

If the representation is unsuccessful, LHR will brief counsel to bring an appropriate court application, said LHR's national director, Mr Brian Currin.

Ngcqobo was convicted of murder and robbery last year, and his application for leave to appeal was refused.

"Due to a misunderstanding, his counsel did not petition the Chief Justice for leave to appeal," said Mr Currin.

"In the circumstances, we have similarly made representations to the Department of Justice that his execution be stayed pending that petition."

Mr Currin said two of the three prisoners had not exercised all their rights, and if necessary, applications for stays of execution would be brought on behalf of all three. — Sapa.

It might be difficult to extradite Pegg

Crime Reporter

Proceedings to extradite Mr Stuart Pegg, a suspect in the R47 million Trust Bank fraud, from the United States may be complicated by the fact that he holds a British passport.

Mr Pegg was last believed to be hiding out in a Colorado ski resort with his wife and their four children.

South Africa has an extradition agreement with America. However, no such formal agreement exists with Britain.

It was said earlier this week that if Mr Pegg did not return to South Africa to stand trial, extradition proceedings would be instituted.

Mr Pegg is one of five men wanted in connection with the fraud which involved the "buying" of an aircraft worth more than R25 million and the purchase of emeralds worth R1 million and Krugerrands worth more than R19 million.

SW 14/7/87 30 4 87

Pressure for early launch date

Govt to proceed with the 'great indaba' — Heunis

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government's long-delayed National Council — or "great indaba" — for negotiating a new constitution with blacks and giving them a say in central government could be launched within months.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis said this last night in an interview after announcing he had agreed to a request by the Urban Councils Association of South Africa (Ucasa), to begin preparatory work for the council.

He said that he believed the Government should now proceed with the National Council with those leaders who were prepared to participate in it.

"It should proceed because of the insistence of black leaders outside the national states. Their view is that the leaders of national states are already participating in the system while they are outside."

He said he could not name a date for the launch of the council as the groundwork of demarcating constituencies and drawing up voters' rolls still had to be done. The process of negotiating with other leaders to join the council was continuing.

Sudden urgency

Enabling legislation passed last year provides for the Government, the provincial administrators, the chairmen of the Ministers' Councils of all three Houses of Parliament, the heads of the self-governing territories and nine urban black representatives to serve on the council.

Urban blacks will represent nine regions still to be defined and will be chosen by electoral colleges elected by black town councillors.

Mr Heunis's announcement followed talks held by him with Ucasa — one of the two black municipal bodies — yesterday. He said Ucasa had insisted the negotiating forum be established as soon as possible.

Political observers last night speculated that the sudden urgency surrounding the National Council might be because President Botha, who is jealous of his plan, wanted to get an "indaba" off the ground before he retired in September.



PW defends the securocrats

Co-operation with private sector vital for regional growth

Parliamentary Staff

Effective security and co-operation with the private sector were cornerstones of political progress and economic development in South Africa and the sub-continent, the **State President Mr P W Botha** said.

Warning against disparaging remarks about the men and women who served the country by ensuring safety, and conditions for orderly government, he singled out references in some circles to what was thought of as a sinister power group of "securocrats".

The President said the "relative calm we have today did not come about on its own".

Expensive

"It is not the fruit of benevolence of our enemies. The fact that we are in a favourable negotiating position, internationally too, did not simply fall from the sky. It has been expensive."

The loyalty of people in the security services, and co-operation — including with the private sector — were vital for development in southern Africa.

Meetings with the private sector in the past, including the Carlton and Good Hope conferences, had borne fruit which had positive results in the region, said Mr Botha.

He told of a meeting with international bankers and businessmen in Switzerland last year where he described South Africa's stabilising role in southern Africa.

He said he told them that if South Africa's economy was able to reach its "natural potential", the whole region would benefit.

South Africa sought a subcontinent in which countries worked together for food production, trade, housing, education, training, health services and em ployment.

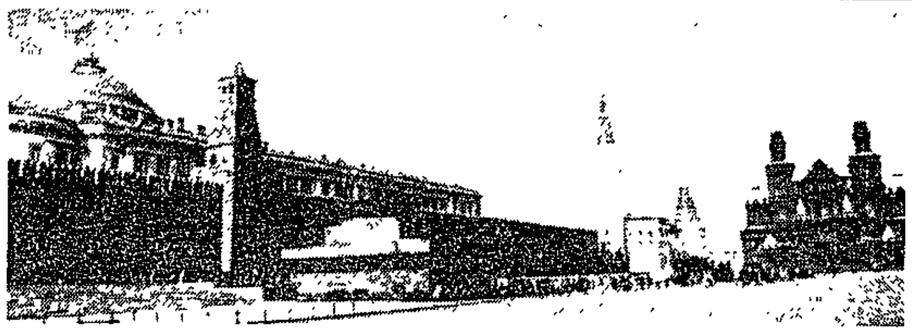
He asked the businessmen to tell their political leaders that an infusion of capital into South Africa would help towards peace and progress in the region as a whole.

Mr Botha devoted most of his address to the situation in Namibia. He made clear that Swapo was the aggressor, but said South Africa had not been "lulled into a false sense of security" and had built into the agreements precautionary measures to "deal with any problems which could arise".

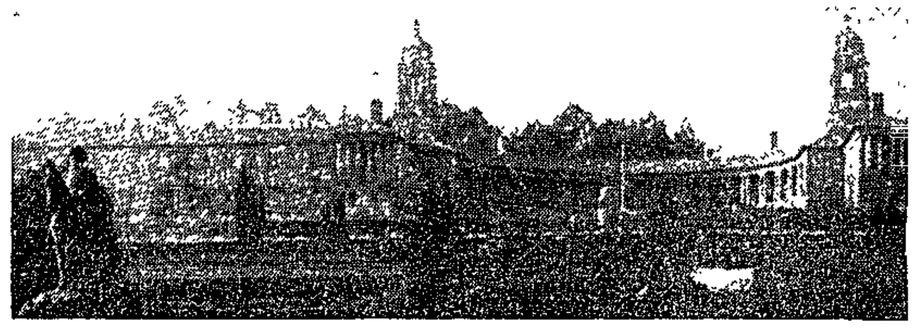
Soviets rethink SA policy

Star 14/4/89

DAVID BRAUN of The Star's Bureau in Washington looks at the new realism that is permeating the Soviet Union's approach to Southern Africa and particularly South Africa, as expressed by senior Soviet experts in the United States.



Kremlin . . . seeks to change white perceptions that it is the enemy.



Union Buildings . . . Moscow accepts Pretoria as part of the solution.

WASHINGTON — The recent covert visit to South Africa by Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatolij Adamishin forms part of the superpower's restructuring of its overall global foreign policy.

Senior Soviet sources in Washington this week described the USSR's policy towards Southern Africa as being in a state of flux. Much the same could be said for Soviet policy in general as Russia seeks to restructure its economy and other aspects of its society in Gorbachev's era of glasnost and perestroika.

In the new atmosphere of freer speech and questioning of previous Soviet policies, senior Russian experts are now stating that the Soviet Union has made mistakes in its policies towards South Africa.

"Soviet propaganda on South Africa in the last decade made some mistakes," one prominent Soviet expert on Southern Africa told a private gathering here this week.

"The biggest mistake was the attitude towards the white population. Some Soviet journalists talked about whites as if they were colonists, with the idea that after the revolution Africans would kick the whites out of South Africa.

"This was a mistake made not only by the Soviet Union but also by East Germany and others in the Eastern bloc. Now that we are in the Gorbachev era, we hope not to repeat such mistakes," he said.

The major reason why this is perceived to be a mistake: it has allowed the South African Government to scare its white population — particularly Afrikaners — into believing the USSR is an enemy.

Said the expert: "The present Soviet foreign policy aims at trying to take this away from the South African Government, by eliminating the enemy imagery."

He was adamant the Soviet Union still stood consistently against apartheid and racism. The USSR still supported the liberation movements opposed to the South African regime. It had been noticed that South Africa had attempted to play a Soviet card in its relations with Western powers, and to cause tension between the Soviet Union and the ANC, he said.

On the other hand, a new realism has apparently permeated the Soviet approach to South Africa.

The Soviet Union, which until now has regarded the SA Government as an illegitimate regime, now accepts it is a genuine political force which must take its part in the process of resolving the conflict and problems of Southern Africa.

This is how two Soviet experts, one a prominent academic, the other an adviser to the Soviet government, saw their country's emerging role in Southern Africa (they asked not to be quoted on the record and they stressed these were their personal assessments of the situation):

In general

● In general, there was a completely new policy based on a new philosophy. The Soviet Union now took a different view of the world: whereas previously it saw everything in two colours, communism and capitalism, it now saw a multi-hued pictured.

This reappraisal of its view of the world had led to the Soviet Union being criticised by parts of the Third World and liberation movements such as the ANC, on the basis that the USSR was apparently withdrawing its support from their struggle in the face of the continued onslaught of capitalist imperialism.

On the other hand, the competition of the Soviet and imperialist ideologies in Southern Africa had not been beneficial to the peoples who lived in the region.

On South Africa

● The situation had changed in South Africa dramatically. Four decades ago, when a study was made of the South African political situation, it was very simple. There were the National Party, the United Party and the ANC. Now, it was much more complex.

The Soviet Union was trying to understand this situation. It now not only had relations with the ANC and the SA Communist Party, but sought relations with other organisations opposing apartheid.

The Soviet Union was also trying to dispel its image as the enemy of the whites by building a relationship with the liberal anti-apartheid part of the white population. Representatives of such whites had been invited to visit the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union was now committed to finding political solutions to conflict, although it was firm in its support for the liberation movements and recognised their right to utilise any means to get their freedom, including the armed struggle.

The Soviet Union also continued to support international pressure on the South African Government and seek its isolation. The South African Government and the South African nation should be differentiated between in this regard, however, as the Government represented only three percent of its people.

It would be necessary for the Soviet Union to have diplomatic contacts with the South African Government, as it did in the recent Angola/Namibia peace process.

USSR contacts with South Africa should not be interpreted as recognition or readiness on the part of the Soviet Union to resume diplomatic contacts with South Africa.

The Soviet Union would not now abandon its stance on South Africa and its support for the liberation movements, which had won it much international prestige.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union must now follow a more pragmatic approach.

"The Soviet Union has recognised the South African Government is not only part of the problem, but in certain aspects it is part of the solution. We have to recognise that.

"We have to accept the South African Government is part of the negotiating process. Once we do that we have to accept it has its own interests. We may not like this, but as a government and as a political force it has its own interests.

"We still regard it as an illegal regime that has to go. At least the system it has created will have to go," said one of the experts.

Another expert was of the firm opinion that apartheid had entered its final phase in South Africa. The internal contradictions in South Africa were so profound and acute, the fall of apartheid was inevitable, he said.

Reforms being carried out by the National Party, combined with escalation of repressions, did not provide a way out of the present deadlock, as they did not envisage complete elimination of racial discrimination and the white rule.

The SA Government could but prolong the system's crisis, and this was fraught with even more serious upheavals in future.

The only question now was how soon would apartheid be dismantled and by what means: either by a revolutionary upheaval of the oppressed masses, first of all the African majority deprived of full political rights, and by a bloody civil war — or through political negotiations between the parties at conflict, reasonable and mutually acceptable compromises made by the ruling circles and the opposition.

Apparently, one should proceed from the assumption that under present conditions the best, and, indeed, the only possible way was to start constructive talks.

It was not for the Soviet Union to decide upon the formula for these negotiations, their participants, or their outcome. This was entirely an internal affair of South Africa, and only its people could jointly find a mutually acceptable solution.

The Soviet Union would like to see future South Africa a united non-racial state, led by a democratically elected government which would express the interests of all the citizens of the country, both blacks and whites.

The settlement of the conflict in Southern Africa would create a qualitatively new situation in the area. The Soviet Union would like to see the future Southern Africa free of the armaments burden which resulted from unceasing confrontation, from interference by developed countries and their struggle for their own interests.

Bilateral and multilateral co operation in the name of development and progress must become the basis of Soviet policies in the region.

On Angola

● There was no military solution to the internal problem in Angola. The MPLA and Unita could not destroy each another. The only solution was negotiation between the two sides.

The differences between the two sides were historic, traditional, ethnic and personal, and the involvement of the big powers did not help matters.

The United States should stop its military assistance to Unita and the Soviet Union should reduce its military aid to the MPLA.

On Mozambique

● There was no real ethnic or social basis to the conflict in Mozambique. The South African-supported MNR was only part of the problem and probably not the biggest part.

What there was in Mozambique was social disintegration and a general mutiny because the economy had been destroyed and not been replaced with a new economy.

Apart from the MNR there were many other forces dissatisfied with the Frelimo government, who had taken to arms to make a living. Even the government forces used their weapons on the civilians in order to rob them.

This problem could be resolved only by restoring the economy, drawing the population into the process of producing commodities — by restoring the economic balance between villages and cities. To achieve this goal, the country needed international assistance.

FW fires first shot in election campaign

Star 14/4/89

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Political Staff

MARITZBURG — The leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, last night fired the opening shot in the general election campaign.

Wasting no time after President Botha's announcement last Thursday of an election, possibly on September 13, Mr de Klerk said white domination had to be ended but dared not be replaced with domination of white people by others.

He was addressing an NP dinner in Maritzburg.

"We stand on the eve of a general election," he said. "In Parliament this fact has had an electrifying effect. The fight has started. Quite soon the public will start feeling the effect."

Pitching the NP promotion at English-speaking voters, he predicted that the Democratic Party would subtly try to reintroduce language division as a major factor in party politics.

He said the Conservative Party's "partition policy" was impracticable because it "screamed against the realities".

DP policy was one-man, one-vote in a typical federation. Voters would reject this because it did not provide sufficient security for minority groups.

The DP was "naive in its search for a Utopia where everybody will be nice".

The NP stood for "power sharing without domination by one group over another", Mr de Klerk said.

He said the NP was absolutely committed to reform and his Cabinet colleagues were battling in difficult financial times to press on with it.

Progress was quietly being made on the black-white negotiation front. "Obviously there are obstacles. One of these is the game which is sometimes played in Parliament — the game of opposing important reform measures for reasons which have nothing to do with the contents of these measures."

"Our country demands of us an about-turn from the present climate of tension and obduration," he said.

Govt clamps must go, NUM told

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

The "Mass Democratic Movement", comprising organisations formerly in the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, would consider negotiations with the Government only if it removed restrictions on anti-apartheid opposition.

Anti-apartheid activist Mr Murphy Morobe said this yesterday when addressing the national congress of the National Union of Mineworkers, in Johannesburg.

Although some anti-apartheid organisations had been seriously affected by the emergency, opposition to apartheid had not been crushed, he said.

After the independence of Namibia, international attention would focus on the struggle to dismantle apartheid in South Africa itself. Although this was welcome, the interest of "imperialist powers" such as Britain and the United States stemmed from their desire to preserve their economic and political interests.

The decision of these countries to "take the side of South Africa against Swapo" in the recent fighting in Namibia had shown that they could not be totally trusted, said Mr Morobe.

It was in this context that the "clamour" for negotiations, with pressure being put only on the African National Congress to renounce violence, was to be seen.

SA's Portuguese are here to stay

9KGU5 14/4/89 3044

By ALAN DUNN, Political Staff

ALMOST 90 percent of South Africa's Portuguese community, one of the largest expatriate Portuguese groups in the world, are here to stay.



This emerged in a Human Sciences Research Council study of the 600 000 to 700 000-strong community commissioned by the Department of Home Affairs.

The study, the first in-depth one into South Africa's Portuguese speakers, was submitted to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, last week.

It reported that 89,6 percent of the Portuguese-speaking respondents were not considering leaving South Africa. Five percent were, and the rest were uncertain.

Home

The study said 95,9 percent of the community, three-quarters of whom still spoke Portuguese at home, would want still to be living in South Africa in five years' time.

About 55 percent said they would advise others to come to South Africa — 93 percent professed they would come here if they had the choice again — 18 percent would tell foreigners their opportunities would be better in South Africa, 1,1 percent would warn others not to come, and 2,2 would urge them to "think carefully".

Out of South Africa, Portugal, Madeira, Angola and Mozambique, 86 percent of the respondents awarded South Africa the place with the best quality of life. Portugal scored 3,2 percent, and the rest much less each.

Spouses

Almost 90 percent were happy or satisfied with their jobs, with 72 percent believing they enjoy a higher standard of living than in their home countries. About 20 percent view their standard here as much the same as before, with 78 percent of their spouses now happier.

Thirty-eight percent said they did not miss any part of their home countries, 36 percent said they missed family, and the rest missed friends, language, social life and so on.

The study said 21,1 percent owned property outside South Africa.

On the government's race policies, 44,6 percent agreed with them, 24,6 were neutral, 6,7 percent thought them wrong, and 24,1 percent were uncertain.

Vote

Eighty-eight percent said they had not changed their views on government race policies since coming to South Africa. But of the balance that had, 48 percent were more in favour of them now, 15 more opposed, and 36 percent uncertain.

Sixty percent would oppose a one-man, one-vote electoral system in a unitary state, the study showed. Only 3,7 would welcome it.

The HSRC study recommended that the government "leave no stone unturned in its fight against inflation", to maintain South Africa's advantage over their country of origin. Economic reasons seemed to have played an important role in Portuguese-speaking people leaving their previous countries (45 percent had left because of this, 22 percent for political reasons, and 20 percent had followed family members to South Africa).

Acitivities

It said Portuguese non-participation in clubs and organisations was clearly too high, recommending fresh efforts to draw people into these activities.

The study noted that government would be well-advised to "make efforts to bring about an improvement in South Africa's relations with her neighbours."

This would aid the political adaptation of Portuguese immigrants.

Bill to curb petty apartheid on way

Political Staff

LEGISLATION to prevent local authorities "closing" amenities which have already been opened to people of all races is currently being prepared by the government.

The Act, however, is not going to be repealed as liberal opposition parties have demanded.

Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Chris Heunis said yesterday that he would make an announcement on the issue next week.

The legislation — which may be made retroactive — comes in the wake of actions by various conservative-controlled local authorities who have reintroduced social apartheid.

The bill, which will almost certainly be debated and passed during the present session of Parliament, will meet with fierce CP opposition and become a major issue in the general election.

DP expected to accept Van Eck today

Cape Times 15/4/89 304A

Political Correspondent

THE independent MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, is expected to be accepted as a member of the Democratic Party today — despite fierce opposition to such a move from certain members of the new party.

However, the DP's 21-person National Board could delay a decision on the membership applications of two other independent MPs in the House of Representatives.

The MP for Schauderville, Mr Charles Redcliffe, applied for membership of the party five weeks ago, while the MP for Durban suburbs, Mr Cecil Kippen, applied last week.

The DP's National Board meets in Cape Town today to elect a chairperson and attend to a wide range of administrative and policy issues.

● The Cape Times Durban correspondent reports from Ulundi that Chief Mangosuthu Buthulezi said Mr Van Eck would have to re-read his history if he thought there could be any future in which the Inkatha movement and the Zulu people did not participate.

He was speaking in the Kwazulu Legislative Assembly yesterday in response to a statement by Mr Van Eck in Cape Town this week that the Democratic Party would have to avoid alliances or any kind of association with non-democratic and violence-prone organisations such as Inkatha.

FW's reform promises contradicted

Star 15/4/89

MEMBERS of the Democratic Party and other groupings yesterday reacted to what they termed "regressive" statements by Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, and Stellenbosch MP Mr Piet Marais after apparently "verligte" statements by party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, and Mr Chris Heunis.

Addressing a National

PAT DEVEREAUX and PETER FABRICIUS

304A

Party youth conference in Graaf-Reinet last night, General Malan said the NP was a party for the whites.

"The National Party serves the interests of whites and as a Government it cares for the interests of all in our beautiful country."

And speaking in the budget debate on the State President's vote yesterday, Mr Piet Marais said the imposition of a non-racial system as proposed by the DP would result in minority groups losing their democratic rights.

Replying yesterday to these statements, the DP's parliamentary leader, Dr Zach De Beer, said: "General Malan's declaration that the NP is a party for whites confirms once again that his is a fundamentally racist party which seeks to maintain itself in power and privilege by playing on the fears and prejudices of white voters.

"His added comment that the party has a responsibility for all South Africans simply indicates paternalism of the worst

● TO PAGE 2.

D P 'Lang Dawid' de Villiers to chair DP national board

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

MR D P (Lang Dawid) de Villiers, former managing director of Nasionale Pers, was elected today as chairman of the national board of the new Democratic Party.

He played a key role in the formation of the Independent movement before the 1987 general election and has been closely associated with moves to unify the opposition groupings to the left of government.

His election today strikes a balance between former PFP members and other components of the DP's hierarchy after all the top positions in the party's parliamentary caucus went to former PFP members this week.

The party's national board has also co-opted Mr Jasper Walsh, MP for Pinelands, as a board member.

DP standing committee members elected at a meeting of the board today are: Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall, Mr D P de Villiers, Mr D Gant and Mr Tian van der Merwe.

Tough talking by Rozanne's former CO

Star 15/4/89

304A

PAT DEVEREAUX

THE NEWLY formed Democratic Party will not be "soft on security". That is the unequivocal view of the party's national board member, Mrs Hilda Burnett.

As the former commanding officer of the George army college for women, she should know.

For 10 years, Mrs Burnett (neé Botha) had the task of training South Africa's young women soldiers who were often referred to as "Botha's babes". Among them was President Botha's daughter, Rozanne. Mrs Burnett herself was appointed by Mr Botha when he was Minister of Defence.

Last week at the DP's founding congress she was elected one of four representatives of the DP's National Board, the so-called "fourth force" which includes former National Party supporters, mainly academics and sports people, who have not been politically active before.

Asked whether she foresaw the possiblilty of becoming the DP's spokesman on defence, Mrs Burnett, presently deputy mayor of George, gave a surprised laugh.

Rule of law

Then after a moment's hesitation, she said: "I left the college in 1982 and am no longer in the military. But, as a DP representative I want to say that we definitely won't be soft on security."

She repeated the DP's pledge to impel the South African Government to provide adequate policing for all, so that people could be safe in their homes, safe on the streets, safe in their associations and in their political assembly.

The DP has also stated it will "work towards lasting peace in a truly just society where order is underpinned by consent and the rule of law".

Asked how she managed the move from the army officer to her present DP role, Mrs Burnett said: "I was always *verlig*. My political views haven't changed. In the past couple of years I became disillusioned with the National Party and decided that a new vision was needed."

Born in Bloemfontein in 1930, Mrs Burnett taught at the Pretoria Teachers' Training College until she married.



IN PW COUNTRY: George deputy mayor, Mrs Hilda Burnett, faces a tough battle.

"Then after my first husband died I went to work at the army college in George," said the mother of three adult sons and three step-children.

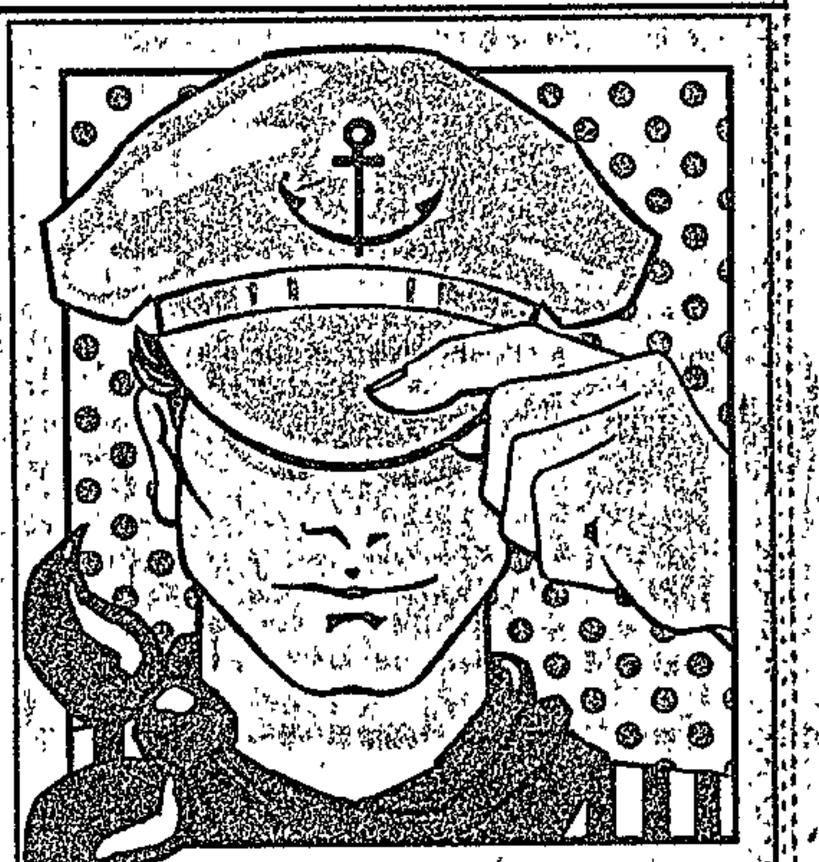
After her move and marriage to Mr Rex Burnett, a prominent George businessman, Hilda Burnett launched herself into community work.

Her titles — president of the Cancer Association for the Southern Cape, chairman of the Southern Cape Hockey Association — and her involvement with child welfare and housing projects for the poor — paved the way for her position as a George councillor.

"As deputy mayor I want to do for George what I can. As a DP representative I feel I can be instrumental in repairing the deep rift and polarisation in this country and help in the reconciliation of our people," she said.

But her future role as a DP representative in the fast growing town of George will not be easy.

Mrs Burnett admitted to having an extremely tough political battle ahead. After all, her political battles will be fought in what she described as "clearly PW Botha's home territory".



Win a Luxury Cruise to Australia in the Mr. Sandton T.F.C. Tourn

Pik hints at talks about SA with Soviet Minister

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday hinted for the first time that he had been involved in direct talks about South Africa with the Soviet Union.

The Star revealed this week that Mr Botha had had talks in Maputo with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoli Adamishin some weeks ago, and that Mr Adamishin visited South Africa.

Until now the reports, which have aroused international interest, have been neither "confirmed nor denied" by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

But Mr Botha hinted in a speech in Parliament yesterday that talks had taken place — but he did not directly confirm them.

BRUCE CAMERON

He was responding to a challenge by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Parliament, who demanded an explanation of reports in The Star and other Argus Group newspapers, and condemned talks with the Soviets.

Mr Botha said that with whoever he held talks he did so in South Africa's interests.

Mr Botha said the Government was well aware of the motives of the Soviets, but he asked whether the Conservtaive Party was not aware of the change in Soviet attitudes.

The change had been indicated, for instance, by the withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Govt moves on Mandela release

CAPE TOWN — The Government is seriously considering the release of jailed African National Congress leader, Mr Nelson Mandela.

Government sources indicated to Saturday Star yesterday that the only obstacle to his release was the fear of renewed violence. However, this is being weighed up against promises of major breakthroughs.

National Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk and Minister of Home Affairs Mr Stoffel Botha in statements in Natal on Thursday confirmed that there were obstructions to negotiations that had to be removed.

The continued imprisonment of Mr Mandela was acknowledged as the major factor preventing negotiations between KwaZulu and the Government.

World leaders from Mrs Margaret Thatcher through to Soviet deputy Foreign Minister, Mr Anatoly Adamishin, have bluntly told South Africa the release of Mr Mandela is the key to international advances.

POLITICAL STAFF

This week the Department of Prisons took the unusual step of making an important political announcement that Mr Mandela was prepared to meet British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick.

At a meeting in Maritzburg Mr de Klerk said the NP would do everything possible to remove obstacles in the way of negotiations. And Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, said after meeting the Urban Councils Association of South Africa, he believed the National Council could be launched within months.

THE BIG FIVE: (Left to right) Mr Justice Michael Kirby, Court of Appeal of New South Wales, Australia; Mr Keith Kunune, chairman Black Mayor's Association; Mr Justice G P C Kotze SC, former judge of Appelate Division of the Supreme Court; Mr Sydney Kentridge QC, barrister; Mr Ismael Mohomed SC, advocate and Judge of Appeal, Lesotho/Swaziland.

Now lawyers take up cry of the townships

3040

Star 15/4/89.

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE CRY of the townships — one man, one vote — is increasingly on the eloquent lips of lawyers in the universities and their colleagues at the Bar.

Universal adult suffrage was an interlinking thread in the erudite addresses of distinguished jurists at the 10th anniversary conference of the Legal Resources Centre, which ended behind closed doors yesterday.

The question was not so much whether the time had come for one man, one vote in South Africa, but whether it was enough.

Mr Jules Browde, SC, noted that even the government-appointed Law Commission had declared in favour of universal adult suffrage in its report on human rights in South Africa.

It was the *sine qua non* for the achievement of human rights for all South Africans.

But, warned Mr James Robertson, former director of the American Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights under Law, the mere extension in law of the vote to the disenfranchised did not in itself guarantee their escape from poverty and humiliation.

He told delegates from four continents a tale entitled The Mississippi Parable.

After the American Civil War (1861-65) the vote was extended to black Americans in the South; in Mississippi, where blacks were in the majority, 67 percent registered.

Backlash

Then came the white backlash. Various techniques were introduced to disqualify black voters, including a literacy test and the "eight box law".

The literacy test required a knowledge of the constitution; whites were asked ridiculously simple questions, blacks had to have a PhD on the Mississippi constitution to pass.

Under the "eight box" test, voters were given eight votes. To qualify they had to place their votes in the "correct" boxes; whites were given all the help they needed and blacks were ignored.

It was only after the great drive for civil rights in the United States in the 1960s that a halt was called to the trickery that deprived blacks of the vote.

Professor Francis Wilson of the University of Cape Town asked whether it was enough to repeal apartheid laws in South Africa.

Apartheid laws were, he said, merely the scaffolding which had made erection of the apartheid structures possible; removal of the scaffolding did little — in the short run — to topple structures, particularly economic ones, dominated by whites because they had been the beneficiaries of apartheid laws.

It was not enough, he said, to abolish discriminatory laws and let market forces sort out the situation.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 had enabled a few whites to concentrate an overwhelming share of privately-owned farming land in their hands; there was no way that that imbalance would be undone by the action of market forces in the forseeable future.

Mr Steve Kahanovitz of the Cape Town Legal Resources Centre raised the question whether the demand for privatisation, and the ideology that went with it, was not motivated by a desire to place vital resources beyond the reach of the State now that the prospect of a black-controlled state was in the offing.

Rubicons

One corrective — as Mr Gilbert Marcus of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies pointed out — was through affirmative action or positive discrimination in favour of people who had been disadvantaged.

Mr Ernest Moseneke, a former Robben Island prisoner who obtained his legal degree while in jail, said "massive reconstruction" was needed.

"If you have doubts that dark-skinned people can handle the vote responsibily, you still have a private Rubicon to cross," he said.

Pik hints at talks about SA with Soviet Minister

Star 15/4/89

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Affairs

Govt moves on Mandela release

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POLITICAL STAFF

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believed to only have 40 percent pupil capacity."

Swimming pools are closed to people of colour. Citing an example Mr Dangor said: "The city council has kept the swimming pool at the Zoo Lake closed despite the fact the donor said years ago that it was open to all citizens."

De Klerk reform promises contradicted

Star 15/4/89 BOKA

FROM PAGE 1.

kind. He is suggesting a party for whites only should exercise authority over all in our country.

One of the DP's three leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, said: "General Malan is playing on 'swart gevaar' and white consolidation and mobilising against blacks, using clearly divisive language.

"This contradicts Mr de Klerk's promises that we are 'on the eve of renewal and reform' and his play that he 'will advise the country of developments to come'.

"(Mr Piet Marais) is saying that it is okay to keep political rights from black people or the majority of people in South Africa.

"This NP approach has given us not only the state of emergency but a continuous decline in our economy and a decline in the average wealth of South Africans."

The chairman of the extra-parliamentary white grouping, Five Freedoms Forum, Mr Mike Olivier, said: "General Malan is once more saying that the National Party is still fundamentally racist in orientation. The NP in no way reflects the interests of whites in South Africa.

"If they did their interest would be to engage in a policy of negotiation," he said.

Ex-Beatle invited to Swazi concert

FROM PAGE 1.

his stage," Mr Lang said, "but among the acts which have confirmed are Eric Clapton and his All-Star Band, who will only be in action on Sunday uly 23."

Mr Lang said many international stars had been nvited but the problem lay with the logistics f ferrying them to Swaziland, and whether perrming in the kingdom on that weekend fitted in ith their touring schedules.

The concerts will be using the massive Dire raits rig and all equipment will be brought in om Europe.

Tickets, Mr Lang said, were selling well for e Friday night concert, the 10-hour Saturday concart from 2 pm and the Sunday concert also from

Don't blow it, Chester Crocker's farewell advice to South Africa

Sky 15/4/89

30/4

DAVID BRAUN and NEIL LURRSEN

WASHINGTON — South Africa found itself currently in one of the best positions it had been in for several years, and its people should not blow the opportunity to build bridges and get dialogue started.

This was the final message to South Africa by the US Assistant Secretrary of State in charge of African Affairs, Dr Chester Crocker.

He delivered it at a final media conference in his capacity as America's chief African diplomat. Dr Crocker is being replaced by Mr Herman Cohen, a career diplomat nominated for the top Africa position by the Bush Administration.

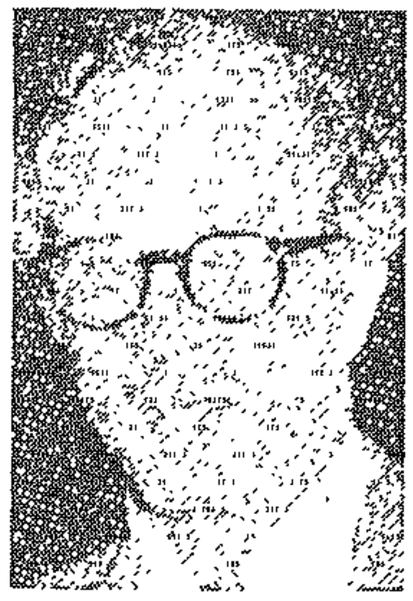
Dr Crocker said there has been great turbulence inside South Africa during the 1980s.

He said: "We've seen a reform process start, sputter along and stop, we've seen unprecedented unrest and repression to deal with the unrest.

"We've seen political avenues blocked off by a lot of the repressive measures, and yet as I look at it in early 1989 I do see some interesting indications of a rethinking on several sides, and I certainly hope that process continues.

"It is obvious the Government has got on top of the unrest situation. But that's not a solution. All that does is create an opportunity.

"The question I think we have got to ask ourselves is what is the Government going to do with the opportunity, and this question is posing itself at this very moment when there is a political transition underway within the National Party, from one generation to the next.



BUILD BRIDGES: Dr Chester Crocker's final plea to South Africa's movers and shakers.

"It is an important moment historically and the next few months before the next white elections and the choosing of the next State President will be a very important time.

"By the same token I think it is clear within black opposition organisations they recognise the Government has a lot of means of repression at its disposal but that it cannot do anything unilaterally by fiat without negotiation.

"So in effect there is a visible demonstration that there is such a thing as black negotiating power in South Africa. That is very important, but how are they going to use it?

"I think you are seeing some ferment inside the ANC on this issue: When to negotiate, how to negotiate, and between the ANC and the internal UDF leadership.

"So you have those elements and the new Soviet role which sounds less like a bloodthirsty search for solutions which are not solutions, and more like an effort to achieve a political result.

"You see the regional peace process under away in south western Africa, you hear all kinds of talk about a peace process in Mozambique. So there is a dynamism there and our new administration is going to be exploring how best we can play our role in South Africa.

"My words for South Africans would be: This is one of the best openings you have had for quite a few years, don't blow this one. Build some bridges and get some dialogue started."

Dr Crocker said that the Soviet Union also has recognised that change in South Africa will come from negotiations within the country and not from armed struggle or economic sanctions.

He said that the change in Soviet policy toward southern Africa coincided with a decision by Pretoria to return to diplomacy on regional issues rather than pursue a military approach.

"It provides an interesting basis for Soviet involvement in the region.

"We wish them well as they pursue this enlightened set of intentions — but we also look to them to practise what they are saying in words."

Referring to a changes in the South African approach in the past 18 months, Dr Crocker said Pretoria had gone back to the diplomatic negotiating table in several respects and not only regarding Angola/Namibia.

"The approach we had seen for a previous period was basically one of using armed might and, if you will, destabilisation.

"That has been shelved for now and we have seen a very concerted effort inside the SA Government to move toward political solutions.

"At the same time, the Soviets have fundamentally reassessed and, in fact, changed their policy toward the region," Dr Crocker said.

Demokratiese Party
Democratic Party
SAFE

ELECTION

NP
MOST VULNERABLE

KP
VULNERABLE

FOCUS 2

by
FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

DP COULD SQUEEZE

CP POSITION

Argus 15/4/89
304A

P.T.O for 'information

THE newly-formed Democratic Party has a strong chance of becoming the new official Opposition in the House of Assembly and a weaker government could emerge after the coming general election.

This is one of the main scenarios foreseen by election analysts as political parties start gearing up for a tough election battle later this year.

The DP, which now has 19 seats, needs only another four to oust the CP as official opposition.

With nearly half of the 166 elected Assembly seats held with somewhat precarious majorities after the 1987 general election, the field is wide open for major changes in the fortunes of all the white political parties.

A small swing in voter support one way or another could make seats topple like ninepins and cause big upheavals in the party-political set-up.

With cliffhanger fights on the cards in at least 20 constituencies, there is a distinct possibility that scores of seats will change hands.

SOME analysts predict the National Party's strength could be reduced from its present 122 elected seats to less than 100, while the Democratic and Conservative Parties could each have between 30 and 40 seats.

A significant indication of the DP's potential ability to draw support from Nationalist voters came this week in an Argus opinion survey conducted among urban white voters in three major metropoles.

To the question "Do you think the DP has a future?", 54 percent of the respondents answered positively, while 17 percent said it had no future and 29 percent felt they were not qualified to say.

Significantly, 39 percent of the respondents said they supported the National Party in the previous election.

Democratic Party sources say the party has set its sights on at least 46 seats it believes can be won but the possibility of success in a number of the other seats to be contested is not being excluded.

Conservative Party national secretary Mr Andries Beyers says his party believes more than 80 seats are within its reach and it expects to contest at least 120 seats.

"WE are fighting to win and to take over the government," he said this week.

The prospect of possible major election upsets one way or another has been indicated by analyses of the 1987 election figures. These show that:

● More than 70 of the 166 elected seats in the House of Assembly are held by precarious majorities of fewer than 2 000 votes. Cliffhanger contests can be expected in at least 20 of these seats where majorities range from 39 to only a few hundred.

● Most vulnerable of all parties is the NP which is again facing an onslaught from the left and the right while no fewer than 47 of its 122 elected seats are held with majorities of fewer than 2 000 and could be in danger of being toppled.

In the onslaught from the right, at least 30 NP seats are in danger, with cliffhanger contests expected in six or more of them.

IN the onslaught from the left, at least 20 other NP seats held with shaky majorities are in danger, and cliffhanger contests can be expected in at least eight of them.

● The Conservative Party, on the other hand, is also vulnerable to the challenge from the NP, with majorities of below 2 000 in 18 of the 22 CP-held seats. But some analysts say the threat to the CP may not be as serious as for the NP in the light of steady CP advances in by-elections and in last year's municipal elections.

In at least five CP-held seats cliffhanger contests are predicted.

● The Democratic Party is in a safer position than the other parties in that most of its 18 elected seats (15 former PFP seats and 3 former NDM seats) were won with relatively comfortable majorities. Only six DP seats are held with majorities below 2 000 and cliffhanger contests can be expected in two.

With its expected wider support base than that of the previous opposition groupings to the left of government, the DP expects to gain a substantial number of new seats from the NP.

BUT election analyst Professor Dirk Laurie, of the University of Potchefstroom, said this week much would depend on whether the DP could muster all the voter support previously received by its components when they were separate political groupings.

Should the new party succeed in doing this, it could have at least 40 seats within its reach and could oust the CP as the official opposition in the Assembly.

The Conservative Party, on the other hand, stood to win five or six seats even before any swing in its favour because of the elimination of HNP rivalry.

Professor Laurie said it appeared that not much had changed since his 1987 prediction that after the next general election the NP would have between 100 and 110 of the 178 Assembly seats, and the CP would have between 40 and 50.

From all analyses it appears there will be a neck-and-neck race between the DP and the CP for the status of official Opposition in the Assembly.

The most likely DP gains from the NP (with 1987 NP majorities in brackets) include: Simon's Town (268), Wynberg (97), Helderberg (39), Walmer (539), Umhlanga (557), Umbilo (480), Edenvale (168) and Hillbrow (89).

IN addition, a whole range of other seats held by the NP with shaky majorities are regarded by analysts as being within reach of the DP because of various political and other factors.

These seats, with 1987 NP majorities in brackets, include: Albany (844), East London City (3 782), East London North (3 873), Umhlatuzana (3 519), Durban Point (1 230), South Coast (1 419), Amanzimtoti (1 884), Maritzburg North (1 121), Maritzburg South (1 509), North Rand (1 197), Benoni (2 798), Waterkloof (2 650), Johannesburg West (3 566), Bezuidenhout (2 442), King William's Town (2 731) and Stellenbosch (1 781).

The DP has also set its sights on seats like Mooi River, held by the NRP with a majority of 1 807.

However, the DP also faces some tough election battles to retain a few of its existing seats which are in danger of being captured by the NP. These include: Gardens (486), Green Point (39), Port Elizabeth Central (596), Greytown (676), Durban Berea (769) and Durban Central (1 360).

THE figures show that most of the major battles of the coming election will be fought on the NP-CP front.

On the one hand, the CP faces a hard struggle to retain at least 18 of its existing 21 elected seats now held with precarious majorities. The most vulnerable CP-held seats are: Carltonville (98), Delmas (275), Ermelo (671), Losberg (1 886), Overvaal (1 074), Pietersburg (1 151), Potgietersrus (1 238), Soutpansberg (250), Standerton (952), Middelburg (592), Nigel (641), Randfontein (1 732), Roodepoort (714), Witbank (842), Barberton (284), Bethal (1 612), Brakpan (288) and Brits (1 667).

Even CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht is not at all secure in his Waterberg seat which he won with a majority of 2 375.

On the other hand, the NP will have to fight tooth and nail to retain something like 30 precariously-held seats against the right-wing onslaught.

The most vulnerable of these NP-held seats are: Krugersdorp (55), Springs (884), Potchefstroom (558), Stilfontein (209), Hercules (861), Vereeniging (1 524), Gezina (1 328), Innesdal (1 024), Lydenburg (143), Maraisburg (717), Meyerton (360), Roodeplaat (1 645), Rustenburg (816), Wonderboom (599), Geduld (1 723), Fauresmith (1 048), Heilbron (680), Parys (113), Smithfield (1 884), Newcastle (1 064), Kuruman (352), Namaqualand (1 849), Uitenhage (1 878), Vryburg (1 374), Oudtshoorn (1 296), Graaff-Reinet (1 928) and Walvis Bay (1 140).

Mandela key to Nat talks

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

THE new-look National Party is to revive its stalled attempts to draw blacks into negotiations about a future South Africa.

And it is now widely accepted that the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mr Mandela is central to the success of the scheme.

This week Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis announced that the long-promised reform trump card — the Statutory Negotiating Forum — is to be established soon, perhaps even before the elections expected in September.

But, more important, there are indications the Government and other key parties are quietly readying themselves for Mr Mandela's release.

Evidence this week that points to this includes:

Moves to speed up progress of reform

● Confirmation that a special committee set up recently to iron out difficulties in negotiations between Inkatha and the Government will meet Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to discuss the release of Mr Mandela.

The Inkatha President, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has insisted on the release of Mr Mandela as one of his main preconditions before starting negotiations with Pretoria;

● A personal letter written by Mr Mandela to Chief Buthelezi was read to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. In the letter the imprisoned leader thanked Chief Buthelezi for his efforts to secure the release of political prisoners;

● Indications that British Ambassador Sir Robin Renwick might be granted an interview with Mr Mandela. This follows a recent statement by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, after a meeting with South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, that she knew the South African Government was keen on releasing its political prisoner.

The release of Mr Mandela has now become critical to the Government's limping reform programme — and Pretoria would not be averse to sharing some of the credit with Chief Buthelezi, regarded by Pretoria as one of the most credible and conciliatory of black internal leaders.

The negotiations will probably be entitled the Statutory Negotiating Forum. Out of favour are the titles National Statutory Council and the "Great Indaba" — the name President P W Botha said black leaders preferred.

Pretoria is likely to give its official blessing to a meeting between Sir Robin and Mr Mandela.

If it does take place, it will do so against a background of intriguing events.

Britain pushed for the meeting after receiving hush-hush messages from Mr Mandela — the last being a "coded" letter in which Mr Mandela denied writing to Mrs Thatcher to thank her for her "positive stance" on SA.

But in the letter he indicated his preference for "a face-to-face discussion with you in person".

Optimism

Mrs Thatcher is rapidly emerging as a possible "honest broker" in new peace initiatives in SA and the subcontinent.

This followed a meeting between Mr Pik Botha and the British Prime Minister on March 15 after which Mrs Thatcher told the House of Commons there was greater optimism than ever before for both Mr Mandela's release and peace in SA.

It is significant that Chief Buthelezi has been involved in the network of moves. Mr Mr Mandela wrote to him to urge reconciliation between ANC elements and the Zulu movement, Inkatha.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini has also been invited to Lusaka for talks with the ANC.

Don't shoot the piano players!

(THEY'RE DOING THEIR BEST TO GET THE TUNE RIGHT



WHEN Samuel Johnson said "All argument is against it; but all belief is for it", he was talking about life after death, not the Democratic Party.

But he might just as well have been.

Much argument preceded and accompanied the formation of the first united Opposition to the Government since the heyday of the United Party nearly 30 years ago.

Much argument is to come as it struggles to mould its disparate elements to meet the challenges that lie ahead.

And argument is virtually certain to escalate to antagonism when the time comes to dump two members of the leadership troika in favour of one.

But all through the argument — and, presumably, that yet to come — the belief held that the right thing was being done; that South Africa was being tugged back into recent history by rightwing opposition; that creative opposition was needed to fill the agenda-setting role the Government is failing in; and that offering several parties for the job was an affordable luxury.

However, this didn't prevent argument over the issue being conducted at least partly in the public domain, being reported in the Press, and being relished and exploited by the movement's political opponents.

Largely, that is what makes this process of argument worth looking at again — particularly now that its first chapter is completed.

Curse

The reason is that the ability to argue differences openly and honestly, and then settle them, may prove to be the Democratic Party's single greatest asset in the divided society it must operate in. They may be playing slightly different tunes but they are all at the same piano.

South African politics has long since fallen under the sterile curse of uniformity.

It started when white South Africans chose for the country a government that promised racial exclusivity — and became compelled to legislate on the basis of fear that other South Africans would take away what the exclusive group wanted: Identity, jobs, land and nearly every other facet of life.

Along with the fear came insecurity, and insecurity brought with it the oldest foible of the intellectually infirm: The belief that those who are not with you are against you.

A reactionary left developed, emboldening itself with a belief in its own moral superiority — only to become simply the other side of the same tarnished coin.

Today, in radical opposition circles, those deemed not to be "ideologically correct" are dismissed as irrelevant.

In this way unity became unhealthy to mean uniformity, and strength to be seen as strength, while disagreement and debate came to be seen as weakness.

In this process an important political principle became distorted: Unquestioning and unconditional support for the party became a mark of totalitarian system. Constructive conflict has always been exactly what democracy is about.

The parliamentary democracies of the West enshrine conflict. It is guaranteed not only by the multi-party system but operates in the parties themselves.

Mrs Thatcher's Conservatives consist of many shades of opinion; liberal Republicans and conservative Democrats in America overlap enormously.

Our Parliament is unique in that *all* members of each party *always* vote in party blocks.

Farcical

This obsession with rigid conformity, and the foregone conclusion it has superimposed on the outcome of every debate, is one of the main culprits in reducing so many of the procedures in Parliament so close to farce.

The public arena is the proper place for debate over the policies people intend to allow themselves to be governed by.

Political parties should not fear it — and up to now the Democratic Party has acquitted itself well.

There is great value in the formulation of public policy through democratic conflict; by devolving much of the responsibility onto voters, through their exposure to the debate, it forces the electors to think hard about what they want the elected to do and say — rather than making an impulsive and largely emotive choice once every five years.

This process also changes the emphasis on political leadership. The successful leader becomes the one who best interprets public need rather than the one who can most successfully impose his will on it.

The fact that public need comes from a wide diversity of sources in this country is a fact not of the Democratic Party's making. It is a fact that many political parties have fallen on.

Some abused it through exaggeration. The National Party enshrined it and ended up institutionalising racism, an error it now admits. Parties to its right still wish to do so.

Some abused it through neglect. Many liberal parties have achieved little more than living out their wishful thinking that SA was a homogeneous society.

If anything, SA is set to become an even more diverse society as it moves into the 21st Century.

Effective

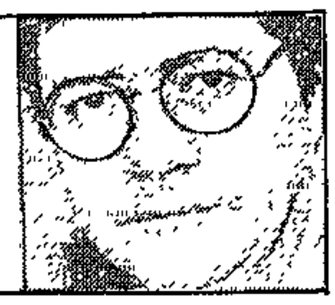
By incorporating former white Nationalists and old-style liberals, by having members of different races, and by having official UDF and other radical observers at its launch, the Democratic Party has made a more effective start than any other in reflecting the nation's diversity.

But it hasn't nearly begun.

The party that proves it can best embody and live with diversity — by opening internal democratic channels through which that diversity can express itself without fatally injuring its parent body — will probably be the party with the best stake in the country's future.

Lester Venter

Sunday Times Political Correspondent, examines the chances for harmony in the Democratic Party's diversity



304A

16/4/89. S-Times

IT is better to have diffuse power centres rather than just a single dominating one. Certainly this makes sense in a country like South Africa where the fear of domination is ever present.

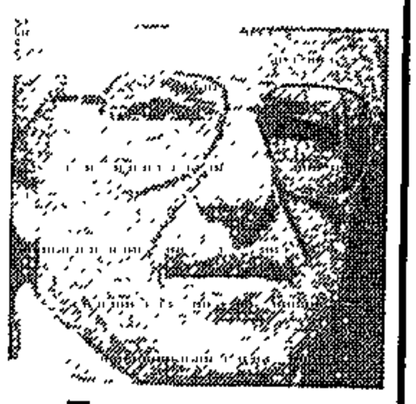
And if this was the only reason, it would be a good enough one to wish the week-old Democratic Party well. There are other reasons, too. Its programme of principles is clear and could have come from any solid Western democracy — representative government, universal adult franchise, room for the country's different cultural and other groups, an independent judiciary, protection of fundamental human rights, maintenance of law, order and security.

It's all there.

It started with a big bang, smoothing over its querulous run-up. It also did what no other political party has managed — to get messages from such diverse organisations as the UDF and Inkatha, the Labour Party and homeland leaders.

Some of the messages were full of praise, others were carefully critical. But they were all interested and none was afraid to be seen in the DP's company.

In fact, it was a public demonstration of a fundamental DP tenet — namely that it will talk to all and not only those who agree with it, and that this is the only way forward.



Harald Pakendorf

How the DP can avoid looking like Progs in drag

[redacted]

There was some euphoria, too. There was talk of a R20-million fund, talk of becoming the official opposition, of soon being part of government.

Certainly, the DP has a lot going for it. But let us be careful — there are a number of pitfalls.

● Like the apparent lack of discipline. Parties who think of themselves as liberal and democratic often fail to accept that discipline is a necessity if they are serious about their role in the game of power politics.

Just about everyone in these parties seems to think he has the right to publicly air grievances and differences with the party

Thus we have Harry Schwarz constantly chopping away at how he was not allowed to help draw up economic policy and Pat Poovalingam calling Wynand Malan (of all people!) a racist.

People like that need to be sharply disciplined and pulled into line. And it was here that Zach de Beer failed.

No white voter — and that is primarily whom the DP will be addressing in the coming election — will trust his future to a group of people who cannot get their own house in order.

● Like the talk which reminds one of the old PFP's turbo-charged propaganda of 1987. Winning up to 40 seats! It won't happen, there is no indication that it will and it will mean a huge let-down the day after the election.

[redacted]

It is only possible if one assumes that the 1987 scenario still exists — then the country had experienced a massive internal eruption and mounting external pressure, and there was unease about P W Botha and the National Party's direction.

Now there is the F W-factor; there won't be a P W Botha; the country is seemingly on an even keel and internationally its stakes are rising. Of course, there is corruption — and no clear political direction from the NP.

But this is not 1987. Now, it is best to be realistic. This means: Don't brag, don't shy away from your principles, distance yourself as far from the NP as you can.

Take a longer term view.

● Like bad-mouthing Nats. It is not possible to talk people into joining you by using the excessive anti-NP language used by Tony Leon and Robin Carlisle on launch day. It is the kind of talk which raises cheers from the converted and exceedingly irritates those on the outside who may have wanted to hear what the DP has to offer.

Don't fall back on the past. It is better to offer the future.

[redacted]

And remember. You don't raise R20-million with spelling mistakes. There was virtually one per slide in Carlisle's presentation — all in Afrikaans.

That was a bad one.

● Like trying to make the DP into a reborn PFP. It won't work. Only electing PFP members to top caucus jobs and ignoring the NDM MPs was just plain bad politics.

Whichever way it is explained, the image it leaves is: Ah, it's just the PFP in drag.

And that leaves you with all the old PFP image problems — weak on security, not really patriotic and just a bit untrustworthy. All these accusations began to emanate from the NP benches this week in Parliament.

The DP has a chance. Opinion polls give it as many seats as the CP. But it needs to be wary of the pitfalls.

MP slates DP's decision to exclude him

B1 Dem 7/4/89

PETER DELMAR

CLAREMONT MP Jan van Eck yesterday slated the Democratic Party's decision to refuse his membership and threatened to defend his seat as an independent.

The former PFP MP said in view of his support for the DP's principles and policies he was "mystified" by the party's National Board decision at the weekend to turn down his application for membership.

"Their decision shows a lack of sensitivity for the large support for my membership amongst DP members and potential supporters in the Western Cape," Van Eck said.

The National Board said in a statement it had decided not to accept any more membership applications from MPs as Parliament's dissolution was imminent.

Also affected by the decision, but linked to the DP's stand on non-participation in the other two houses, are former Labour Party MPs in the House of Representatives, Charles Redcliffe and Cecil Kippen.

Van Eck said the board's decision would "put a stumbling block in the way of building greater unity amongst democratics left of government". The DP, he said, appeared to have opted to become "another conservative, exclusive party".

He would still attempt to prevent a situation where he had to defend Claremont, one of the safest liberal oppositon seats, against the DP. However, as matters stood, he would have no alternative but to stand as an independent.

Former Nasionale Pers MD and ex-NDM member Advocate "Lang Dawid" de Villiers was elected board chairman at Saturday's meeting. The election of De Villiers, essentially a neutral choice, gave no indication of moves to resolve the DP's three-way leadership issue.

BTDay 17/4/89 (304A)

Govt working to eradicate corruption — Viljoen

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Government control and supervisory functions to eradicate corruption and mismanagement had been intensified, Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen said on Friday.

He told the opening session of the KwaNdebele Legislative Assembly at Siyabuswa about the extension of the powers of the Advocate-General to combat corruption.

Many public steps had been taken by government recently in the form of investigations, rectifications and punitive measures.

In the Department of Development Aid, a complete revision was undertaken of the powers of officials on the concluding of contracts.

Viljoen said a management consultant had been appointed to investigate and recommend improvements in existing prodecures.

On constitutional issues, Viljoen said one SA with general citizenship for all had been accepted by government. This included the right to take part in constitutional institutions at the highest level.

Government advocated group-based participation in political processes, but was quite prepared to discuss and negotiate a more flexible approach to groups.

An important instrument would be the proposed national negotiating council in which leaders of all groups would take part.

Crime burgeons as the law loses its moral authority

B|Day 17/4/89

304A

KEN OWEN

THE EXTENT of foreign exchange frauds in the past year is not yet known, but we do know that probably half the loss during 1988 of the country's gold and foreign currency reserves, its accumulated national treasure, can be attributed to fraud. Theft did us more harm than sanctions.

The disclosure last week that frauds cost us R650m in foreign reserves — not quite as much as we paid off our foreign debt, but a sizeable sum anyway — has made nonsense of the theories put forward last year to "explain" why the national treasure was draining away.

Leave aside the fact that these frauds were of a magnitude to dwarf all other crime put together — all muggings, all thefts, all car thefts, all armed robberies, all bank robberies, all dud cheques — and ask instead the question that hovers constantly in South African minds these days: what has happened to the moral standards of South Africans?

Tax collector Clive Kingon, desperately contemplating the equally desperate attempts by major corporations to find loopholes in the tax law, accuses his victims of a "moral sickness", but it goes beyond mere tax avoidance or the illegal exports of capital.

Corruption has rotted the very woof and warp of South African life. This is not the place to recount the appalling, if half-forgotten, record of the past 20 years, but we all know what has been happening: Eschel Rhoodie and the crooked accounting in government, the first-class "freedie" trips abroad; deputy minister Hennie van der Walt stealing trust funds; the officials giving each other free Krugerrands at a party; the lavish parties to celebrate such mundane events as the opening of a toll road; the fleets of Mercedes-Benzes in the basement of the SABC; the funny banks that pay 30% or more in interest; the greed-maddened crowds chasing after riches in packets of rotten milk; the bankrupt State President; the lies to Parliament; the Italian criminals in high places; the leaking of government statistics to favoured people; the property deals; the father-and-son government contracts; and so much, so much more.

These are mere symptoms of a deeper rot. At the heart of all these examples lies a failure of the law to hold the allegiance of the people, a failure of the authority of the State. The people of this country, excepting a couple of million whites, hold the State and its agents in profound contempt.

That is, of course, the inevitable consequence of replacing the rule of law with the rule of men. It began, one suspects, when John Vorster destroyed what is loosely known in this country as the right of habeas corpus, permitting his policemen to lock people away without trial.

The trouble is not simply that the detention laws led, inevitably, to the complicity of the State in various murders. That was bad enough, but worse was that the law — the very idea of law — lost its hold on men's minds. First it lost its hold on the rulers, then on the keepers of the law.

We have descended so far that the State not only accepts the danger of its own complicity in unlawful killings, so that judges of the Supreme Courts must go from prison to prison to protect inmates against the fate of Neil Aggett or Steve Biko, but the State sets aside the law in order to protect people accused of outright murder. At this very time, the State President is doing all he can to prevent the trial of six men accused of murder in Namibia.

When the law against murder is made subject to the judgment — or prejudice, or caprice, or malice — of one elected official, it is vain to talk of government under law. In a real sense, there is no law.

Other laws besides the law against murder go unenforced. Some are simply so bad, like the pass laws, that they cannot be enforced, and must in the end be repealed. Others are simply too difficult, or costly, to enforce. At first, government tried to overcome the problem by giving officials discretionary powers to "regulate"; but that doesn't work any longer, and the escape mechanisms become increasingly bizarre.

Rents go unpaid, and government responds by selling off its rental properties; direct taxes are evaded, so government resorts to indirect taxes and user charges; when the Group Areas Act becomes unenforceable, the Act is modified, because government knows that it would need an army to enforce the law. Moral authority, the major instrument of any government, has gone.

As the law weakens, so does convention, and the concern for the decent appearance of things is lost. The Harms commission has found that neither the Defence Minister nor the Foreign Minister, each of whom accepted a hunting rifle as a gift from Wessel Albertus Vermaas, did anything wrong.

That, in the present climate, is a welcome finding, but it does not entirely cover the appearance of things. The Defence Minister did, as it happens, recommend Vermaas for a position as a director of an Armscor company, and Vermaas was appointed.

A year later, on the very day of the appointment of the Harms commission, Vermaas's directorship was terminated because, the commission was told, he failed to get a security clearance. The commission, more than the Cabinet Ministers, was struck by the coincidence, but found it was just that — coincidence.

Nevertheless, the episode does demonstrate the need for public officials, if they wish to maintain moral authority, to be sensitive to appearances, and to be careful of gifts like hunting rifles or hunting trips. For one thing, lesser officials take their cue from the Cabinet.

These days, it's not what you know but who you know. Merchant bankers complain that there are people walking around Pretoria who claim that, for a fee, they can get applications for foreign currency expedited. Certainly it is obvious, not only from the Vermaas affair, that Reserve Bank officials will intervene to assist those applicants who can marshall powerful support.

It is also obvious that — outrageously — foreign currency applications are not necessarily dealt with in the order in which they are received.

This brings us back to the forex frauds. They represent in part the determination — indeed, the desperation — of people to get money out of the country before the currency decays even more. (They also represent, obviously, the efforts of criminals to exploit the existence of foreign exchange restrictions intended to prevent honest people from getting their money out.)

The one thing certain about the currency is that it will lose its value; if you plan to emigrate, the sooner the better. Even if you don't plan to leave, or can't find a foreign passport, or lack the confidence, it still makes sense to spend your rands before they lose their worth. So, as the statistics tell us, savings drop, spending soars and it's each man for himself.

During the Great Plague, the citizens of Milan are said to have cavorted drunkenly about the graveyards as they waited to die. Something similar happens when people lose trust in both the law and the currency: when your world is falling apart, cynicism becomes a refuge.

Traders seek court ruling

PRETORIA — Three businessmen have started legal moves to reverse the resurgence of petty apartheid.

Carletonville traders Sorrel Waks and Abdul Raman Bhamjee, and John Billy Motsau of nearby Khutsong township, want the Supreme Court to quash reintroduction of discrimination by the CP-controlled town council.

Waks said on Friday the council did not have the authority to designate separate amenities and had not given those affected an opportunity to make representations.

The trio wants the council decision to reimpose petty apparteid declared *ultra vires* and set aside.

Waks said copies of documents handed to the court were also served on Mayor Gert Petrus Jacobs and the council.

Waks said the council had taken *male fide* decisions, not in the western Transvaal mining town's interests, but only for advancement of CP interests.

He added the decisions had an unreasonable, unfair and discriminatory effect and the council had not been authorised to take such decisions.

Motsau said the council's decisions had virtually compelled the black community to boycott the business district.

Copies of surveys lodged in court showed Carletonville businesses had suffered a 20%-100% reduction in turnover since the CP gained control. — Sapa.

POLITICS

PETER DELMAR

HNP leader Marais shuns election pact with CP

RIGHT-WING voters will again be split between the CP and HNP in this year's general election.

HNP leader Jaap Marais has ended uncertainty about whether his tiny party will put up candidates in spite of a dismal showing two years ago when it failed to win a seat.

Marais said in an interview his party would contest the election but had no desire to forge a poll pact with the CP.

The HNP fielded 86 candidates in the May 1987 general election.

None won, but in seven constituencies they and the CP split the right-wing vote enough to give the NP victories.

Marais said he did not want to discuss the extent of the HNP's participation for strategic reasons. It would take part in elections and still had an important role to play in politics.

He said he doubted whether the NP could "survive F W de Klerk", who recently took over from President P W Botha as leader of the party. He added the NP was beginning a long process of decay.

Marais, accusing the CP of deliberately keeping its policies vague to win votes, said: "For the first time in the history of our politics a party as young as the CP is suffering the same terminal illness."

He added: "There is no need or desire on our side to co-operate with the CP."

'LAW AND ORDER HAS BROKEN DOWN'

She noted that Boreli said after the meeting: "If Botha's view was meant to be him depart on a high note.

LP, DP slams govt over Bill

B/Day 17/4/89

304A MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — The LP and DP have slammed government moves to deny courts the right to pronounce on attempts to alter boundaries of self-governing homelands.

The Alteration of Boundaries of Self-Governing Territories Bill, which was tabled in Parliament last week, denies courts the right to inquire into or pronounce on the validity of the incorporation on any similar actions involving homelands. It is expressly aimed at trying to force the 500 000-strong community of Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein, to be incorporated into QwaQwa, in spite of a Supreme Court ruling last year overturning an earlier attempt.

LP national PRO Peter Hendrickse said the party rejected all attempts to Balkanise the country to suit the ethnically based ideology of the NP.

He said: "We see the Bill as providing another instrument by which government wishes to implement its homeland policy. Consequently, we reject it and will oppose its passage through Parliament.

"We also see this proposed Bill as another inroad into the rule of law, since it expressly denies the courts the right to inquire into or pronounce on the validity of the right of the President to alter by proclamation the borders of non-independent homelands, either by adding areas to them or by excising land."

Shoddy

Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) said the Bill was a shoddy attempt by government to force the people of Botshabelo to be incorporated into QwaQwa.

At a time when the new NP leader was making "verligte" noises all over SA, this was an attempt to inflict Verwoerdian-type legislation on the country.

Old tyres

Soviet talks were to SA's benefit — Pik

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said he had "served SA's interests" in every discussion he had held with Soviet officials.

Botha, who has met Soviet Deputy-Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin on four occasions in recent months, was responding to CP queries about what was going on in relations between the two countries.

Botha said during debate on the State President's vote on Friday that SA was not so naive as to think that it could get around sanctions by trading with the Soviets.

However, the Americans believed in sanctions and the Soviets did not.

He asked the CP whether SA should boycott the Soviets if they wanted to buy SA grain or coal.

Suzman warns on tougher sanctions

304A

B/Day 17/4/89.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Tough new punitive measures were being contemplated by the US Congress that could throw SA's stock markets into turmoil, Helen Suzman warned on Friday.

There was even a possibility that no US company or individual would be allowed to own shares in companies in SA, throwing billions of rands' worth of shares on to the stock market.

Suzman (DP Houghton) said during the State President's budget vote it was clear from the "policy for southern Africa" conference she attended recently in Bermuda that sanctions were "no longer an issue".



● SUZMAN

"They are, in fact, a *fait accompli*, and it is only their extension that is in dispute in the US."

Under the circumstances it was unfortunate President P W Botha had, during a recent interview, "deeply disappointed" Senate Select Committee on Intelligence chairman Senator David Boren and Senate Committe on Armed Services chairman Senator Sam Nunn.

She noted that Boren said after the meeting: "If Botha's view was meant to be seen as the only view of this country, then that would encourage further punitive economic sanctions."

Suzman said: "Thus the State President's behaviour at the interview ... made it highly unlikely that the Senators will use their considerable influence to prevent the imposition of the stronger punitive measures which are being contemplated."

Botha still had a few months to score "a few Brownie points" before vacating his elevated position, Suzman said.

Speaking "as one ageing veteran parliamentarian to another," Suzman said: "It lies within the State President's power to go out on a high note, to be remembered as the man who put SA back on the road to acceptance by civilised countries, if he uses his remaining period of office to return SA to some semblance of a democratic state instead of the securocratic banana republic that it has, alas, become.

"In this way he will have answered the query in Alice in Wonderland, which is: 'How doth the little crocodile improve his shining tail and pour the waters of the Nile on every golden scale?' "

Suzman suggested that freeing Nelson Mandela and fellow political prisoners and ending the state of emergency would help him depart on a high note.

I.P. DP slams govt over Bill

Bureaucracy 'aggravates budget tasks'

Stals probe aims at control of spending

CAPE TOWN — The complex institutional structure of the SA public sector — consisting of about 200 different state departments — made budgeting, control over expenditure and estimates of revenue extremely difficult, said Finance director-general Chris Stals.

Addressing a seminar on SA's economic prospects, organised by Stellenbosch University's Business School, Stals said the criss-crossed and overlapping regional, ethnic and group divisions in SA's constitution further aggravated budgetary tasks.

For this reason his department had embarked on a study of "fiscal federalism" aimed at identifying more closely the financial relationships between all government bodies, with a view to exercising tighter control over expenditure.

Without an objective financial control system, the public sector could easily over-spend with the consequent over-taxing of the economy, Stals said.

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

Measures such as national affordability, social return on capital, cost-benefit analyses, functional accountability and value-for-money auditing had to be built into the system.

So, too, had it become essential for restrictions to be imposed on the demands made on the budget by diverse components of the public sector.



● STALS

Once the total cake had been divided and executive decisions on needs and priorities had been taken, it could only be futile, disruptive and counter-productive to try to add still more to expenditure programmes.

Stals said that for these reasons there was now a growing need to give attention to a form of "fiscal federalism" which identified the financial relationships between all government bodies in SA. A special study was being carried out on this score.

Against this background, Stals maintained that recent budgets — including the latest — had been framed around certain medium- and long-term objectives, with a view to imposing stricter financial disciplines and to meeting the longer-term growth targets of the total economy. Some of these were:

- ☐ In real terms, government expenditure must increase at a lower rate than total expenditure in the rest of the economy;
- ☐ The budget deficit should be reduced and should not exceed government's capital investment outlays;
- ☐ The tax burden, especially on individuals, should not be increased further;
- ☐ The deficit before borrowing should not be financed in an inflationary manner.

Pik rejects CP jibes SA was caught napping

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday rejected CP accusations SA was caught with its pants down in Namibia.

CP foreign affairs spokesman Tom Langley, who likened Swapo's raid from Angola to the 1941 Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbour, added government knew Swapo would not honour the peace plan.

He said it was government's fault that there had been open graves and blood flowing.

Botha said SA had emerged from the crisis with honour and dignity.

DP spokesman Colin Eglin questioned whether it would have been better to have had Swapo also sign the peace agreement.

Botha said Swapo was only one of many parties involved in Namibia and, if it had been invited to the talks, the others would also want a seat.

He added nobody could know with certainty if a party to an agreement was going to violate it.

Swapo leader Sam Nujoma had bound himself to the agreement — by promising to keep his forces north of the 16th parallel in Angola — but had then broken his word.

South Africa on the other hand had acted correctly at all times and earned the praise of the world.

Court bid to dissolve Carletonville Council

Star 7/4/89 By Kaizer Nyatsumba 3049

Carletonville businessmen lodged documents in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Friday asking for the dissolution of the Conservative Party-controlled town council, whose reintroduction of petty apartheid almost two months ago led to a consumer boycott.

The president of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce, Mrs Annetjie Claasen, today said copies of the documents were served on the Carletonville Town Council and mayor Mr Gert Jacobs.

She said another survey would be conducted in the town tomorrow to find out how the boycott was affecting businesses. Ratepayers would get a chance to express their feelings at a meeting on April 26.

A chamber survey conducted three weeks ago found that 252 people had lost their jobs as a result of the boycott, and that 60 more faced being laid off.

A Chamber of Commerce delegation met Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Chris Heunis in Cape Town two weeks ago.

"The most important thing which came out of the meeting was that we now understand that laws (such as the Reservation of Seperate Amenities Act) cannot be changed overnight," Mrs Claasen said.

Rejected Van Eck to stand as independent

Cape Times 17/4/89

Political Correspondent

THE MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, plans to fight for his seat as an independent in the next election following the Democratic Party's refusal at the weekend to admit him as a member.

Mr Van Eck said last night: "If the present situation cannot be reversed they (the DP) will leave me no choice but to contest my seat as an 'independent democrat'."

He said he was "mystified" by the reason offered by the DP for turning down his application "in view of the fact that I expressed my support for the principles and broad policy of the party".

The National Board said in a statement that it had decided not to accept any more membership applications from MPs in view of the imminent dissolution of Parliament.

Also affected by the decision are former Labour Party MPs in the House of Representatives, Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippen.

Mr Van Eck said the decision showed "a lack of sensitivity for the substantial support of my membership among individual DP members and potential supporters in the Western Cape.

"This decision, I feel, will put a stumbling block in the way of building greater unity among all democrats to the left of the government and the linking up with those outside of Parliament."

● See Page 3

Decision sparks new crisis for DP

Cape Times
M/4/89
30K9

Political Staff

THE decision by the national board of the Democratic Party (DP) to refuse membership to three MPs has sparked another crisis.

The board decided on Saturday that because of the imminent dissolution of Parliament prior to the general election, it would not accept any application from sitting MPs.

The applications turned down were from Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippen.

The decision ran counter to that taken by the parliamentary caucus of the DP which gave its blessing to the applications at the end of last week.

Mr Redcliffe said the general election had nothing to do with the issue and it was clear the decision had been one of "political expediency".

He said the decision was "puzzling and dishonest".

If there was a deal with the Labour Party the DP should state so and spell out its terms.

"To state that the party is a non-racial one is both hollow and ridiculous."

It would appear that the real winner as far as Saturday's decision is concerned is Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall was apparently angered by Mr Van Eck's attack on Inkatha at a public meeting last week and wanted him to apologise.

Dr Worrall is also keen to be nominated for the Claremont seat.

At the same time Dr Worrall did not want the other MPs as he is anxious to have closer ties with the Labour Party in the House of Representatives.

The Labour Party has stated clearly that if the DP puts up candidates in the Representatives it will regard this as a "hostile act".

The ramifications of Saturday's decision are enormous.

It is likely to split the old PFP support in the Western Cape and decide many young left-wing whites not to vote as was the case in 1987.

It will also hurt the party's fragile ties with the extra-parliamentary movement with whom Mr Van Eck has close ties.

Linden the first test of support for the new DP

By Shirley Woodgate,
Municipal Reporter

Political parties are preparing for a municipal by-election in Johannesburg's Ward 3 (Linden) which fell vacant on Mr Danie van Zyl's death last week.

The contest is vital for the new Democratic Party facing its first test at the polls since its formation, while the National Party will be trying to gauge the pulling power of Mr F W de Klerk's style of reform.

The poor showing of the Conservative Party in Linden in the October municipal elections will lead to some serious soul searching whether to again contest that arena, the furthest that the CP ventured into Johannesburg's northern suburbs.

In last year's October municipal elections Mr van Zyl (NP) won 1 383 votes, defeating Mr Peter Roodt (PFP) with 989 and Mr Manie van Heerden (CP) with 220, gaining a majority of 394 in a 54 percent poll.

In 1982 the NP's Mr Danie Malan defeated Mrs Pat Allsopp (PFP) by 392 votes in a 62 percent poll.

A win for the NP would not alter the present situation in the council where it holds 26 seats to the PFP's 18, the CP's 4 and three independents.

But a win or even a good showing by the DP would not only be an enormous boost for the party but for Mr Tony Leon's image as the leader of Johannesburg's tough young DP councillors.

The boundaries of the ward include the whole of Linden and the Johannesburg enclave of Blairgowrie, providing a fair mix of over-30 middle to upper class voters roughly divided into 55 percent Afrikaans and 45 percent English-speaking residents.

Slabbert denies he will stand for Parliament

Former PFP leader Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of Idasa, today denied speculation that he was going to stand for Parliament during the coming elections.

Dr Slabbert said he had no intention of standing in Stellenbosch or any other constituency.

There has been speculation that elements in the new Democratic Party have been trying to persuade Dr Slabbert to return to Parliament. They believe he cold easily overturn the National Party majority in the Stellenbosch constituency. — Political Correspondent.

It lowers the tone, dear boy

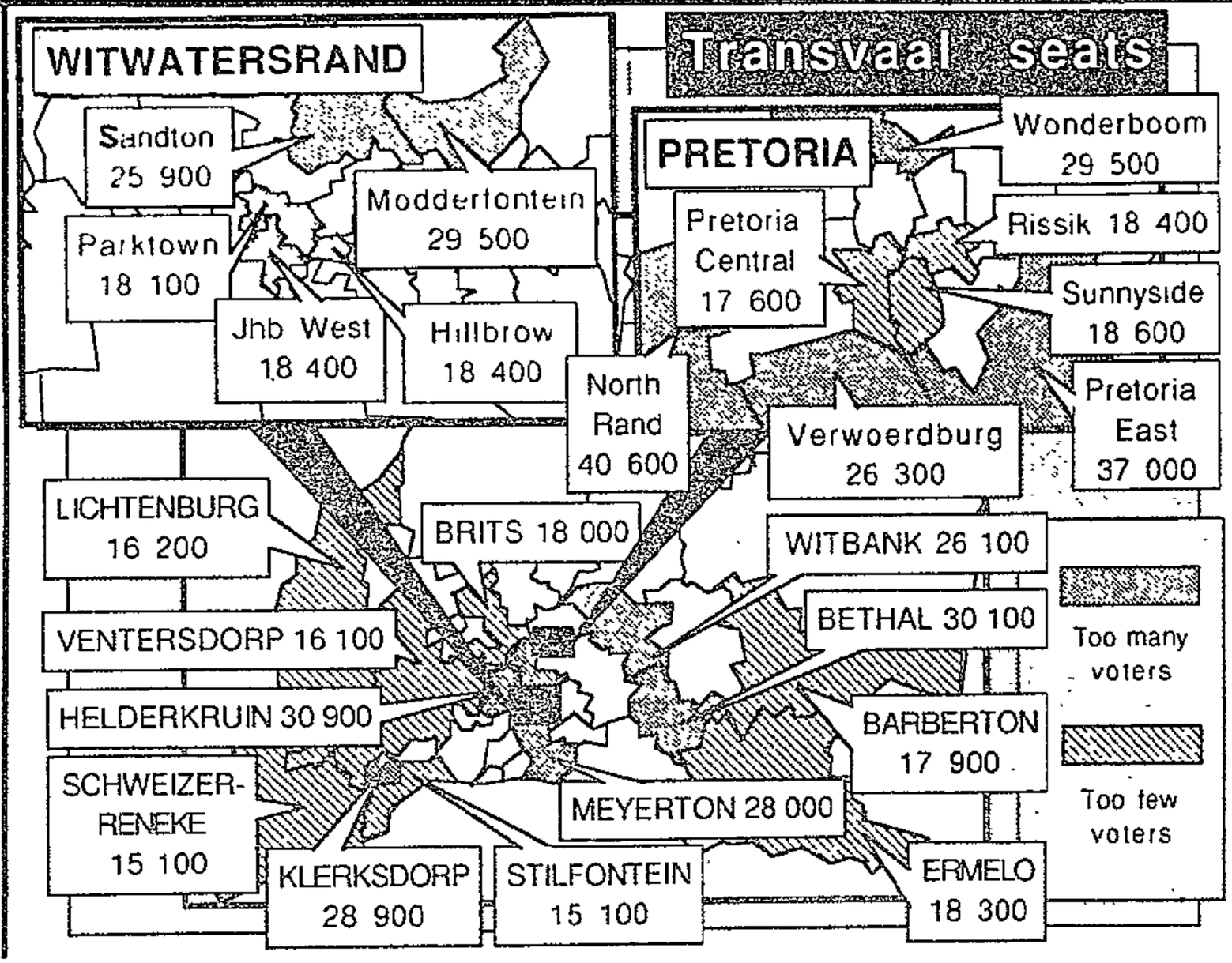
LONDON — Manners maketh the man perhaps, but not the modern British Member of Parliament.

A House of Commons report, lamenting a rise in rowdy parliamentary behaviour, accused members of indulging in low-grade personal abuse and subversive practices.

Not sparing the government, it found Ministers guilty of eroding the authority of parliament by dodging personal replies to tricky questions.

The report, written by an all-party committee of MPs, urged party managers and senior legislators to set an example and help restore standards in what prides itself as being the world's most exclusive club.

Some MPs claimed the problem was due to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's impregnable 100-seat majorities which have given her 10 years of power, leaving the opposition feeling helpless and frustrated. — Sapa-Reuter.



Elections: many voters in Tvl are being handicapped

Star 17/4/89

President P W Botha's announcement of a general election has drawn strong criticism from political analysts, who say white constituencies are severely distorted. The Star's Political Reporter, ESMARE VAN DER MERWE, reports.

Substantial shifts in the white population have resulted in a situation where 11 existing Transvaal constituencies are overloaded and 13 underloaded in terms of the provincial quota of registered white voters in each constituency.

According to the latest statistics, Transvaal has 1 685 271 registered white voters in 76 constituencies.

The provincial quota is obtained by dividing the total number of registered voters by the total number of parliamentary seats.

This means a quota of 22 175 voters a constituency.

However, constituencies may be loaded or deloaded by 15 percent, and in the case of constituencies of 25 000 square kilometres or more, a deloading percentage of 30 is allowed for.

This means that a constituency with more than 25 501 registered voters will be overloaded and one with less than 18 849 voters underloaded.

Since the last delimitation of Assembly seats in 1980, several distortions have occurred.

Currently, more than half of the white voters live in the Transvaal.

According to the present composition of the House of Assembly and the distribution of voters between the provinces, the Transvaal should have 89 of the total 166 seats instead of 76.

The 11 overloaded seats in the Transvaal are North Rand (40 651), Pretoria East (37 161), Helderkruin (30 947), Bethal (30 159), Modderfontein (29 529), Wonderboom (29 528), Klerksdorp (28 910), Meyerton (28 011), Verwoerdburg (26 304), Witbank (26 149) and Sandton (25 954).

The province's 13 underloaded constituencies are Stilfontein (15 119), Schweizer-Reneke (15 194), Ventersdorp (16 180), Lichtenburg (16 274), Pretoria Central (17 667), Barberton (17 966), Brits (18 080), Parktown (18 123), Ermelo (18 326), Rissik (18 404), Hillbrow (18 405), Johannesburg West (18 482) and Sunnyside (18 637).

Only four Transvaal constituencies exceed 25 000 sq km: Waterberg (18 589 registered voters), Soutpansberg (17 991), Potgietersrus (19 110) and Lydenburg (16 450). They are thus not technically speaking underloaded.



BY KEN OWEN

R650m frauds: Where are our moral standards?

Cape Times 17/4/89

THE extent of foreign exchange frauds in the past year is not yet known but we do know that probably half the loss during 1988 of the country's gold and foreign currency reserves, its accumulated national treasure, can be attributed to fraud.

Theft did us more harm than sanctions.

The disclosure last week that frauds cost us R650 million in foreign reserves — not quite as much as we paid off our foreign debt, but a sizeable sum anyway — has made nonsense of the theories put forward last year to "explain" why the national treasure was draining away.

Leave aside the fact that these frauds were of a magnitude to dwarf all other crime put together — all muggings, all thefts, all car thefts, all armed robberies, all bank robberies, all dud cheques — and ask instead the question that hovers constantly in South African minds these days: What has happened to the moral standards of South Africans?

Tax collector Clive Kingon, desperately contemplating the equally desperate attempts by major corporations to find loopholes in the tax law, accuses his victims of a "moral sickness", but it goes beyond mere tax avoidance or the illegal exports of capital.

History of fraud

Corruption has rotted the very warp of South African life. This is not the place to recount the appalling, if half-forgotten, record of the past 20 years, but we all know what has been happening: Eschel Rhoodie and the crooked accounting in the government, the first-class "freebie" trips abroad; deputy minister Mr Hennie van der Walt stealing trust funds; the officials giving each other free Krugerrands at a party; the lavish parties to celebrate such mundane events as the opening of a toll road; the fleets of Mercedes-Benzes in the basement of the SABC; and so much more.

These are mere symptoms of a deeper rot. At the heart of all these examples lies a failure of the law to hold the allegiance of the people, a failure of the authority of the state. The people of this country, excepting a couple of million whites, hold the state and its agents in profound contempt.

That is, of course, the inevitable consequence of replacing the rule of law with the rule of men. It began, one suspects, when John Vorster destroyed what is loosely known in this country as the right of habeas corpus, permitting his policemen to lock people away without trial.

The trouble is not simply that the detention laws led, inevitably, to the complicity of the state in various murders. That was bad enough, but worse was that the law — the very idea of law — lost its hold on men's minds. First on the rulers, then on the keepers of the law.

We have descended so far that the state not only accepts the danger of its own complicity in unlawful killings, so that judges of the Supreme Courts must go from prison to prison to protect inmates against the fate of Neil Aggett or Steve Biko, but the state sets aside the law in order to protect people accused of outright murder. At this very time, the State President is doing all he can to prevent the trial of six men accused of murder in Namibia.

When the law against murder is made subject to the judgment — or prejudice, or caprice, or malice — of one elected official, it is vain to talk of a government under law. In a real sense, there is no law.

Other laws besides the law against murder go unenforced. Some are simply so bad, like the pass laws, that they cannot be enforced, and must in the end be repealed. Others are simply too difficult, or costly, to enforce. At first, government tried to overcome the problem by giving officials discretionary powers to "regulate"; but that doesn't work any longer, and the escape mechanisms become increasingly bizarre.

As the law weakens, so does convention, and the concern for the decent appearance of things is lost. The Harms Commission has found that neither the Defence Minister nor the Foreign Minister, each of whom accepted a hunting rifle as a gift from Wessel Albertus Vermaas, did anything wrong.

That, in the present climate, is a welcome finding, but it does not entirely cover the appearance of things. The Defence Minister did, as it happens, recommend Vermaas for a position as a director of an Armscor company, and Vermaas was appointed.

A year later, on the very day of the appointment of the Harms Commission, Vermaas's directorship was terminated because, the commission was told, he failed to get a security clearance. The commission, more alert to the appearance of things than the cabinet ministers, was struck by the coincidence, but found it was just that — coincidence.

Nevertheless, the episode does demonstrate the need for public officials, if they wish to maintain moral authority, to be sensitive to appearances, and to be careful of gifts like hunting rifles or hunting trips. For one thing, lesser officials take their cue from the cabinet.

'Who you know'

These days, it's not what you know, but who you know. Merchant bankers complain that there are people walking around Pretoria who claim that, for a fee, they can get applications for foreign currency expedited. Certainly it is obvious, not only from the Vermaas affair, that Reserve Bank officials will intervene to assist those applicants who can marshal powerful support.

This brings us back to the forex frauds. They represent in part the determination — indeed, the desperation — of people to get money out of the country before the currency decays even more (They also represent, obviously, the efforts of criminals to exploit the existence of foreign exchange restrictions intended to prevent honest people from getting their money out).

During the Great Plague, the citizens of Milan are said to have cavorted drunkenly about the graveyards as they waited to die. Something similar happens when people lose trust in both the law and the currency: When your world is falling apart, cynicism becomes a refuge.

Can the DP rally Afrikaner support?

AKGUS 17/4/89

304A

By PATRICK LAURENCE of the Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICAs newly formed Democrtic Party has already earned itself at least a footnote in South African history.

It is the first political party with a reasonable degree of white support to stand unequivocally *from its inception* for universal adult suffrage.

POLITICS

To put its policy in full perspective, it should be said it also stands for protection against domination of minorities.

Whether the DP, as the party is already known, will eventually command greater attention from future historians depends in large measure — but not solely — on whether it can expand beyond its present support base in the white community.

Judging from a recent opinion poll in the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper, *Rapport*, 22,5 percent of whites support the DP.

Launched with fanfare and bold rhetoric, the DP was formed after three political parties voluntarily dissolved themselves to unite as a single party.

Each of the trio, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), the National Democratic Movement (NDM) and the Independent Party (IP), bequeathed their supporters to the DP.

Espoused

Universal adult suffrage has, of course, long been on the agenda of black nationalist movements and the Communist Party.

Even before the birth of the DP, however, one man, one vote was espoused by white-initiated reform parties, notably the Liberal Party (LP) and the PFP, which started life 30 years ago in 1959 as the Progressive Party.

But these reform political parties either had minimal white support — like black nationalist movements and the CP — or they equivocated in their support for universal adult suffrage.

Franchise

The LP started life in 1953 by advocating a qualified but non-racial franchise, it proposed to restrict the vote, initially at any rate, to people who fulfilled educational and property qualifications.

Only in 1960 — the year of the Sharpville shootings, in which 69 unarmed black people were shot dead by police — did it finally adopt universal adult suffrage as policy.

Throughout its short 15-year history from 1953 to 1968, the Liberal Party (LP), however, failed to attract meaningful support among whites.

Attracted

Its adoption of unviversal adult suffrage caused its already small number of white supporters to decline further.

In the 1961 election it attracted fewer than 2 500 votes.

The PFP began life as the Progressive Party in 1959. To begin with it stood for a qualified non-racial franchise, setting a series of educational, property and financial qualifications, ranging from standard eight to literacy in English or Afrikaans plus an annual income of £500 sterling or occupation of property valued at £500.

The PP found that the white electorate was unreceptive to even its cautious reform.

In the first general election after its formation in 1961 every candidate except Mrs Helen suzman was defeated.

One of them, Mr Ray Swart, recalled on the eve of the launch of the DP how he was "spat on for the first time in his life" in the supposedly enlighted city of Durban shortly after the formation of the Progressive Party.

Captured

Slowly, however, the Progressive message of gradual reform began to win through. In the 1974 general election it won seven seats. It reached a high-water mark in 1981 when it captured 26 seats.

In the most recent election in 1987 it held on to 19 of these seats.

The Progressive Party underwent two changes of names as the original Progessives fused with defectors from the essentially conservative United Party. So, too, did its franchise policy.

Shied

In 1978, reacting to growing pressures in the wider South African community, it accepted the principle of one man, one vote, subject to to a series of safeguards, including proportional representation and minority veto.

But PFP spokesmen shied away from spelling out their commitment to universal adult suffrage, preferring to fudge the question with obfuscatory language.

Thus the PFP constitution carefully eschewed the words "vote" or "franchise", it spoke instead of "full and equal citizenship rights for all South Africans".

Adult

The new DP is more forthright. Its freshly-drafted constitution declares its commitment to "representative government on the basis of general adult franchise for all South African citizens as one South African nation".

Apart from its unmistakable commitment, the DP has another distinguishing mark.

It has won the backing of mainline Afrikaners with deep roots in the Afrikaner establishment.

Defunct

The notables include: Mr Louis Luyt, who as president of the Transvaal rugby Board can hardly be more mainline Afrikaner; Dr Willem de Klerk, an intellectual from a distinguished Afrikaner family and brother of the leader of the ruling National Party (NP), Mr F W de Klerk and Mrs Hilda Burnett, former head of the Defence Force College for Women.

The immediate future of the DP depends on two factors: Its ability successfully to woo supporters of the defunct United Party (UP) who took refuge in the NP laager with the demise of the UP and its successor, the New Republic Party; its success in persuading the growing number of verligte or enlightened Afrikaners and others who are disenchanted with the NP to take the next step and vote for the DP.

Stalwarts

Dr Denis Worrall, one of the DP's three co-leaders, seems to have been remarkably successful in winning the allegiance of old UP stalwarts.

Whether the DP can lure large numbers to support its essentially verligte policy of one man, one vote is the crunch question.

With a general election in the offing, a testing time lies ahead.

Dalling gets DP defence portfolio

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Star 17/4/85

The Democratic Party has given notice of wishing to present a conservative image on defence by choosing Sandton MP Mr Dave Dalling as spokesman on the highly sensitive defence portfolio.

Mr Dalling was appointed yesterday, replacing former Cape PFP leader Mr Roger Hulley who is considered more left wing.

Although Mr Dalling is considered a compromise choice between Mr Hulley and conservative Yeoville MP Mr Harry Schwarz, a former defence spokesman, he is closer to Mr Schwarz on defence matters.

Other changes are DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, former leader of the National Democratic Movement, gets the important constitutional development portfolio, replacing Berea MP Mr Ray Swart who gets justice, formerly Mr Dalling's portfolio.

Mr Peter Gastrow, NDM MP for Durban Central, becomes DP manpower spokesman — the portfolio he held before leaving the PFP.

The other NDM MP Mr Pierre Cronje of Greytown gets transport.

CONSCRIPTION

(3048)

Mr Dalling said in an interview yesterday that he "stood with Harry Schwarz and Helen Suzman in the mainstream of DP security policy".

He said he also stood for a strong defence force and:

- The use of the Defence Force to combat "endemic" unrest in townships in special circumstances.
- The right of the SADF to make limited strikes across international borders.

"My attitude will be to support the Defence Force in the roles I have defined but I reserve the right to be honestly critical where necessary."

On troops in the townships, he said, "normally the Defence Force should be limited to repelling foreign aggressors. But in circumstances of endemic unrest and turmoil where the SAP is not sufficient to maintain law and order, I believe the Defence Force can be drafted in as back-up. But it should be distinct from the police and remain under the command of its own officers."

On conscription, he said: "I am against it for several reasons, but basically because at this time it applies to whites only and it is not practical to extend it to blacks.

"I'm in favour of phasing conscription out as circumstances permit and replacing it with a highly-skilled and well-equipped standing army backed by a voluntary reserve."

On conscientious objection he said "I recognise the right of individuals who don't wish to do military service to do community service. This could be longer than military service, but it should be productive."

On cross-border strikes, Mr Dalling said: "I believe the SADF must respect the territorial integrity of foreign states but that it has the right to make limited pre-emptive cross-border strikes and hot-pursuit, follow-up strikes where it is necessary in the interests of security."

Tvl branch committee is elected

Political Reporter

The Democratic Party has elected its second branch committee in one week as part of a huge organisational drive in the Transvaal.

Klerksdorp's branch committee was elected on Thursday and consisted of 12 people — most of them former National Party members, old United Party and New Republic Party supporters and people who had previously been politically uncommitted, according to DP organiser Miss Avril Howes.

Chairman of the Klerksdorp committee is lawyer Mr Bobby Brady.

Rejected Van Eck to go it alone

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's decision to turn down applications for membership by three opposition MPs was a trade-off between factions in the party, according to DP sources.

A faction in the party's national board which supports Dr Denis Worrall won rejection of Mr Jan van Eck's application.

A group supporting Mr Wynand Malan won rejection of two House of Representatives MPs, Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippen.

And today a disappointed Mr van Eck said he would contest Claremont as an "independent democrat".

A statement after the national board's meeting said it had been decided not to give membership to the MPs in view of the imminent dissolution of Parliament.

SIX WEEKS TO GO

Dr Denis Worrall, one of the party's joint leaders, said today that in the case of applications of sitting MPs for membership, there were implications that the party did not want to accept.

This was in the light of the present Parliament having only six weeks to go.

Dr de Beer said that shortly before an election was a bad time to accept public representatives as new members.

Mr van Eck said he was mystified by the reasons offered for his rejection.

The decision showed a lack of sensitivity for the widespread support for his membership among DP supporters and potential supporters in the Western Cape.

"I find the decision most disappointing. It will put a stumbling-block in the way of building greater unity among all democrats left of government and linking up with democrats outside Parliament.

The DP's constituency committee in Claremont will meet tonight to discuss the decision.

Mr Redcliffe said he could not understand what his application had to do the dissolution of Parliament, and said the decision could only have been motivated by political expediency.

● Former PFP leader Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, co-director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), has denied speculation that he would stand in the election.

NGK warned about 'keeping voters happy'

By KAREN STANDER
Religion Reporter

IT was not the job of the church to keep voters happy with false biblical utterances, Dr Dirk Hattingh, moderator of the Ned Geref Kerk in the Western Cape, told a meeting of church members.

Dr Hattingh made an urgent call on political leaders not to draw decisions made by the church into the political arena and into the coming election battle.

He told a report-back meeting on the recent talks held between the NGK family at Vereeniging that political principles had to be tested against the scriptures.

"If we talk about corruption — and this is necessary in these times — we are not entering the domain of economics.

"It is naive to try and silence the church in this way.

"It is not the church's task to become involved in party politics, nor to be answerable to political parties for its decisions.

"Nobody may ever expect the church to interpret the Bible in order to condone a political model which does not fulfil Christian-ethical norms.

False utterances

"It is also not the church's responsibility to keep most voters satisfied by means of false biblical utterances."

Professor Danie du Toit of the Stellenbosch University theological college said the word "group" was a red rag to black people.

It said to them that whites wanted to keep the best and they as a group would get less, a NGK dominee said.

As a group, blacks had experienced oppression and suffering.

The NGK delegation had been stunned at the reaction of the other churches during the Vereeniging meeting to the NGK document condemning "discriminating apartheid".

To put the word "discriminating" before apartheid was a red rag to the other churches. They understood this as an attempt to condone apartheid "as if a good apartheid exists".

Govt aimless — De Beer

B/Day 18/4/84 MIKE ROBERTSON 3049A

CAPE TOWN — The NP government had no policy, no principles and no sense of direction, DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

It could not go back to its previous partition policy because it had already failed, but it lacked courage to look at the only alternative — DP policy. "They are dragging the people deeper into poverty. They are running SA in terms of a state of emergency which denies accepted standards of human rights," De Beer said.

Protest over Pretoria apartheid

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Black community leaders are to meet in Pretoria later this week to protest against the "unabated" application of petty apartheid by the Pretoria City Council.

Transvaal MEC and Labour Party deputy chairman Willie Hoods said the meeting would discuss possible action to demonstrate the anger of the black community over the council's refusal to end discrimination.

He said there was no basic difference between the discriminatory practices of the Carletonville and Boksburg town councils and that being practised in Pretoria.

The CP's racist actions all fell within the ambit of NP policies, and Nat shock at the actions of the two town councils was hypocritical and dishonest, Hoods said.

It had become necessary to show that the black community was affronted by the lack of commitment to the elimination of discrimination.

Hoods said more and more blacks were becoming aware that monies they paid for municipal services were being used to provide facilities from which they were barred or did not benefit.

Laudium MP Boetie Abramjee will be among those attending the meeting.

Eglin, but then decided to put the | that they had no more black support | Pretoria | illegible, which — given the poor and | Pretoria

Reform has crossed its Rubicon

5 1Day 18/6/89

MIKE ROBERTSON

ALBERT NOTHNAGEL, SA's Ambassador-designate to the Netherlands, says the National Party has undergone a policy reversal since 1974 and is committed to a reform programme from which it cannot turn back.

The row he provoked by saying government would eventually have to negotiate with the ANC had benefited the NP, Nothnagel said in an interview. In a small way it had also helped to shape political discussion in the country.

The outgoing MP for Innesdal welcomed the challenge of representing SA in Europe in the run-up to 1992, but planned to return to Parliament.

The posting, in some senses, has handed Nothnagel a political lifeline. At the last election he won Innesdal by just over a 1 000 votes from the CP. However, the HNP polled more than 800 votes and it is widely accepted that this constituency will go to the CP in the coming election.

Nothnagel says: "In some ways I am sorry to be leaving the local political scene at this very interesting stage where the NP has a new leader. But, on the other hand, I have played a role in the reformist debate and I am satisfied that the whole reform process is on its way in very dramatic manner."

The reform process, he said, had crossed its own Rubicon and there was no way to turn back. "Nobody in the NP can reverse the reform process. I have a great feeling of satisfaction that I was one of the many verligte NP supporters who made some contribution in the fundamental debates on change."

Nothnagel said that since he was elected to Parliament in 1974, the NP had undergone a complete reversal in policy. "The NP started by saying that if you gave a political say to other race groups, then whites have had it. We now say that if you don't give a political say to other race groups, then the whole of SA has had it.

"We started with the concept that certain areas in the country belonged to whites while others areas were set aside for other race groups.



□ NOTHNAGEL ... "negotiation process is firmly on the road"

We now hold the opposite view — that SA belongs to all its people.

"We started by saying that millions of blacks could not have South African citizenship. We have now changed the legislation to restore citizenship to people from whom it was taken away.

"We stressed racial groupings, even labelling people by way of codes in identification books. We have now replaced those books with new ones which just say that a person is a South African.

"What we are experiencing now is a fundamental re-look, not as to what should be done but what the timing should be and how things should be done.

"The Separate Amenities Act and Group Areas Act are two such areas. But we have to take cognisance of tremendous emotions amongst the white electorate in regard to these two Acts. We need a little time to re-educate people, time to get people involved in a fundamental rethink on these matters. In principle, the NP has made up its own mind that we have to address such basic issues in a very funadmental way."

Nothnagel said it had taken the NP a long time to reach this point. For him it had been a fascinating and rewarding experience.

On a constitutional level, SA had reached a point where the discussion was not whether there should be major reform, but how to achieve this. It would take some time to "sort out political fundamentals.

"The whole concept at this stage of the political debate is one of negotiation about negotiation. This will last some time, sorting out who is to be involved and how they are to be involved. The second stage will involve laying down proposals and getting all those involved to lay down their proposals.

"What is vitally important, however, is that the negotiation process is firmly on the road."

All parties, whether inside Parliament or outside, he says, are at present playing for time while they sort out their own ideas. "A lot of people who say they are not interested in negotiations now are just considering how to get involved and to get the most mileage out of it. That's what politics is about."

When that happens, Nothnagel plans to be back in Parliament. Hopefully, he says, representing a constituency where the opposition will come not from the CP but from the left of government — a situation he is far more comfortable in dealing with.

REVIEW

DOUBTLESS any opera — in the

'De Klerk better than Botha'

LONDON — Mrs Helen Suzman has described Mr F W de Klerk here as a "much more intelligent and pragmatic man" than President Botha, who realises that the time has come for fundamental changes in South Africa.

But in an interview with Dominique Bauthier of the *International Herald Tribune*, she added that De Klerk was also a conservative who knew that his party had put him in power to maintain white domination, particularly Afrikaner domination, and he would worry about maintaining that domination.

POLITICS

Federation not key to SA problems

B/Day 18/4/89

304A

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — President P W Botha said yesterday he had ordered an authoritative investigation into the constitutional position in Switzerland and Belgium last year to see whether there were lessons there for SA.

After studying the report — the Rautenbach report — he felt it was an oversimplification to say that a federation was the key to SA's constitutional problems.

Botha said the investigators had reported that "the fact that Switzerland has, through the centuries, grown out of entities which were more or less sovereign units which, for centuries, worked together according to confederal principles, has asserted itself in particular elements of the system". These were:

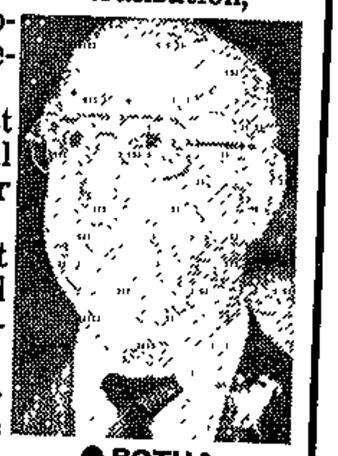
☐ A strong ideological stand against centralisation;

☐ A desire to solve social and economic problems without the involvement of the state;

☐ A total resistance to the slightest possibility that one canton, political party, population group, or leader dominates the system;

☐ The unique Swiss phenomenon that on a federal, cantonal or local level there are no executive heads of government; and

☐ Drawn-out decision-making processes: not only had all people to be consulted, but it was part of the political culture that no action be taken unless everyone's wishes were more or less fulfilled.



● BOTHA

Unlike SA and Belgium, Switzerland did not find itself in the rapids on constitutional reform, he said.

While SA consisted of geographic units which could provide the basis of a federation and the possibility that SA could develop into federal system could not be ruled out, it was an oversimplification to say a federation, as such, could be the solution to SA problems. For one thing it did not supply the answer as to how components in constituent states with heterogenous populations should be brought together to eliminate group domination.

PW takes conciliatory stance

Mandela 'has role to play in his release'

B/Day 18/4/89

304A

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — If Nelson Mandela was prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of SA's future, government would respond in an open-hearted manner, President P W Botha said yesterday.

Botha, speaking in the vote on his budget, devoted 12 pages to the subject of Mandela, and said it was clear it would be futile to release Mandela if it led to his re-arrest and increased conflict.

He said: "I hope he realises this.

"No head of government who is responsible for the promotion of good order can lend himself to processes which result in group domination, the defeat of democratic principles and the destruction of private initiative and free enterprise."



● BOTHA

For those reasons Mandela's release had to be handled carefully.

Botha said he had said this to world and African leaders whom he had met.

Mandela had a role to play in his own release. "If he is prepared to contribute to a peaceful settlement of SA's future I will personally welcome it. In such a case, government would react open-heartedly."

SA's problems could be solved only if all South Africans were prepared to tackle them together. Interference from outside could lead to misunderstanding and trouble.

Botha said from Mandela's reaction to the incident involving the letter he allegedly wrote to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher it appeared he too was not in favour of manipulation from outside the country.

"I find these actions of his encouraging and I leave it there."

Earlier, Botha said that since Mandela's release from hospital the circumstances of his imprisonment had been alleviated considerably.

"Although the circumstances of Mandela's imprisonment have changed, the existing criteria for his release still apply."

However, the reaction to Botha's speech from within the NP and opposition parties was one of confusion.

While some believed Botha had again shifted the requirement for Mandela's release, others said he had merely reiterated the existing position that Mandela would be detained until he denounced violence.

Contribution

Typical of the responses was that of DP parliamentary leader Zach de Beer, who said: "If the President's address indicates a greater willingness than hitherto to consider the release of Nelson Mandela so that he can take part in discussions or negotiations, then the DP will be delighted.

"It's not just a question of Mandela's personal contribution, important as that may be, it's the fact that Mandela's release is critical in getting the participation of other important black leaders."

Tensions in DP threaten to rupture party

B|Day 18/9/89 (304)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Tensions within the DP are threatening to rupture the union which came into existence 10 days ago.

Yesterday, former PFP members made it plain they believed the DP had been hijacked by the former NDM and that Lusaka was effectively dictating the terms.

Anger centres around the weekend refusal of the DP's national board to accept the membership applications of Charles Redcliffe, Cecil Kippen and Archie Poole. All three are MPs in the House of Representatives.

An application by Jan van Eck, a former PFP MP now sitting as an independent, was also rejected.

A move is now afoot in the western Cape to have the decision reversed after threats by hundreds of DP members to quit the party. That would place a number of DP seats in jeopardy.

Yesterday, former PFP MPs apologised to Redcliffe for what was being seen as an open slap in the face for the PFP and an attempted hijacking by the NDM.

Details of the board meeting included:

- The NDM supported the admission of Van Eck, but would not accept the "coloured" MPs because this ran counter to the wishes of those in "the struggle"; and
- The IP opposed Van Eck and wanted him to apologise for his remarks about Inkatha but was happy to accept the "coloured" MPs.

A compromise was hammered out by NDM and IP representatives and all the applications were rejected.

And it meant the PFP, which contributed the wealth, MPs and the organisation to the union, was solidly snubbed.

Star 15/4/87 (2) 3048

Lawyer lays charges

Boksburg accused of race crime

By Deborah Smith, Pretoria Bureau

Mr Brian Currin, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, last night laid criminal charges of subversion in terms of the Internal Security Act against Boksburg City councillors who voted in favour of closing facilities to all blacks.

He laid the charges at the Commissioner Street police station in Boksburg at about 6 pm.

Mr Currin told reporters that in the prevailing social and political circumstances the application of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act could constitute a serious offence in terms of the Internal Security Act.

The Internal Security Act states that any person who intended to promote political, social or economic change in South Africa which encouraged feelings of hostility between different population groups would be guilty of subversion.

Mr Currin said it was indisputable that the reservation of amenities enouraged feelings of hostility between racial groups. He said that when a local authority reserved amenities for one race group at the expense of others, it was an endeavour to promote political and social change in South Africa.

Not to cause hostility

Although the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act allowed any person in charge of a public premises to reserve it for the use of one race group, Mr Currin said, it did not entitle them to encourage feelings of hostility between race groups.

He called on all South Africans who felt that the application of the Act encouraged hostility between race groups to lay charges at against those who initiated the application of the Act.

He said: "One wonders how the Government can consider the retention of the Act in view of statements such as that by the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, that the Government has contributed to identifying obstacles to reconciliation and was striving to removed them as far as possible."

Since the Government refused to scrap the Act it was reasonable to conclude that any social or political reform since 1953 did not represent the Government's desire. "It would seem these changes took place not because of Government, but rather in spite of Government," said Mr Currin.

"As long as the Separate Amenities Act remains on the Statute Book we must conclude the Government statements on reform are mere rhetoric."

Mr Currin said the application of the Separate Amenities Act violated fundamental human rights and had given rise to racial humiliation and widespread violation of human dignity and pride.

The Act had severely damaged race relations.

Tensions rise in DP

Cape Times 18/4/89

3047



Mr Jan van Eck



Mr Archie Poole



Mr Charles Redcliffe

Political Staff

TENSIONS are rising in the Democratic Party, threatening to rupture the fragile union which came into existence just 10 days ago.

Yesterday several angry members of Parliament of the former PFP said they now firmly believed that the DP had been hijacked by the former National Democratic Movement and by Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party.

Anger largely centres on the refusal of the DP's National Board to accept the membership applications of Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippen and a later application by Mr Archie Poole.

All three are MPs in the House of Representatives.

Their applications, together with that of Mr Jan van Eck, a former PFP MP now sitting as an independent, were all rejected.

Last night a number of DP constituency committees, including that of Mr Van Eck's Claremont seat, were due to meet on party matters. The decision on their MP was expected to be on the agenda.

It was learnt yesterday that moves had been started in the Western Cape to have the decision reversed following threats by some DP members to break away from the party.

A number of former PFP MPs have openly apologised to Mr Charles Redcliffe for his rejection by the DP.

Details of Saturday's National Board meeting began to emerge yesterday and boil down to:

- the NDM, backed by most of the so-called "fourth force", supported the admission of Mr Van Eck, but would not accept the "coloured" MPs because this ran counter to the wishes of those involved in "the struggle";
- the IP opposed Mr Van Eck and wanted him to apologise for his remarks about Inkatha but were happy to accept the "coloured" MPs.

Solidly snubbed

A compromise was hammered out during a break in the meeting by NDM and IP representatives and all the applications were rejected — effectively, what this meant was that the the IP dropped Mr Redcliffe and the NDM dropped Mr Van-Eck.

This ran counter to a recommendation taken by 12-6 in the caucus, that all the applications be accepted.

And it meant that the PFP, which contributed the wealth, MPs and the organisation to the union were solidly snubbed.

Added to this, ex-PFP members are angry because while they vote as members of the new DP the other members of the "marriage" apparently continue to vote along old party lines.

Mr Van Eck said yesterday that in view of the grassroots support for his membership: "I would hope that the DP would show a sensitivity by reviewing its decision."

Mr Redcliffe said in a statement that the DP's "professed" non-racialism was hollow-sounding and he called on the DP to state its reasons for rejecting him. The DP's decision could be motivated only by political expediency.

'Dishonest'

"My application for membership of the DP was made some weeks before the announcement by the State President that Parliament would be dissolved at the end of May. To give this as a reason for rejecting my application is therefore both puzzling and dishonest."

Mr Redcliffe called on the DP to disclose whether it had concluded an electoral agreement with the Labour Party so that other prospective members of colour were made aware of this.

Patronage

He said it appeared that people of colour could become DP members only through patronage of its exclusive white membership on its National Board.

"It is not unfair to conclude that only token black representation will be tolerated. Its professed non-racialism is, to my mind, hollow-sounding."

Rousing sendoff for Mothopeng

Cape Times 18/4/89

PRETORIA. — A crowd of well-wishers who saw off PAC president Zephania Mothopeng at Jan Smuts airport last night laughed good-naturedly when police admonished them for singing songs.

Mr Mothopeng left for Britain for treatment for "malignant thymonia".

Mr Mothopeng sat in a chair in the international departure lounge, but, clutching his familiar walking stick, rose to acknowledge the arrival of singing supporters.

Botha: Reiterating Mandela's position?

Cape Times 18/4/89

Political Staff

PRESIDENT P W Botha said yesterday that if Mr Nelson Mandela was prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of SA's future he would personally welcome it and the government would respond in an open-hearted manner.

Mr Botha, speaking in the vote on his budget, devoted 12 pages to the subject of Mandela, but the reaction both from within the NP and opposition parties was one of confusion.

While some believed Mr Botha had again shifted the requirement for Mr Mandela's release, others said he had reiterated the existing position.

Full story — Page 4

PW shifts position on the release of Mandela

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

President Botha has slightly shifted the conditions for the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, senior Government sources have said.

They were reacting to Mr Botha's statement on Mandela in Parliament yesterday that if Mr Mandela "made a contribution to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future", he would welcome it.

Senior Government sources said the slight shift in emphasis was that it was no longer just a question of Mandela going free, but of giving some indication that he was prepared to play a constructive role once freed.

They said the speech was a continuation of the progress towards releasing Mandela.

However, it was unlikely he would be released soon.

It is understood Mr Botha's speech was given to Mandela before it was broadcast on the news.

Mr Botha's speech has drawn contradictory reactions, with some observers seeing it as merely a restatement of the existing conditions for Mandela's release.

Elsewhere in the speech Mr Botha himself said that although the circumstances of Mandela's imprisonment had changed, "the existing criteria for his release still apply".

Mrs Helen Suzman, Houghton DP MP who last week appealed to Mr Botha to "go down in history as the man who released Mandela" said yesterday's statement had "dampened the enthusiasm of those who hoped Mandela would be released soon".

See Page 3.

pril 18 1989

SA 'getting poorer'

Nats have no future policy, says De Beer

Parliamentary Staff

All it took to build a democratic South Africa based on justice was to have the "courage to stop thinking in racist terms", **parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party Dr Zach de Beer** said.

But, speaking on the final day of debate on the State President's Budget vote, Dr de Beer said the National Party government did not have the courage to look at this "only justifiable and defensible alternative".

The Government had "no principles, no policy, no sense of direction".

"They are simply treading water, keeping themselves afloat, enjoying their power and privileges it brings. They are dragging the people deeper and deeper into poverty. They are running the country in terms of a state of emergency which denies all accepted standards of human rights. They and their policies have estranged us from a world where we should be welcome. They have no aim but to retain their power and their perquisites."

Dr de Beer said that despite repeated challenges, the NP appeared to have neither the will nor the ability to explain its policy on future constitutional development.

"Shameless"

"Not only do the Nationalists refuse to answer fundamentally important questions about their own policy, they shamelessly use totally contradictory answers as their propaganda purposes require.

"We have simply seen in this debate what we have known for a long time. The National Party doesn't have a policy. They have no vision of a future South Africa."

Hong Kong

Nat MPs' wives tour Mamelodi

Star 18/4/89

30/4/89

Wives of National Party Members of Parliament visited Mamelodi yesterday for a tour of the area.

The tour, organised by the NP Women's Action Group of Pretoria, took the 100 women — including Mrs Corrie Vlok, wife of the Minister of Law and Order — on a sightseeing trip through the township.

The occasion began at the Mamelodi council chambers with a welcoming address by the mayor, Mr B Z Ndlazi.

Some well known faces in the crowd were Mrs Milda Swanepoel of Gezina constituency, Mrs Linda Fismer of Rissik, Mrs Stephanie Nothnagel of Innesdal and Mrs Marguerite Alant of Pretoria East. — Pretoria Correspondent.

Afrikaner 'is like other nationalists'

It was precisely because his nationhood was precious to him that the Afrikaner accepted the multinational nature of the people of South Africa, the Leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said in Parliament yesterday.

He said in debate on the State President's Vote that this was not the first time that the Afrikaner had been forced to take up the struggle for his own identity. He had fought previously against imperialism, and according to some that had been a stupid and foolish struggle.

According to some it had been as "stupid" as the struggle of the Flemish in Belgium, of the Greeks and Turks in Cyprus, of Israel in the face of the millions in the Arab states, of the Ciskei, which did not want to unite with the Transkei.

Critics should realise that there was no race that did not choose to live with its own.

"If you think it is only the so-called racist Afrikaners that you have to deal with, you are making a very big mistake."

If the Afrikaner was indeed an oppressor as had been alleged, he would have followed the path of the imperialists. — Sapa.

Star 18/4/84 304A

Federation solution simplistic – Botha

South Africa could learn much from constitutional models used in countries such as Switzerland and Belgium, but it was simplistic to suggest that a federal system was the key to the country's constitutional problems, said the **President, Mr P W Botha.**

However, there were no objections to a federal system in principle and it could not be ruled out as a future model.

During a wide-ranging address in debate on his Budget vote, Mr Botha said he had always believed South Africa's unique circumstances required unique solutions, but this did not mean there were no lessons to be learned from experience elsewhere.

For this reason, he had last year commissioned a study of the constitutional systems of



President Botha . . . reform is accompanied by uncertainty.

Belgium and Switzerland, which had grappled with constitutional issues for centuries.

Unlike South Africa and Belgium, the Swiss were not in the midst of constitutional reform, but they had managed to find a balance between accommodating group differences and decision-making through decentralisation, while at the same time maintaining a nation identity.

Mr Botha said: "Although South Africa has geographical units which could form the cornerstones of a federation, although there are no objections to the principle of federation and although federation cannot be ruled out, it is an over-simplification to suggest that federation, as such, is the key to solving South Africa's constitutional problems."

Among the reasons for this were that there were more undemocratic than democratic federations in the world, and the federal system alone did not provide answers to the problems of binding component states within a single nation in such a way as to prevent group domination.

Dissatisfaction in DP over 'trade-off'

Sfer 18/9/89

3046

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party's controversial weekend decision to refuse membership to Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck and two coloured MPs was a "trade-off" between Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, party souces said yesterday.

Virtually all members of the old Progressive Federal Party were outvoted on the decision, they said.

DP sources from the former Progressive Federal Party said the decision by the DP National Board had been a deal between the Worrall camp — who did not want Mr Van Eck in the party — and the Malan camp who did not want the two MPs from the House of Representatives because they did not believe the DP should participate in the other two Houses.

There is considerable unhappiness among former PFP members at the way members of the old PFP on the board were outgunned by members of the former Independent Party and the National Democratic Movement.

Sources said that nearly all the former PFP members on the board had voted against the decision to refuse membership to the three MPs.

The DP caucus — consisting largly of old PFP members — had on Thursday decided that Mr van Eck and the two MPs from the House of Representatives — Mr Charles Redcliffe from Schauderville and Mr Cecil Kippen, Durban Suburb — should be allowed into the party.

Sources said the issue had caused a huge row between DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Malan at the national board meeting.

And former PFP members are also dissatisfied at the way virtually all the positions decided on at the meeting went to non-PFP members.

The board said in a statement after the weekend meeting that it had decided "not to grant party membership to any of the present applicants who are Members of Parliament — in view of the imminent dissolution of Parliament".

Yesterday Mr van Eck said he was mystified by the decision. He had been invited to return to the PFP only a few months ago and had expressed his support for the DP's policy.

"The result of this decision will put a stumbling block in the way of building greater unity among all democrats left of government and the linking up with democrats outside Parliament.

"I find the decision most disappointing. Instead of being a broad-based party the DP seems to have opted for making iself a more conservative exclusive party."

He said the decision left him no alternative but to contest Claremont as an independent democrat.

Mr Redcliffe said the decision could only have been motivated by political expediency.

Dissatisfaction in DP over 'trade-off'

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Going all out for Linden

Sies 18/4/81

3049

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The Democratic Party has given early notice of plans to throw all its resources into the coming municipal by-election in Linden.

DP council leader Mr Tony Leon yesterday fired the first salvo in the contest, attacking the ruling National Party in a personal letter to each of the 4 829 registered voters in Ward 3.

At the same time he announced the DP was already considering the nominations of several top people and would announce its candidate on May 2.

He said he saw this by-election as the most exciting and critical in the last 30 years.

The boundaries of the ward include the whole of Linden and the Johannesburg enclave of Blairgowrie, providing a fair mix of voters roughly divided into 55 percent Afrikaans and 45 percent English-speaking residents.



The ruling National Party in the Johannesburg City Council last night voted veteran councillor Mr Jan Burger as the new management committee chairman and Mrs Marietta Marx as his deputy. She is the first woman to hold this position. Star 18/4/89 (304A) ● Picture by Sean Woods.

Jo'burg 'old guard' win fight

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

It was victory for the National Party "old guard" last night when acting Johannesburg management committee chairman Mr Jan Burger (61) narrowly defeated "verligte" Mrs Marietta Marx for the chairman's job.

But it appears the tough behind-the-scenes battle for supremacy, which was waged between the northern and southern suburbs factions in the National Party, has left the "new generation" Nats angry and bruised.

Early in the day it became clear that southern suburbs MPs Mr Andre Fourie and Mrs Sheila Camerer, a former NP councillor, had canvassed support for Mr Burger by implying Mr Pik Botha, leader of the Nationalist Party in Johannesburg, was backing the Burger camp.

'REFORM TO BE SPEEDED UP'

But Nat sources later indicated that Mr Botha had refused to become involved in caucus affairs.

The shock promotion was that of "old guard" mayor Mr Koos Roets to the management committee ahead of fancied "verligte" candidates.

The new chairman of the council is former mayor Mr Jan van Blerk and Mr Theuns Oosthuizen moves onto the managememt committee on a caretaker basis for Mr Roets until February next year.

The shock omission was verligte Mr Hein Kruger from the management committee. Mr Eddie Venter was unanimously voted chief whip in place of Mr Oosthuizen.

Mrs Marx's promotion to deputy management chairman has continued her meteoric rise in the NP ranks since her election in October. She also becomes the first woman to hold the position in Johannesburg.

Although she commented after the election: "Mr Burger has the experience and I have the energy," she refused to comment on the leadership struggle, merely saying she supported Mr Burger in his new role.

Mr Burger promised that reform in Johannesburg would be speeded up and indicated the first move was a meeting this week between himself, Mrs Marx and four top officials with four Ministers in Cape Town "to get certain points clarified".

"We will not only adopt the positive forward-looking approach outlined by the State President, but we will strengthen the city's financial position and improve the housing situation," Mr Burger said.

Going all out for Linden

Sters 18/4/87

30/4

By Shirley Woodgate, Municipal Reporter

The Democratic Party has given early notice of plans to throw all its resources into the coming municipal by-election in Linden.

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Peri-Urban Board puts job ads in CP paper

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

A Government institution, the Transvaal Board for the Development of Peri-Urban Areas, has placed advertisements in the official CP mouthpiece, *Patriot*, because a Conservative Party-controlled local area committee insisted that its job vacancies be advertised in the newspaper.

Peri-Urban Board secretary Mr Con Joubert said the local area committee of Klipriver Valley, which would soon become an independent town council but still was under the board's authority, offered to pay for the advertisements.

The advertisements were for job vacancies in the Klipriver Valley local area authority.

"It is not standard policy to advertise in party-political publications. We normally advertise in publications which provide the biggest coverage — the daily newspapers," Mr Joubert said.

Asked whether he condoned local government positions being advertised in party-political publications, Mr Joubert said: "I don't think we should have done it since *Patriot* does not provide the widest possible coverage. But then, it was the committee's money, not the board's."

Patriot editor Mr Z P du Toit said the Peri-Urban Board had advertised before in the newspaper. But Mr Joubert denied this, saying this was the first time.

PW makes Mandela a 'new' offer

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The State President, Mr P W Botha, suggested yesterday that Nelson Mandela could be released if he was "ready to contribute to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future".

The statement in Parliament came amid heightened speculation of an imminent release of Mandela. But it was not clear if Mr Botha had altered the conditions for Mandela's release.

A senior Government source said there had been a slight shift but that Mr Botha had essentially re-stated existing policy more positively.

Instead of saying that Mandela must forswear violence, Mr Botha was saying he should contribute to peace. The source stressed the Government still retained the prerogative to release Mandela in any circumstances.

DAMPENED

Democratic Party MP Mrs Helen Suzman, who last week appealed to Mr Botha to go down in history as the man who gave freedom to Mandela, said last night Mr Botha had dampened the optimism of those who had hoped for an imminent release.

"It looks now as though it will have to be his successor. I don't think he has changed any of the criteria for his release."

Speaking during the Parliamentary debate on the State President's vote yesterday, Mr Botha said: "If he (Mandela) is ready to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future I will personally welcome it. In such a case the Government would react with sincerity,".

Mr Botha said that "due to various considerations", the Government was treating the question of Mandela's release with the utmost care.

"Among these considerations are Mr Mandela's age and his long term of imprisonment, the emotional and international dimensions of the matter, the interests of the community and the security in the country."

It would be "futile if his release led to his re-arrest and

More liberty in SA than in Soviet Union, says journalist

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa is moving far closer and faster to something that resembles freedom than is the Soviet Union, says Charles Moore, a British journalist visiting Moscow.

In an article in the *Daily Express*, Moore, who is editor of the British weekly magazine, *The Spectator*, says he has often been struck by the comparison with South Africa.

Both are regimes struggling rather unsuccessfully to improve themselves, and both are weighed down by bureaucracy and held back by huge inequality. The changes are comparable, yet there is a huge difference.

SMILE

"Despite the fact that South Africa is anyway much less oppressive than the Soviet Union, people never give it the benefit of the doubt. The changes, they say, are only cosmetic.

"With Russia, they are absurdly over-generous. Mr Gorbachev has only to smile to be called the greatest peace-lover of our time.

"Blacks are shot in Soweto and there is, rightly, international outrage. Rioters are killed in Georgia and everyone finds it very understandable. Minute new freedoms, allowing petty private enterprise, are seized on as changes of heart.

"Yet the truth is that Soviet communism is a deep habit of mind, deeper than apartheid.

"The world may get sour looks from Botha and broad grins from Gorbachev, but South Africa is moving closer, far faster to something that one would recognise as freedom than is the Soviet Union."

PW: 'Simple' federalism not SA solution

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Parliamentary Staff

SOUTH Africa could learn much from constitutional models used in countries such as Switzerland and Belgium, but it was simplistic to suggest that a federal system was the key to the country's constitutional problems, said President Botha.

However, there were no objections to a federal system in principle and federation could not be ruled out as a future political model.

During a wide-ranging address in debate on his budget vote yesterday, Mr Botha emphasised the necessary bond between security and reform. Reform heightened people's aspirations and expectations, as well as fears and uncertainties.

Instability and conflict were among the natural products of reform and the absence of co-ordinated security would jeopardise the reform process.

Lessons

Mr Botha said he had always believed South Africa's unique circumstances required unique solutions, but this did not mean there were no lessons to be learned elsewhere.

The Swiss had found a balance between accommodating group differences while maintaining a national identity.

Mr Botha said: "Although South Africa has geographical units which could form the cornerstones of a federation, although there are no objections to the principle of federation and although federation cannot be ruled out, it is an over-simplification to suggest that federation, as such, is the key to solving South Africa's constitutional problems."

Among the reasons for this were that there were more undemocratic than democratic federations in the world. The federal system alone did not provide answers to the problems of binding component states within a single nation in such a way as to prevent group domination.

In brief...

IT was because his nationhood was precious to him that the Afrikaner accepted the "multi-national nature" of the people of South Africa, said the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

■ ■ ■

A commission should be appointed to look at an alternative model for a constitution for South Africa, said the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse.

■ ■ ■

The Conservative Party opposed the Human Tissue Amendment Bill because its interpretation of the legislation was that genetic manipulation of a test tube embryo was not impossible, said Dr Willie Snyman (CP Pietersburg).

■ ■ ■

(Reports by Sapa).

Claremont DP told of Van Eck 'doubts'

Argus 18/4/89 (3049)

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Claremont constituency committee of the Democratic Party has, by a majority vote, accepted explanations from members of the party's national board of the decision not to give membership to Mr Jan van Eck, Independent MP for Claremont.

DP MPs are, however, continuing to receive calls from rank-and-file and potential supporters of the new party about the exclusion of Mr van Eck and three members of the House of Representatives, Mr Charles Redcliffe, Mr Cecil Kippin and Mr Archie Poole.

The feeling in these circles is that membership of the party and nomination as a party candidate in the coming general election are two different issues.

MAJORITY

Mr Tian van der Merwe MP and Mr Jannie Momberg, two members of the party's central executive, last night attended the Claremont meeting where the majority of members were also in favour of Mr van Eck being admitted as an ordinary member.

The two board members explained that there were doubts about how compatible a member of the party Mr van Eck would be, given his past record, and also dealt with the technicality of allowing public representatives to become members of a party shortly before an election.

One of the joint chairmen of the DP in Claremont, Mr Des van Ginkel, said in a statement that, after a frank discussion last night in which divergent views were expressed, a majority of the committee had accepted the board's decision.

He said the feelings of the committee were comprehensively reported to the board members present.

The committee had every intention of securing the Claremont seat for the DP and was planning accordingly.

Mr van Ginkel and the other co-chairman, Mr Gerald Richman, would not say what the feelings were about possible future membership of the party for Mr van Eck.

Some DP MPs fear that the exclusion of the three could harm the party after it had initially succeeded in bringing together elements thought at one stage to be politically incompatible.

They said a bad image could now be created by the way in which applications for membership by public representatives had been turned down.

In a statement Mr Redcliffe, said it appeared as if people of colour could become members of the DP only through the patronage of the exclusively white membership of its national board.

He said the party's professed non-racialism was hollow-sounding.

● See page 14.

Early tensions in the new DP

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

THE decision of the Democratic Party's national board to turn down the membership applications of three opposition MPs has led to renewed tensions in the new party.

POLITICS

The board's decision on Saturday went against a decision of the first caucus meeting of the party earlier in the week where it was decided that Mr Jan van Eck, Independent MP in the House of Assembly, and Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippin, MPs in the House of Representatives, should be admitted as members of the party.

In the case of the coloured MPs the caucus vote was unanimous and in the case of Mr Van Eck there were a few votes against.

Compatible

There was a proviso that the party leadership should talk to Mr Van Eck to ascertain whether he would fully support the party's policy be a compatible member of the DP.

The party would also make it clear to him that membership alone did not mean the party would commit itself to having him nominated as its candidate in Claremont.

In the same way, the two other MPs were to be told that membership did not mean that the party would be willing to support them in their canditature for the House of Representatives.

No final decision has yet been taken on whether the party will put up candidates for the House of Representatives.

Complicated

One school of thought in the DP is that the party should rather go for close relations with the Labour Party.

In addition there is the argument that efforts to establish contact with the extra-parliamentary movement would be complicated if the party tried to stand for the House of Representatives.

While prepared to accept that the party can play a role in the House of Assembly, extra-parliamentary movements are against its participation in the House of Representatives.

Meeting

In a statement after its meeting on Saturday the board provided only a bland reference to the membership issue, saying that it had, "in view of the imminent dissolution of Parliament, decided not to grant party membership to any of the present applicants who are Members of Parliament."

What happened at the meeting on Saturday was a compromise between factions supporting Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan and two of the former PFP members, Mr Harry Schwarz and Mr Dave Dalling.

It amounted to a trade-off between the two groups and this has upset some prominent DP supporters.

There are also indications of dissatisfaction among rank-and-file supporters and last night the matter was discussed at a meeting of the party's constituency committee in Claremont.

The membership apppli-cations of the three MPs were handled as one issue while some of the board members now feel that Mr Van Eck on the one hand and Mr Redcliffe and Mr Kippin on the other hand would have been allowed in as members had the applications been dealt with separately.

Dr Worrall had misigivings about whether Mr Van Eck could be a compatible member of the party and he also condemned his criticism of Inkatha as the DP is keen to have relations with the movement.

Misgivings

Mr Malan in turn had misgivings about allowing the other two MPs in as members because of the sensitivity of the issue of participation in the House of Representatives.

In the end the two groups supported each other along with the two former PFP supporters and there was a vote of 13-6 against granting membership to the two. Most of the former PFP members of the board were in the minority.

The argument of the minority was that a decision in principle in favour of membership for the three should have been taken with the understanding that some of the technical details still had to be worked out.

PW's 'message' to Mandela



President Botha

By TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent

NELSON Mandela has been given a copy of President Botha's speech in Parliament yesterday in which he referred to the contribution that the jailed ANC leader could make towards a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

According to a Prisons Service source, Mr Mandela was given a copy of the speech in his house in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison in Paarl soon after Mr Botha had spoken in Parliament and before the first radio report of the speech was broadcast.

The speech was largely a re-statement of the government's attitude that Mr Mandela must commit himself to non-violence.

But according to top government sources there were significant nuances in the speech.

They said the key part of the speech was Mr Botha's reference to Mr Mandela having a role to play.

While in the past Mr Botha had referred to conditions under which Mr Mandela could be freed, he had now invited him to become constructively involved.

Tackle together

The Argus Parliamentary Staff reports that Mr Botha said South Africa's problems could be solved if all South Africans had the will to tackle them together.

But it would be "futile" if Mr Mandela's release led to re-arrest and a rise of conflict, and no responsible head of state could subject South Africa to conditions in which the principles of democracy, private initiative and free enterprise were threatened.

Mr Botha's comments on Mr Mandela's imprisonment and the calls for his release came during his speech in a debate on the President's budget.

Several MPs, he noted, had mentioned Mr Mandela's imprisonment during the debate.

African and European heads of state had also raised the matter with him.

"Due to various considerations," Mr Botha said, "the government is treating the question of his release with the utmost care."

Comfortable

Mr Mandela now lived "in suitable, comfortable and secure living accommodation where he is able to receive members of his family more freely and on a continual basis".

"Although the circumstances of Mr Mandela's imprisonment have changed, the existing criteria for his release still apply."

Mr Botha added: "He himself has a role to play. If he is prepared to make a contribution to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's problem, I would welcome it personally."

More reports, page 8.

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● More reports, page 8.

the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

negotiating for a code of conduct to prevent similar incidents at the company's mines.

'GOVT BLOCKED FREE SETTLEMENT BID'

PETER DELMAR

AN ATTEMPT by Indian residents of Pageview to have the suburb declared a Free Settlement Area had been blocked by government, it was disclosed yesterday.

Save Pageview Association (SPA) chairman M F Varachia said yesterday Deputy Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Roelf Meyer had refused to support an application to the Free Settlement Areas Board.

Varachia said the SPA had asked President P W Botha last month for a Free Settlement Areas Board investigation into Pageview's future status. Botha referred the matter to Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Chris Heunis, who handed it to Meyer.

According to a letter released by the SPA yesterday, Meyer decided the Pageview application could not be supported after conferring with House of Assembly Local Government and Housing Minister Amie Venter and interested bodies.

CP pleads for new deal on seats

3049 B Day 19/4/89

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The CP made an impassioned plea yesterday for redelimitation of parliamentary seats before the next general election.

It added this was because of what it called the chaotic state of constituencies.

Home Affairs spokesman Koos van der Merwe said a survey showed 60 of the Transvaal's 76 House of Assembly constituencies had more voters than the national average of 18 000.

This meant the province had 500 000 "worthless" votes.

The CP wanted the total number of voters eligible in each constituency to be about the same number.

It claimed if the Cape had so many extra voters it would be entitled to 35 more seats.

Transvaal constituencies had 6 015 more voters for each seat if the numbers in the Transvaal were compared with the rest of the country.

The CP said if the Transvaal's 166 white constituencies were retained the province deserved at least 89 seats more, the Cape 11 fewer than its 56 and the Free State and Natal each one fewer than now.

It said there was time to have full redelimitation before the next general election.

Govt gearing up for SA's biggest general election

B 11 Dec 19/11/86

30 6 A

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday government was already gearing for the country's biggest election, even though a date had not yet been announced.

It would be the first time that white, coloured and Indian voters would go to the polls on the same day and it was possible that all 306 constituencies in the three chambers of Parliament would be contested.

Almost twice as many electoral officials as normal would have to be found, many of whom would have to be trained for the job. New electoral laws were also about to be introduced.

Botha said that since the voters rolls were based on the Population Register, his department theoretically had 100% of white voters, 95,1% of Indian and 94,2% of coloureds on the rolls.

"But, to be up to date we also have to have the voter's most recent residential address," Botha said.

Political Staff

Before the 1987 Assembly election the campaign to have voters register their latest residential address led to 1,3-million voters being added to the rolls.

Now his department had to deal with three different chambers and he hoped the registration campaign would be as successful as the last.

In the meantime, everything was being done to eliminate errors from the rolls. The department's computer system was being upgraded and already 75 000 mistakes had been rectified on the Assembly rolls. A serious problem involving the other two chambers was that many voters were registered under their postal addresses.

Botha issued a stern warning against people who changed other voters' addresses so that they could not vote in their own constituencies.

Former PFP members angry at 'act of chicanery'

DP board to reconsider membership decision

B/Day 19/4/89

304A

CAPE TOWN — Amid a growing outcry over its decision to reject applications for membership by four MPs, the DP national board has agreed to reconsider its decision.

The board's executive committee said last night the matter would be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the full board on May 1.

It said at its meeting yesterday it had taken note of representations received from party formations and individuals in regard to the decision on membership made at the weekend.

As a result it had been decided to place the matter on the agenda of the full board's next meeting. "Naturally, that does not commit the board to any course of action, but further close attention will be given to these extremely difficult matters."

The board's decision has come about because of extreme unhappiness among former PFP members over the rejection of membership for three coloured MPs and Jan van Eck (Claremont independent).

The former PFP members are increasingly realising the structure of the board has effectively resulted in their

MIKE ROBERTSON

losing control of the party to a collection of former IP and NDM members.

While the caucus, which is dominated by former PFP MPs, voted almost unanimously to admit the coloured MPs and by 12-6 to admit Van Eck, when the matter was decided by the board Wynand Malan and his ex-NDM members, Denis Worrall and his former IP members, as well as members of the so-called "fourth force" voted to bar membership to all four MPs.



● WORRALL

The NDM and the "fourth force" were opposed to admitting the coloured MPs, for the reason that this would affect the new party's chances of developing links with the LP and those involved in the "struggle". They did not oppose Van Eck. The IP members were opposed to Van Eck because of remarks he had made about Inkatha, but were happy to accept the coloured MPs.

They hammered out a compromise which resulted in all applications being rejected. The reason given was that due to the imminent election it had been decided not to admit any sitting MPs.

Senior former PFP MPs described this as an "act of chicanery" and complained that in spite of bringing most of the membership and funds to the new party, it had been hijacked.

The reason is that the structure of the 22-member board — with four members of each of the former parties as well as the "fourth force", the three leaders, two caucus members and Jaspar Walsh (DP Pinelands) representing the head office — means there are only eight former PFP members on it.

Former NDM leader Malan, who has attracted most opprobrium for the decision on the MPs, yesterday continued to defend it. He said it had to be remembered the DP had attracted messages of support from a wide range of organisations at its launch.

Some of these messages expressed support and the possibility existed of forging links with those organisations.

"We did not deal with the merits or demerits of particular individuals but decided to refuse membership pending developing our own programme and defining our image."

Suzman to query fine in Parliament

Star 19/4/89

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Close political and legal scrutiny is being given to the case of two farmers who were each fined R1 200 for brutally assaulting a farm worker — who later died of brain haemorrhage.

Louis Johannes Venter (35) and Pieter Marthinus Fouche (34), were tried in the Klerksdorp Regional Court last week.

Mr Stephen Mononye had been tied to a tree and brutally assaulted by the two farmers who accused him of having stolen two cows. He later died of brain haemorrhage.

The farmers were each fined R1 200 or four months' imprisonment, plus a further six months' jail suspended for five years.

Venter and Fouche originally pleaded not guilty to charges of culpable homicide, kidnapping and two counts of assault. However, they later changed their plea to guilty on two counts of assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, yesterday said she would definitely raise the matter in Parliament.

"This sort of sentence brings the South African judicial system into disrepute. I hope the relatives of the dead man will be taking civil action," she said.

● Mrs Suzman failed in an attempt last month to have Transvaal judge Mr Justice J J Strydom impeached by Parliament.

One judgment handed down by Judge Strydom involved a case, dubbed the "tree killing", heard in the Circuit Court in Louis Trichardt last year.

Jacobus Vorster and Petrus Leonard tied a farm labourer, who had allegedly killed a puppy, to a tree and assaulted him over a long period. He died as a result.

Found guilty of culpable homicide, Vorster received a five-year prison sentence suspended for five years. One of the conditions was that he pay R130 a month to the deceased's family, with a further fine of R3 000 payable in instalments.

Leonard was found guilty of assault and fined R500 or three months' imprisonment.

The leniency of this sentence, and others imposed by Judge Strydom, caused an outcry in political and legal circles.

The Johannesburg Bar Council, which publicly criticised the sentence of Vorster and Leonard, said yesterday it would study the case of the State v Venter and Fouche before commenting.

Ex-Nat bullies have tarnished DP's image

Cape Times 19/4/89 Page 3

THE way in which ex-Nats ganged up to bar the membership of a number of MPs to the Democratic Party at the weekend is likely to tarnish the image and credibility of the new party for some time.

The brazen opportunism of this move by Johnnies-come-lately to the democratic scene has left even veteran parliamentarians aghast.

The decision to reject the MPs' membership applications came as particular shock to a numbers because only two days earlier the parliamentary caucus of the DP voted unanimously (with one abstention) to admit Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippen to the party.

The caucus — which had been asked to vote on the matter by the DP's National Board — came out 12-6 in favour of Mr Jan van Eck's inclusion in the party.

Nobody fooled

At Saturday's National Board meeting — at which former PFP members were outnumbered 2-1 — DP co-leaders Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall struck a deal whereby all three MPs were sidelined. Little wonder former Progs have been talking in terms of "a hijack."

And to compound matters, nobody has been fooled by the official reason offered by the National Board for rejecting the MPs — that because of the imminent dissolution of Parliament prior to the general election, it would not accept any applications from sitting MPs.

Not only had the 'reason' — dismissed as "transparent nonsense" by one senior MP — not cropped up in earlier party discussions on the issue but it flew in the face of precedent and the stated objectives of the new party.

If the National Board's statement is to be taken seriously, it means any Nationalist MPs attempting to cross the floor to the DP at this critical pre-election stage would be sent packing.

After repeated statements that the DP was "going for power", it now appears to be doing its level best to fend off other MPs — even if they subscribe to the DP's policies and principles (such as they are) and agree to submit to party discipline.

Equal basis

Any Nationalist MP approaching the party under the cricumstances would need his head read.

And with the shoddy treatment meted out to MPs of colour attempting to join the party, aspirant members who are not white can be forgiven for believing that they may not be treated on a equal basis with whites.

At this stage at least, politicians of colour appear acceptable to the new party only insofar as they do not harbour ambitions of standing for Parliament. Unless, of course, you happen to be Mr John Iyman, MP for Camperdown and perhaps best known in parliamentary circles for the number of times he has switched parties (three times so far this year).

For reasons that remain obscure, Mr Iyman, who is still listed in official parliamentary documents as a member of Solidarity, was allowed to quietly join the DP while the party sat on the membership applications of other MPs of colour.

All eyes

This has angered MPs who have been denied membership since it would indicate that the DP's principles are, at best, flexible. The only other explanation might be the Mr Iyman's earlier membership of Dr Worrall's Independent Party gave him an advantage fellow MPs do not enjoy.

Following the latest manoeuverings within the DP, all eyes are now on Dr Worrall. Questions are being asked about whether he has the stomach to take on Mr Chris Heunis and the National Party machine in Helderberg again.

While Dr Worrall has been careful not to publicly commit himself to any particular seat, his hunt for an easily winnable opposition seat has not gone unnoticed in DP circles.

This has come as a surprise to many DP members as Dr Worrall rarely misses an opportunity to emphasize the importance for the opposition to take seats and voters away from the Nationalists.

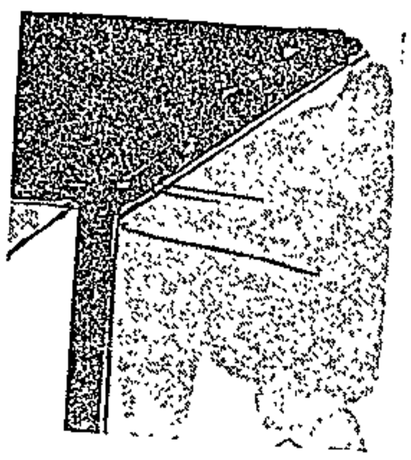
Cushy seat

An earlier attempt to poach the Durban Central seat of Mr Peter Gastrow came to grief when Dr Worrall underestimated the territorial instint of the incumbent.

Dr Worrall then proceeded to ruffle feathers in PFP circles as he turned his eye to the cushy Berea seat, where the sitting MP, Mr Ray Swart, was widely tipped retire at the next election.

However, former Progs have signalled their determination to ward off any raid on the traditional PFP seat by Dr Worrall and appears to have stirred Mr Swart to consider standing once again.

The question on lips of many DP members now is: "Having got rid of Van Eck, will he now go for his seat?"



Party rethinks ban on four MPs

19/4/89
30CA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A GRASSROOTS revolt has forced the Democratic Party to review its decision to bar four MPs.

DP sources frankly admitted that there had been "a revolt" among the youth wing of the party, as well as rank-and-file members, at the weekend decision by the National Board to bar the MPs.

Protest action included threats to resign from the party, refusals to canvass or collect money and the cancellation of debit orders pledging money to the DP's R20-million fund-raising drive.

A number of former PFP supporters were confidently predicting last night that the DP would be forced to backtrack on its earlier decision to exclude the MPs — Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Charles Redcliffe, Mr Cecil Kippen and Mr Archie Pool.

'Fourth force'

But others cautioned that representatives of the NDM, IP and the so-called "fourth force" held the balance of power on the all-powerful, 22-member National Board which had vetoed the membership of the MPs in the first place.

The first formal admission by the DP that it might have made a mistake in sidelining the MPs was contained in a statement released last night after a meeting of the executive committee of the National Board in Cape Town.

The statement noted that the excutive committee "took note of a number of representations" regarding the board's decision on Saturday on membership applications.

"In the light of these, the executive committee, which is responsible for the preparation of agendas,

To page 2

From page 1

will place the matter on the agenda once more at the board's next meeting, due to be held on May 1."

The statement concluded: "Naturally, that does not commit the board to any course of action, but further attention will be given to these extremely difficult matters." Cape Times 19/4/89 30CA

The Democratic Party's national board had decided on Saturday not to accept membership applications from three MPs against the background that the DP's position vis a vis such organisations as Inkatha and the Labour Party could have been predetermined, Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the DP, said last night.

Addressing a public meeting in Stellenbosch, he said the board's decision had had nothing to do with the merits of the people who had applied for membership.

The DP needed time now to go out and speak to organisations over a wide political spectrum and it needed time to think about and define its own position.

Mr Malan said apart from the three MPs who had applied, there were further applications or indications that such applications could be expected.

Cape Times
19/4/89
30CA

Anita Worrall set for ANC talks

Political Staff

DR Anita Worrall, wife of one of the co-leaders of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, heads for Harare today as one of a party of 55 South African women who will hold talks with the ANC and other groups.

The group will hold three days of talks on "Women in the Challenge for Peace" with members of the Zimbabwe government, the ANC and others in exile.

The trip is being sponsored by Idasa.

Others in the party being led by Mrs Jenny Boraine include Dr Selma Browde, Jennifer Fergusson, singer; Irna van Zyl, the editor of De Kat; Ms Joyce Kgoali of Actwusa; Mrs Elsa Schreiner, mother of treason trialist Jenny Schreiner, and Durban city councillor Mrs Margaret Winter.

DP to reconsider MPs' applications

5 Apr 1974 | 8 7

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

304A

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has bowed to pressure and will reconsider its controversial weekend decision not to grant party membership to four MPs.

The executive committee of the national board decided yesterday the membership applications would be considered again at the next meeting of the full board on May 1.

This followed a flood of protests and several resignations flowing from the weekend decision to turn down the membership applications of independent Claremont MP Mr Jan van Eck and three MPs from the House of Representatives — Mr Charles Redliffe (Schauderville), Mr Clive Kippen (Durban Suburbs) and Mr Archie Poole (Belhar).

SA women on mission to Harare

By Dawn Barkhuizen

About 50 South African women leave for Harare today to meet Zimbabwean women in a four-day congress entitled "Women in the struggle for peace".

They are to meet Mrs Sally Mugabe, wife of Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, African National Congress members, women members of the Zimbabwe government and South African women in exile.

The South African delegation is being led by Mrs Jenny Boraine, part-time consultant for the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The congress will focus on the role of Zimbabwean women during the bush war and in the aftermath.

Nats ready to clarify their policy, says official

Star 19/4/89
304R

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The National Party has embarked on a huge organisational drive in view of the general election this year, NP Transvaal chief secretary Dr Lucas Nel said yesterday.

"We are presently concentrating on tidying up voters' lists and expanding organisational infrastructures," he said.

Candidates for the 45 NP-held seats in the Transvaal will be announced in June, while NP candidates in seats held by opposition parties will be announced in May.

VAGUE POLICIES

Asked to respond to complaints by NP organisers in last year's three parliamentary by-elections that the Nationalist lost votes because of vague policies at the time, Dr Nel said the NP's constitutional plans were clearer now.

"My feeling is that there is greater clarity. We are presently working on strategies and addressing problem areas.

"We have a positive policy to sell and we will do so with vigour. In our election manifesto we will draw clear lines on where we want to go under the dynamic leadership of our young new leader (Mr F W de Klerk)," Dr Nel said.

'PETTY GOSSIP'

He predicted that the Conservative Party would fight the election on "petty gossip politics and a distortion of facts", while the Democratic Party would try to offer an alternative to the NP.

"The DP has a sweet-sounding constitution which is as wide as the ocean and as shallow as a teaspoon."

CP predictions that it would win an additional 30 seats from the NP in the Transvaal were ridiculous, he said.

CP may win 52 Transvaal seats, predicts Beyers

8 Feb 1994 p3 304 WT

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

The Conservative Party could add another 30 parliamentary seats to the 22 it presently held in the Transvaal, the official opposition's Transvaal director of organisation, Mr Kobus Beyers, predicted yesterday.

After this year's general election, a hung Parliament could be obtained with the Democratic Party holding the balance of power, he said.

"The DP will have to put up at least 100 candidates countrywide to prove its credibility. If they fare well, they can become a significant force. But we are not even giving a thought to the DP becoming the official opposition."

At present, the National Party holds 45 seats in the Transvaal, the CP 22 and the DP 7 — including Parktown Progressive Federal Party MP Dr Marius Barnard, who has said he will not join the DP.

Two Transvaal seats, Lydenburg and Hillbrow, are vacant.

Mr Beyers said the CP would win Lydenburg and Nelspruit, the only two Transvaal rural seats presently held by the NP.

"In the platteland we cannot really improve our record. Our most important challenge lies in suburban constituencies. We will make huge inroads among blue-collar workers in the cities."

Election issues would be Government corruption, group areas, the NP's constitutional plans, the weak economy and Namibia.

In the Transvaal, the CP's nomination courts would sit on April 29. Unopposed and approved candidates would be announced on May 6, he said.

1 000-strong audience gives DP leaders a warm welcome

Political Staff

Dismissing qualms about its troika leadership, the Democratic Party's three captains commanded the attention of nearly 1 000 people at their first public meeting in Stellenbosch last night.

Applause, but no heckling, punctuated the two-hour meeting.

An appeal for order, at the start, seemed to suggest the organisers anticipated a rowdy response, but applause, rather than barracking, proved the reverse.

Each of the troika earned his share of approval.

Mr Wynand Malan's charge that while poverty worsened and civil and human rights declined, the only things that grew were "tax and corruption" was the first to have the audience clapping.

Next at the lectern, Dr Denis Worrall won favour with his demand for "an about-turn in the policies that have taken us down this road".

There was more clapping when he said: "The Government must stop playing games with Nelson Mandela. In the name of justice and common sense, we say Mandela must be released unconditionally now."

There was applause for Dr Zach de Beer when he said the "time for democracy has come" and, later in his speech, warned that "censorship breeds corruption, so does unaccountable government by officials. Bright sunlight and a fresh wind are the best cleansers".

The toughest rebuke, during questions, came from a young woman who objected to the DP's publicity T-shirt. It was, she claimed, offensively sexist.

There were titters of amusement when Dr de Beer misheard the complaint, thinking she considered the garment "sexy".

However, Dr Worrall snatched the initiative, promising, as the party's marketing man, to "look closely at it in view of the fact that you find it offensive".

In jest, he added: "I would never regard a T-shirt as a sexy thing. Only what's inside it."

Several questioners cast doubt on the electoral attractiveness of the troika leadership.

As an amalgam of three parties, Dr Worrall said, the DP needed a "new leadership structure".

"We appreciate the concern about the leadership, but it is essential at this stage to have three leaders because we want the supporters of the three parties to be consolidated in the new party."

If he had been chosen as a single leader, certain members of the PFP would have become disaffected. The same applied to the other co-leaders.

"We believe this will work.

"It will be monitored and, if necessary, we will hold a congress where we will look at the leadership structure, and if it does not work, we will make other plans."

'Goodbye, we'll meet again' — PW

The State President, Mr P W Botha yesterday rejected as "conspicuously bad politics" attempts to drive a wedge between himself and the National Party.

There had been some differences of opinion, but his objectives, in putting South Africa first, and those of the party, remained one.

"I helped to build the National Party and I am not going to help destroy it," he declared.

He would not allow differences between himself and the party to become insuperable.

During what was possibly his last contribution to debate on a presidential Budget vote, he said: "I am not here to give a tearful greeting or a nostalgic farewell.

"I simply want to say goodbye and say that we will meet again on the path ahead."

While admitting there had been some differences between himself and the party caucus and federal council, the Conservative Party's "obvious" efforts to drive a wedge between him and the NP had been to "no effect".

He thanked MPs for the laudatory tributes they had paid, though at times he wondered if he was at the right State President's Budget vote debate.

He added: "Judging by what has been said here, I think that when I was criticised in the past, I could not have been as bad as I was made out to be."

Pik in secret meeting with Frontliners?

MBABANE — The fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik, Pik Botha, will represent South Africa at the 21st birthday celebrations of King Mswati III today has sparked rumours here of a possible mini-summit with the Frontline states.

It is believed a "secret" meeting may take place between Mr Botha and Frontline leaders, or their representatives.

Political observers here say the presence in Swaziland of President Kaunda of Zambia, President Chissano of Mozambique, the vice-president of Botswana and Mr Botha could provide an ideal opportunity for an initial meeting.

PRESSURE ON ANC

These face-to-face talks could, diplomatic circles believe, start a process leading to a negotiated settlement of the southern Africa region's disputes.

A similar "secret mini-summit" took place in Swaziland about eight years ago when the late King Sobhuza called together leaders from Mozambique, Zambia and South Africa with whom he held separate discussions on the region's problems.

Rumours also gained ground in diplomatic circles yesterday that the Frontline states were currently applying pressure on the ANC leadership in Lusaka to agree to renounce violence as a first step to a negotiated settlement in South Africa. — Sapa

Home Affairs gears up for election

Drive to register voters a huge task

Star 19/4/89 - 3044

The Department of Home Affairs was in the voters' hands regarding compiling updated voters rolls based on the latest address changes, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, said in Parliament yesterday.

Introducing the committee stage Budget debate on his Vote, he said he would like to give the assurance that all changes of address received by the department prior to the closure of voters lists would be included in these lists.

He trusted that the campaign which the department had already started to update rolls would produce the same good results as in the 1987 General Election.

Political parties had offered excellent co-operation during that campaign in reporting several hundred thousand address changes.

The department's campaign would be followed soon by radio talks, flashes on TV and radio, advertisements in newspapers and periodicals, posters and pamphlets.

Mr Botha said the training of electoral personnel for this year's election would be an exceptional task.

The election would be the first for voters for all three Houses at the same time.

The proposed Elections and Identification Amendment Bill still had to be debated in Parliament.

Training

His department was proceeding with the preparaton of new election manuals, the printing of new election forms and the training of personnel to cope with new election procedures.

It was possible that all 306 Parliamentary constituencies could be contested.

Double the number of returning officers would have to be recruited, and then there would also have to be additional presiding officers, polling officers and counting officers involved in every constituency.

To recruit suitable offcers was a daunting task and, as in the past, his department would have to rely heavily on other State departments for help.

Mr Botha said he would also like to appeal urgently to his colleagues in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates to make available competent officials from departments under their control.

His department expected to start training early next month.

Politicians should not try to exploit any officials' inexperience.

"Our aim must be to enable the maximum number of voters to cast their votes."

Mr Botha said it was known that a delimitation of constituencies would have to take place soon.

The department would like to be fully prepared for this and was already standardising its computerised address register at a considerable cost.

He warned that stern action would be taken against people found perpetrating fictitious address changes. — Sapa.

DP forced to rethink ban on MPs

MK6 S 19/4/89 30 CA

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

MOUNTING tension in the Democratic Party has caused the executive of its national board to rethink the question of membership for four opposition MPs.

There have been some resignations from the party over the issue, but, according to a top official, not on a large scale.

In addition, public representatives and the party's regional office in the Western Cape have received letters and telephone calls from supporters who are unhappy about the decision to refuse the MPs membership.

Some of these were from supporters of Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, who was one of those whose application was turned down.

Leaders meet

Others maintained that, with its non-racial approach, the party did not have the right to withhold membership from anyone.

The feeling among rank-and-file members is that membership and candidature for Parliament are two separate issues.

Some DP leaders fear there could be a stream of applications from MPs in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates and that these people would expect the party to back them in the coming elections.

Others say it could have been explained to coloured MPs that membership did not mean party backing in an election.

The three joint leaders, Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan met yesterday.

After its meeting the executive said it had taken note of a number of representations received from the party and individuals, and that the membership question would be put on the agenda of the next meeting on May 1.

"Secret deals"

This did not commit the board to any course of action, but further close attention would be given to "these extremely difficult matters".

There is tension on other issues in the new party. Senior former Progressive Federal Party members are claiming they were double-crossed by their new colleagues.

They allege secret deals between former Independent Party members, former supporters of the National Democratic Party and members of the so-called "fourth force" had led to the three groups grabbing some of the top posts, and the turning down of a caucus recommendation in favour of membership for the MPs.

They pointed out that the PFP hardly won any positions on the sub-committees of the 21-member board.

This could only have happened if the other parties had ganged up.

What annoyed the former PFP members particularly was the clout the miniscule NDM had gained with one of its supporters, Mr D P de Villiers, being chairman of the board and two chairing sub-committees.

police officers to probe accusations that

such unlawful acts," he said. "I will not allow such actions to go unpunished."

SA WOMEN SEEK ANSWER IN HARARE

CAPE TOWN — About 50 leading SA women, including Dr Anita Worrall, wife of DP co-leader Denis Worrall, left for Harare yesterday for a three-day conference which will explore women's role in the conflict in SA.

3049

According to Idasa, which is co-hosting the meeting with the Zimbabwean government, the conference will bring together a broad spectrum of SA women, including some who are living in exile, and Zimbabwean women.

The SA delegation, led by Jenny Boraine, includes business and professional women, academics, women who are active in church and welfare work, politics and women's organisations.

"Women in SA can learn from the experiences of Zimbabwean women, black and white: how they dealt with a war situation, how it affected them and their families, and how they have, since the seven-year civil war, been involved in a process of reconciliation and adjustment to a non-racial society," Idasa said.

Delegates will look at how SA can avoid the extremes of polarisation and bitterness "that were both the cause and result of the Rhodesian war."

The conference will end on Saturday. — Sapa.

Star/Daily 20/4/89

PETER DELMAR

Williamson likely to contest East Rand seat

FORMER "superspy" and now President's Council councillor Craig Williamson is unlikely to contest the opposition stronghold of Houghton where he is NP chairman and is being tipped to stand on the East Rand.

The NP believes it has its best-ever chance to take Houghton in the general election and is expected to put up marketing manager Dawid Dusseljee as its candidate in Helen Suzman's seat of 30 years. The local NP office declined to comment.

It is still unclear who will succeed Suzman and defend the area for the DP. The names of former MPC Irene Menell and DP Johannesburg council leader Tony Leon have been mentioned as likely candidates, with DP co-leader Zach de Beer likely to stand in the Parktown seat to be vacated by Marius Barnard.

□ NP Transvaal secretary Lucas Nel said a former Cabinet minister had been provisionally accepted as the party's candidate in the CP-held Carletonville constituency.

He said a formal decision would still be taken by the NP Carletonville committee on whether to accept former Deputy Information Minister Louis Nel.

Redelimitation impractical, says Stoffel

CAPE TOWN — A redelimitation of constituencies before this year's general election would not be practical, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on the Home Affairs Vote, he said that if a delimitation was done before legislation already introduced had been passed by Parliament, the imbalance in constituencies would have to be accepted for another five years.

Sapa reports that Botha said government wanted to deal with the matter "in its full consequence".

Our political staff reports that government might consider extending the date of a redelimitation of House of Assembly seats, which could end the controversy over holding an election so soon before a new division must be held.

K D Swanepoel (NP Gezina) suggested the delimitation be delayed to coincide with the 1994 delimitation of seats in the other two chambers.

Botha, in reply, said: "The suggestion that a delimitation be delayed to a later date deserves serious attention."

DP co-leaders respond to membership furore

CAPE TOWN — The DP was not prepared to have its agenda or its political positioning pre-empted by the admission of public representatives with established affiliations, co-leader Wynand Malan said yesterday.

He and co-leaders Zach de Beer and Denis Worrall faced the media on the controversy surrounding the DP's national board decision at the weekend not to allow membership applications from four MPs.



● MALAN

Malan said: "We come from three different directions and we need to find our precise positioning." This process was still in progress and could not be allowed to be influenced by admitting public representatives who had particular established connections with persons and organisations which would dictate, by association, the positioning of the DP.

The DP would start defining itself by such admissions with respect to its relations with other organisations and individuals.

The party's formation implied there was agreement on a general direction.

Malan said: "The decision merely amounts to a postponement of the applications. The polemic and objections which have arisen have led to a decision that the applications be taken into consideration again at the board's next meeting on May 1."

De Beer said the DP wanted to consider all the related implications of admitting public representatives.

On the issue of the party's possible clash with the LP, inherent in granting membership to some of the MPs, De Beer said the DP was committed to strive for power in all three Houses of Parliament. However, the practical implications of this decision still had to be determined in terms of suitable timing, strategy and resources.

In the meantime, the party had friendly relations with the LP and private attempts had been made to dissuade the MPs on the basis that the DP could not, at present, support them in an election contest against the LP.

Dealing with the application of Jan van Eck (Claremont independent), Worrall said: "The problem is Van Eck is an MP and, since leaving the PFP, he has created a role for himself with certain relationships established with organisations and individuals. Admitting him means the DP's agenda will be determined, to a certain extent, by his connections and contacts." — Sapa.

Nel to fight CP in Carletonville

Former Deputy Minister of Information, Mr Louis Nel, has been provisionally chosen as the National Party's candidate for the Conservative Party-held Carletonville seat in the election expected in September.

Transvaal NP secretary, Dr Lucas Nel, confirmed that Mr Nel had been provisionally chosen by the Carletonville NP committee, pending a proper election under the party's constitution.

But Mr Nel remained silent on the issue.

NP sources said yesterday they regarded Carletonville as the most vulnerable seat held by the CP. — Political Correspondent.

Leon challenges NP's 'reactionary' Burger

Municipal Reporter

Mr Jan Burger's promotion to management committee chairman in Johannesburg has been slated by Democratic Party council leader, Mr Tony Leon as "a triumph of reaction over the forces of reform".

Referring to the triumph of the NP "old guard" in the recent reshuffle, he said: "The election of Mr Burger proves the NP was not prepared to do what we in the Progressive Federal Party did last year and have a complete clean sweep in the party.

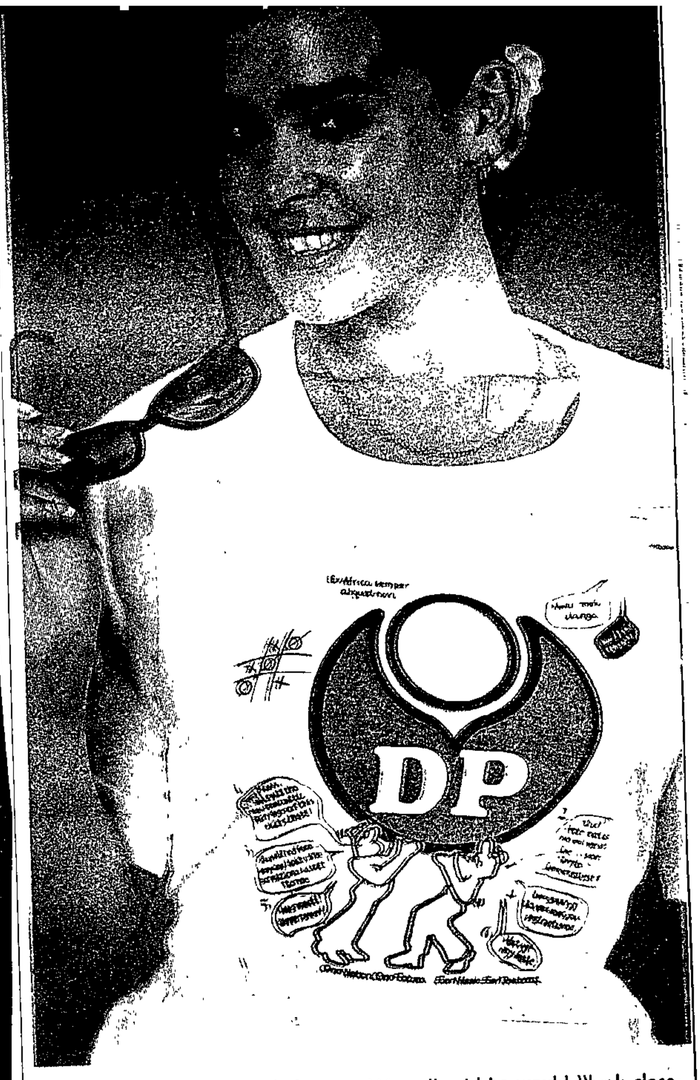
"Obviously those timid spirits interested only in maintaining the status quo will remain captives of a racist and backward-looking administration."

He has thrown down a challenge to the new NP leader to a public debate, saying that if Mr Burger found this "too confrontational", he would settle for an open forum arranged by The Star for a public exchange of ideas.

● The NP last night unanimously elected attorney Mr Johann Marnitz (38) as its candididate in the municipal by-election in Ward 3 (Linden).

He said he had been available in October, but stood back for the late Mr Danie van Zyl.

Mr Marnitz described himself as a reformer seeking solutions to free settlement areas.



SEXIST OR SEXY? Here it is — the Democratic Party T-shirt which had the DP hierarchy floundering in confusion at their Stellenbosch meeting on Tuesday night. It was all very staid and serious. Then a young woman rose to object to the DP's publicity T-shirt. It was, she said, "offensively sexist". The party's parliamentary leader, Dr Zac de Beer misheard, thinking she had said "sexy". However, co-leader Dr Worrall said he would "look closely at it in view of the fact that you find it offensive". He added, in jest: "I would never regard a T-shirt as a sexy thing — only what's inside it." For the record, the DP logo on the shirt, being worn here by Miss SA entrant Jenny Leonard, is being held by two cartoon characters, and has one of them saying: "Hey, Koos, let's put the new DP logo on this chick's chest."

Damage to DP 'not severe' says De Beer

Mens 20/4/89

30/4/89

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE parliamentary leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zac de Beer, said today that the harm caused to the party was not as severe as some supposed.

Against the background of the squabble over the refusal of membership to four MPs, the DP has launched a countrywide campaign to make contact with the public and about 40 meetings are being held in the next few weeks.

Last night Dr Denis Worrall, one of the party's co-leaders, addressed a meeting attended by several hundred people in Potchefstroom.

Earlier in the week a meeting addressed by the three party leaders drew an audience of 1 000 in the Stellenbosch Town Hall.

Unhappiness in ranks

The party leaders are shrugging off unhappiness in the ranks about the membership issue.

Dr de Beer said reactions at meetings had been very supportive in spite of the squabble.

While not trying to minimise it, he thought the dent caused to the party was much less severe than had been supposed by some.

He pointed out that it had been decided that the party's national board would review the decision on membership at its next meeting in May, although this did not mean it would be changed.

At a Press conference, Mr Wynand Malan, the other co-leader, said the party was committed to contact with other political movements over a broad spectrum.

Referring to allegations that former Independent Party and National Democratic Movement members had "ganged up", Dr Worrall said the decision had been taken on the spur of the moment.

Dr de Beer said he was aware of only two resignations from the party so far but many people had expressed unhappiness about the decision.

Mr Bill Sewell, Western Cape regional chairman of the DP, said it was a wise move to have the national board reconsider the issue.

Among influential circles in the party there is a feeling that the membership decision must be rescinded.

'No rift on armed struggle'

Star 20/4/89

Soviet Union urging ANC to negotiate

304A

By David Braun
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Soviet Union has started pressing the African National Congress to opt for a negotiated political settlement, the ANC's chief representative at the United Nations has revealed.

Mr Tebogo Mafole told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington yesterday reports were correct that the Soviet Union placed a lot more emphasis on negotiation as opposed to the armed struggle.

"We (the ANC) have always said the ANC is in favour of negotiations. We wanted them for 48 years and it was only in the 1960s, when we were outlawed, that we took up the armed struggle," he said. "We haven't turned away from negotiations, so there is no dichotomy between us and the Soviet Union.

"One cannot say the Soviet Union has become less supportive of the ANC. I think the determinant (of that) will be to what extent the Soviet Union will be seen to be allowing the ANC to determine its own policies. Has the Soviet Union displayed a tendency to restrict or circumscribe the manner in which the ANC should fight its struggle? I don't see any sign of that."

Mr Mafole said that during a recent trip to Moscow by Mr Oliver Tambo and an ANC delegation, the Soviet Union "expressed its position about favouring political settlements of disputes and conflicts and the ANC agreed this is how things should be.

"In the circumstances, however, the ANC does not find its way clear to abandoning the armed struggle because the conditions which led to our taking up the armed struggle have not disappeared. Conditions have made the armed struggle more necessary. The Soviet Union has not insisted that we do this."

Mr Mafole said the ANC was unlikely to give in to pressure from any direction as to how it must conduct its struggle.

"We will select the instruments for our liberation."

Bensusan gets masters degree

A former mayor of Johannesburg, the Reverend Dr A D Bensusan, was awarded a degree of master of arts in religious studies at the University of Natal, Martizburg, last week.

Dr Bensusan has spent seven years researching the Book of Esther. His thesis dealt with its historical reliability.



DP shot from the hip

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE "particular decision" of the Democratic Party's National Board to exclude opposition MPs was made "on the spur of the moment" and was not discussed in detail, Dr Denis Worrall said yesterday.

The DP leadership yesterday moved to contain the ongoing ferment in the party over its decision to exclude the MPs.

The troika called a special press conference in an attempt to explain the board's controversial decision to sideline the MPs, but stressed that the concession to review this on May 1 "implies nothing more than they will consider it again".

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer frankly admitted that "there are a large number of people that don't like the decision of the board", but noted that it was difficult to assess how many people would carry out their threats to resign if the decision is not reversed.

Dr Worrall also said that the National Board did not discuss the personal merits of any of the prospective members in any depth.

However, he added: "It is important to say that the particular decision was in fact encouraged by people who represented a good cross-section of the board's membership."

The board's decision followed the overwhelming advice from the parliamentary caucus that the MPs be included and the unanimous recommendation from the executive of the Claremont constituency committee that Mr Jan van Eck be allowed to join the party.

In his opening remarks to the press conference, Mr Wynand Malan said that the new party was still in the process of working out its relationships with a number of political bodies inside and outside of Parliament.

The new party needed to make the best strategic choices to allow potential to expand, and it could not allow this process to be jeopardised by admitting members who might immediately have to carry the DP flag.

In striving for an "inclusive approach" with organisations like the Labour Party, Inkatha, the UDF and the homeland states, the party had to consider the positive and negative effects of party membership of Mr Van Eck and Mr Charles Redcliffe, Mr Malan said.

The party had to decide what it wanted to be and could not allow its direction to be dictated by the premature admittance of certain members.

Taxman orders probe into MPs

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

THE Commissioner of Inland Revenue has ordered an inquiry into the tax affairs of MPs because a number have allegedly not fulfilled their commitments.

Regional Inland Revenue officers will also have to give information to the commissioner on specific MPs who have shares in big companies.

The leakage of the instruction by the Commissioner of Inland Revenue, Mr Clive Kingon, to receivers of revenue around the country has sparked a major row.

The details first appeared in the magazine Finansies en Tegniek, which was threatened by court action in the form of an interdict by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis. This delayed publication for a week.

CRITICISED

The inquiry is understood to have been launched as a result of the taxman being criticised for not being on top of major scams such as the Vermaas affair.

And claims have been made by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Representatives, Mr Carter Ebrahaim, that special allowances to MPs for secretarial work have been abused.

Mr Kingon said today that he had "absolutely nothing to say" about the issue.

Mr du Plessis said he did not know and was not allowed to know about the investigation because the confidentiality of the actions of the commissioner was protected by law.

"He is not supposed to and has never discussed such matters with me.

BROAD POLICY

"He is supposed to discuss only matters of broad policy with me.

"In this case I can only assume that he reacted as a result of the prominent publicity recently afforded to the tax situation of so-called prominent people."

Mr du Plessis said he believed the administration of tax should never be politicised by involving the political head of the department in anything but broad policy determination.

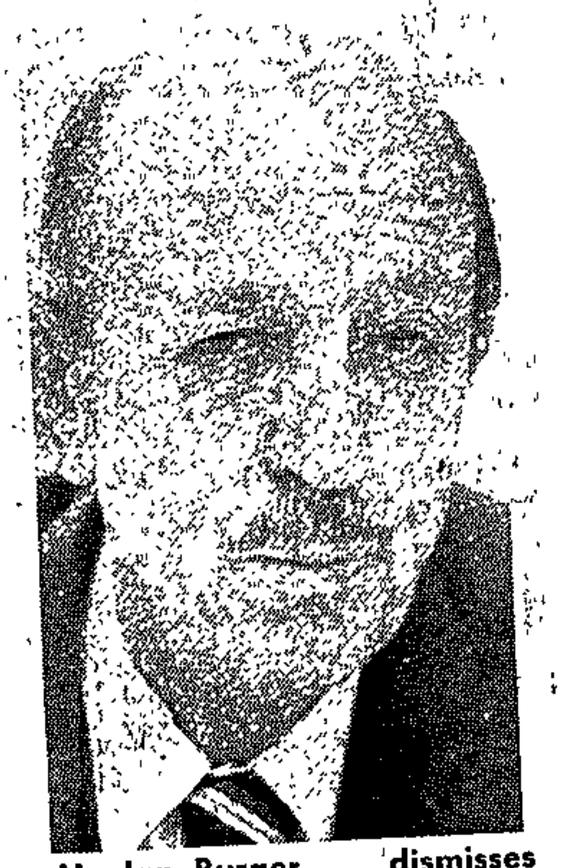
"I would like to see confidentiality of our tax system preserved not only in as far as it involves personal tax information but also in so far as it involves instructions from the commissioner to his receivers, because unless this confidentiality is protected all efforts to eradicate tax avoidance and even tax evasion will be thwarted."

Mr Harry Schwarz MP, Democratic Party finance spokesman, said MPs should be treated in the same way as any other taxpayer, receiving no special attention or favours.

Instead of special investigations the issue should be tackled from another side — all public representatives from MPs to Cabinet ministers should publicise all their financial interests.

Briefing

We're not moribund, says new Jhb chief



Mr Jan Burger . . . dismisses talk of a National Party "old guard" win as nonsense.

By SHIRLEY WOODGATE,
Municipal Reporter

The election of Mr Jan Burger as Johannesburg's new management committee chairman is seen in some political circles as a victory for the southern suburbs over the northern areas, a win for the "old guard" National Party over the "new generation".

"Nonsense," says the man who in his acceptance speech claimed that Johannesburg was on the brink of wide-reaching reform — within the framework of the NP.

"There is no division in the NP caucus. We are all working for the best for this city that will put it one step ahead not four steps behind what is happening in other local authorities.

"This management committee is a far cry from the picture the Democratic Party tries to paint of six moribund people.

"Plans now in the pipeline will bring changes that nobody dreamt of. With the co-operation of the residents I want to see that here in Johannesburg every person has the same opportunities and facilities.

"Bearing in mind that I define apartheid as separateness and not one man one vote, we are doing everything in our power to get away from apartheid.

"We plan to create equal facilites and where we cannot do this we are seriously looking at ways of assisting the people."

22 YEARS' SERVICE

The veteran councillor of 22 years is the former MPC of Turffontein, where he lives, a widower and father of two.

He has been deputy leader and leader of the NP, relinquishing the job because of ill-health. In 1984 he was elected to the managememt committee, replacing Mr Carel Venter after his shock resignation amid a storm over the Centenary Festival Association.

He predicted then that he would see out his full term NP leader, only to step down two years later because of ill-health. Last night the reserved, quietly spoken former marketing manager now back in the hot seat said he would see out his full term of office until at least 1993.

He takes over as the man who will bear the brunt of the attack from Mr Tony Leon's tough Democratic Party council opposition and facing the threat of a passive resistance campaign against petty apartheid in municipal amenities.

His answer to Ghandi-type civil disobedience was to say that apartheid was for all practical purposes dead in Johannesburg.

His first task could be convincing the passive resistance movement and the DP that he is correct.

Curbs pain in the neck but ...

EMERGENCY media regulations were a "pain in the neck," but were necessary and effective, said Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, speaking in Parliament.

However, Opposition MP's to the left of the Government blamed the regulation for preventing the public from being adequately informed.

Replying to extended public committee debate on the Home Affairs Budget, he said the regulations had been successful in helping to combat propaganda aimed at "fanning the violent overthrow of the Government."

"In implementing the regulations I use the utmost care through a process I have devised and which I am obliged to follow. It is a pain in the neck . . . but I think after administering it for a couple of years that some success has been achieved.

"I am not unreasonable. I do not want to eliminate criticism of the National Party, or of officials or a minister. I have specifically specified the propaganda actions which we believe will fan the violent overthrow" of the Government.

He said the Government was committed in principle to a free press, but did not believe this meant "unbridled freedom."

Worrall knocks 'negative' Press

3048

PETER DELMAR

THE media were castigated for their critical coverage of the process leading to the DP's formation and its first two weeks of existence by co-leader Denis Worrall at a public meeting in Florida last night.

He particularly criticised the English-language media. "We naturally expected government-supporting newspapers to be critical of the DP, but have been pleasantly surprised at the generally constructive approach most of them have adopted.

"Less encouraging has been the generally negative attitude of many English-language publications."

to show alleged slaying

WASHINGTON

The group which is to televise allegations that South African security forces effectively executed Swapo fighters by shooting them at point-blank range is determined to drag South Africa back as a major issue of coverage by the American media.

Calling itself *South Africa Now*, the weekly 30-minute show is produced by *Globalvision*, a small independent producer based in New York, in association with the Africa Fund, a tax-exempt education organisation.

It has received warm endorsements from Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev Allan Boesak, Mr Dennis Goldberg of the ANC, and former South African newspaper editor Mr Donald Woods.

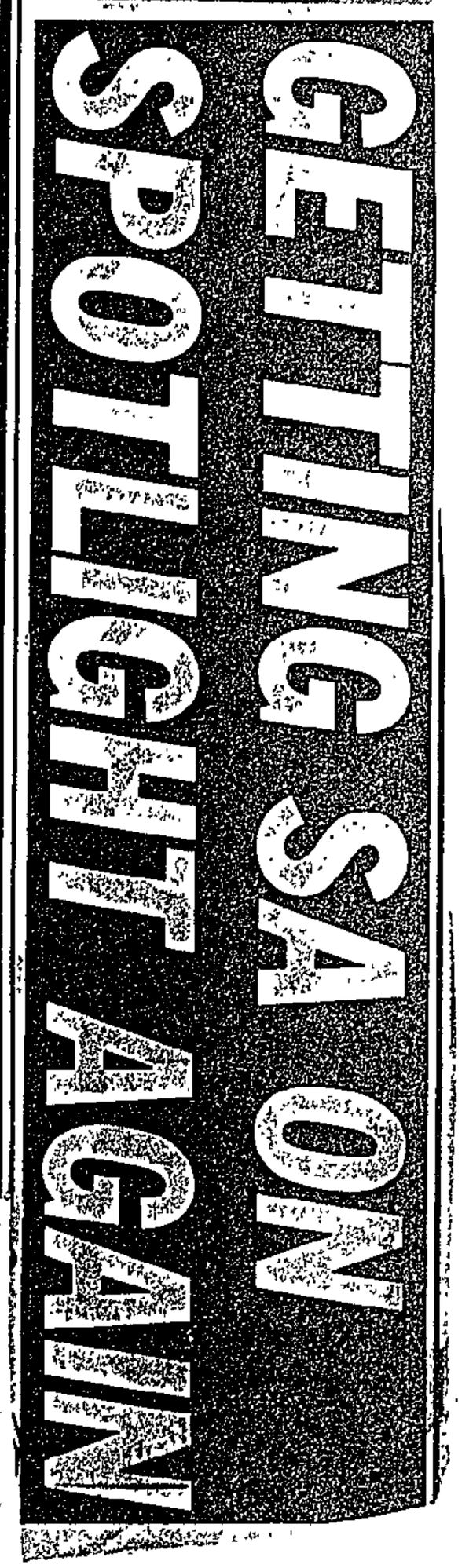
Globalvision was founded by Mr Rory O'Connor, an experienced producer of investigative reports for television and a newspaper columnist.

The company launched *South Africa Now* as a 13-part series last year in response it said at the time to Pretoria's clampdown on the media.

Senior producer, reporter and co-anchor of the show is Carolyn Craven, a former White House correspondent for *National Public Radio* and an associate producer for *ABC News* in New York.

Her co-anchor is Fana Kekana, a South African actor who came to the US [illegible]. He has performed in several plays about South Africa including *Woza Albert* and the Broadway production of Asinamali and in the Broadway production of Poppie Nongena.





DEMOCRATIC PARTY

A tale of three leaders

Forming the Democratic Party (DP) two weeks ago was easy — keeping it together is another matter as the leadership *troika* of Zach de Beer, Wynand Malan and Denis Worrall discovered this week.

The fledgling party's first major crisis revealed that divisions run deep. In trying to resolve the problems that arose (and which will, no doubt, continue to dog the DP in the run-up to the general election later this year) the party will shed support to both Left and Right. The task of the leaders is to minimise the damage.

Simmering tension in the upper ranks of the DP boiled up at the weekend when the party's top decision-making body, the National Board (NB), rejected membership applications from independent coloured MPs Charles Redcliffe and Cecil Kippen, and former Prog Jan van Eck. Last week a majority in the DP caucus (dominated by former PFP MPs) elected to admit all three.



But the NB effectively vetoed the caucus after considering a wide range of factors. In effect the decision was a compromise. The National Democratic Movement-Fourth Force grouping wanted Van Eck, but were opposed to the House of Representatives MPs, and the Independent Party faction with some PFP support didn't really want any of the three (and particularly Van Eck because of anti-Inkatha comments he made at a public meeting last week) but, it appears, would accept Redcliffe and Kippen. A compromise was thrashed out in terms of which all three applications were rejected.

The three leaders say it was decided in principle not to admit any more sitting MPs to the DP in view of the pending dissolution of parliament. Apart from Van Eck, Redcliff and Kippen, there were indications of a flood of membership applications from MPs in the Houses of Representatives and Delegates. Though in principle the party has accepted participation in the other two houses, to have admitted sitting MPs without carefully considering the implications in terms of the party's wider aims would not have been in line with that aim.

The anomaly of course is that Van Eck is a member of the House of Assembly. The DP has no disagreements about participation in the house and in fact hopes that its "white" MPs will form the core of its parliamentary representation. His anti-Inkatha blast was in turn slammed in parliament by Harry Schwarz which probably tipped the scales away from his membership application being accepted.

The Van Eck issue may still be resolved before the election on the basis of it being a "special case" (in the sense that a DP-Van Eck clash in Claremont could benefit the National Party). If it is not, Van Eck is likely to stand as an independent.

The NB did not discuss the merits of the three applicants, but looked rather at the implications of admitting MPs who could be regarded as political opponents of groups, either inside or outside parliament, with which the DP has working relationships. (In the case of Redcliff and Kippen this would refer to the Labour Party (LP) and in Van Eck's case to Inkatha.)

Says Malan: "No one can expect us to have those relationships determined by applications from sitting MPs. Accepting them as members would obviously have implications for our relationships with other groups and for our broader strategy." He says the DP needs time to define its strategy.

It seems that one of the main ideological differences in the DP is that of the relationship between the party's "parliamentary wing" and extra-parliamentary organisations. One grouping sees the priority as forming a strong relationship with United Democratic Front-aligned extra-parliamentary groupings and, by implication, keeping relations with the LP at arm's length, while another group believes an alliance with the LP in parliament and Inkatha outside parliament is more important.

De Beer says it's clear there are tensions in the DP. A number of members are unhappy with the NB's decision, but others would have been equally unhappy had the decision gone the other way.

"But I am not aware of anything that is happening that will be a major blow to the party. We will lose support (due to the NB's decision), but we would also have lost support had it gone the other way," he says.

Worrall, however, says he is not aware of any tensions in the DP. "There is obviously a certain amount of unhappiness with the NB's decision, but I believe it was taken in the best interests of the party. We are busy determining our strategy with regard to participation in the other two houses."

None of the three leaders anticipates a split in the DP as a result of the crisis. Says Malan: "There is already a growing together of the three parties. Obviously it won't happen without tension."

Transvaal rugby boss and "father" of the DP Louis Luyt says he is unaware of tension in the party. He did not attend the NB's weekend meeting due to other commitments.

"There will always be one or two people who are dissatisfied, but I simply haven't heard of tensions in the party," he says. "I hope there aren't. We are dealing with the future of SA. If there are tensions they will have to be resolved and hard words may have to be spoken."

But Luyt is satisfied that the DP will survive. "I must be candid. Not one of the three leaders can afford to walk away from this thing. The one who does is dead. That's why they got together, they can't survive without one another." ■

NATIONAL COUNCIL

Looking for leaders

The National Council (NC) is expected to be formed and hold its first meeting later this year — coinciding with the appointment of at least one black Cabinet minister. So P W Botha will have one high note on which to vacate the presidency — in theory.

Constitutional planners are already working on the boundaries for the nine regions from which representatives of urban black communities will be elected to serve on the NC. This follows a meeting in Cape Town last week at which Urban Councils Association (Ucasa) president Philip Nhlapo "urged" Constitutional Development & Planning Minister Chris Heunis to demarcate the regions and to push ahead with the constitutional change needed to allow for the appointment of black ministers or deputies. Heunis agreed.

The NC will serve as a constitutional negotiating forum where government hopes a more acceptable "sharing of power" will be thrashed out. It will also be the "interim voice" of blacks in central government and as such will be consulted on or may investigate existing or proposed legislation.

It will comprise the heads of the non-independent homelands; nine representatives of urban black communities elected by electoral colleges drawn from black local au-

without one another." ■

21/4/89

NATIONAL COUNCIL (304A)

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(304A) FMany 21/4/89

thorities; the provincial administrators; the chairmen of the ministers councils; the Minister of Constitutional Development & Planning; and a maximum of five other ministers and eight people appointed by the President. All except the eight presidential appointees will have alternates entitled to attend meetings and participate.

Though the NC remains widely rejected outside parliament, it appears that government has decided to go ahead, in the hope that once it is functioning and (hopefully) proves viable, its detractors will change their attitudes.

It seems that only some of the homeland leaders (KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Kangwane's Enos Mobuza in particular) are unlikely to participate initially. Buthelezi says the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela is a minimum prerequisite to his participation.

The establishment of the NC was supported last year by majorities in all three houses of parliament. A constitutional amendment Bill making provision for the appointment of black ministers or deputy ministers is now being considered by a parliamentary standing committee. The principle has, however, been rejected by the Labour Party (LP) on the grounds that blacks (and Buthelezi in particular) are opposed to token representation in the Cabinet.

The measure is semi-entrenched in the constitution and, therefore, cannot be changed without the LP's support. It is not yet clear whether a compromise has been worked out between Heunis and the LP to allow the amendment, or if Heunis intends withdrawing the current amendment and introducing it again in a different form. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

(304A)

The road to extinction

First they couldn't agree on a leader; now they want to dictate who may or may not join them. Is this any way to run a political party? The fate at the polls of the Liberal/Social Democratic alliance in the UK should be in the forefront of the collective mind of the new-formula Democratic Party (DP). It looks as if it will go into its first election with all the panache of a freshman debating society.

The problem is that it is an alliance of unequals — and one which Progressive Federal Party MPs may well regret. They have brought membership, experience and administrative flair to the DP.

Admittedly their leader, Zach de Beer, is no political heart-throb — but to dilute PFP assets, including financial ones, for the favours of Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan is an extraordinary risk for professionals.

What can Worrall offer — in real terms? Helderberg, East London and Benoni. Possibly. Malan brings a Rhemaesque charisma which may appeal to fans of Bernoldus Niemand, and a claim to be in touch with that fabulous animal, the "extra-parliamentary opposition."

But as the events of the past few years have shown, the boycott game as played by that opposition offers the moral high ground, but little real progress — and the kind of high-handedness reflected in the manner in which the Labour MPs who wanted to join the DP have been brushed off.

Politics is a game for grown-ups: to flirt with intangibles is to indulge in what Roy Campbell (referring to Jannie Smuts's philosophy) described as "arseholism."

The DP, to work, must have a significant presence in parliament. Cross-House ties make sense, as do potential ones with Inkatha. The latest muddle underscores the debilitating effects of compromise, and does not augur well for the party's future. It will be extremely hard put to maintain its current representation against a National Party revitalised by the leadership of F W de Klerk — even if that is still more a matter of words than deeds.

On the evidence, the Progs, in the historical sense of the term, have been betrayed. ■

il 21 1989

Gen Malan looks at glasnost

SA 'must alter policies in new world order'

STW 21/4/89

The Soviet Union's perestroika and glasnost and signs of an international political weather change had "rich implications" for South Africa, **Defence Minister General Magnus Malan** said.

He said South Africa had to take stock of changing international circumstances and adopt a new approach to the problems and opportunities ahead.

This approach should be determined by the national interest and could include contact, trade and the exchange of expertise with the West and East.

General Malan said there was a time when South Africa saw its role as the protector of the Cape sea route and as a trustworthy partner of the West.

It now had to consider whether it could remain committed to these perceptions "while West and East Europe are shaping a new co-operation and when Japan, Red China and Taiwan are trading with each other to an increasing extent".

Under Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union had realised economic and technological progress was impossible "as long as the expansionist foreign policy of confrontation is conducted with the goal of spurring revolution".

For this reason, Mr Gorbachev was seeking greater economic, political and technological co-operation with the West.

In talks with Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Mr Anatoli Adamishin in Brazzaville last year, it had emerged that the Soviet Union was also prepared to reformulate its interest in southern Africa.

However, he said, South Africa was realistic about this new Soviet approach and would not neglect its security interests.

The Soviet Union's assistance to terrorist groups placed a question mark over its policy revision.

Mayors worlds apart on Slovo film

By PETER DENNEHY

WHILE Durban's mayor, Mr Derek Watterson, has declined to see Shawn Slovo's film "A World Apart", saying it is "communist propaganda", Cape Town's mayor, Mr Peter Muller, has praised the film as "thought-provoking".

The difference of approach between Cape Town and Durban emerged yesterday with the news that Mr Watterson had turned down an invitation to see the film made by Ms Slovo, daughter of SA Communist Party leader Mr Joe Slovo.

The film deals with Ms Slovo's early life in South Africa when her parents were activists here and with the detention of her mother, Ms Ruth First.

Mr Muller attended the Cape Town premiere of the film earlier this month.

"I had no problem going to it. I have an open mind," Mr Muller said. "I will see everything people want to show me, whether left or right, across the spectrum."

He said the way the film had been put together was "really excellent". Overall, he had found it "thought-provoking".

● Our correspondent reports from Durban that Professor Keyan Tomaselli, director of contemporary cultural studies at the University of Natal, said Mr Watterson's attitude displayed "remarkable naivety and a crude understanding of politics".

"The film is about the effects of resistance to apartheid on a particular family and has a personal message for residents of South Africa."

SA takes stock of the new African realism

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Star 21/4/89

n a period in which the economic ·vot is moving to the Far East, ·ıcn Gorbachev is looking anxiously at the single Europe of 1992, ..ıen ceramic engines are planned ·r BMWs a few years hence, it be·oves us to look carefully at our own position in a changing world. Changes seem to be succeeding each in quantum leaps.

One of the important scene changes on the global stage is the new realism in Africa towards South Africa.

We cannot afford a dog-in-the manger attitude towards our continent. We must make a distinction between diplomacy (the mode of communication and resolution of conflict) in the industrialised and in the developing worlds. We need to distinguish between the instruments at our disposal for our promotion in the West (and Far East) and in Africa.

We need to take cognisance of an altered state: just as the US now has hurriedly to reassess its position towards the Soviets and adjust its collective mindset, so, too, South Africa must hasten to re-evaluate this encounter with history.

Security blanket

In the rest of the world we have not had the comfort of a security blanket like the deterrent power possesed by the superpowers. Conflict and poverty continues. Towards the powerful nations of the world the developing countries have used a remarkable weapon: the tyranny of the weak, the appeal to the guilt complex of the ex-colonial masters.

That weapon is also destructive of those who use it; it becomes a crutch as well as a cutlass. The formation of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference is a good example of this appeal from weakness.

Membership of the United Nations symbolises the emancipation of newly independent states, but voting power and sovereignty have not changed the foundations of their



socio-economic structure and deep-rooted material disability.

In all of this, South Africa has been the opportunistic victim, used as a foil by the Western countries, a kind of anti-example exaggerated to show their good intentions in decolonising, and as a target for punishment, for sending to Coventry and for invasion potential in the newly independent world.

Having passed through phases where Africa had hitched its wagon to socialism (and hence both to the Soviets and the People's Republic of China) and the Western powers, Africa finds itself now faced by the stormy winds of economic change.

The following have led Africa to judge us as part of the solution rather than the problem:

- The failure of the ANC to cause ungovernability or revolution.
- Our willingness to open to Africa, epitomised by our insistence on solving African problems in Africa with Africans.
- The recreation of our good faith through the Namibia negotiations.
- The new approach to regional problems by the USSR.
- Our resilience, Johannesburg has become the New York of Africa.
- The major reforms inside our country so that even President Chissano of Mozambique, when asked whether there had been reforms, could respond: "Fundamental reforms."

The "new diplomacy" which South Africa is exercising in its relations with the rest of Africa was explained by MR GLENN BABB, Deputy Director-General of Foreign Affairs, (left) in a recent speech at a business symposium. This is a shortened version of his speech.

This rings in a new era. We can, as Minister R F (Pik) Botha did in Brazzaville, refer to our brothers in Africa without it falling disharmoniously on our ears. He also could proclaim our solidarity with our continent, which buys dear and sells its resources cheap, and he could refer to the Brazzaville Protocol as a symbol of peace and hope for Africa.

Until recently, Africa showed remarkable unity in the OAU — we are perhaps what kept the organisation together — despite the fair number of calls for dialogue.

World of diplomacy

Do not forget that the world of diplomacy for Africa is new and mysterious; the simplistics of confrontation and isolation and punishment towards both the industrialised world and South Africa have also to go through the same quantum shift. Stuck in the rut of the past, ineffective policy towards South Africa, they now have to look over the edge of the trench and see the light. They are comfortable with the continuation of confrontation.

An Angolan diplomat said to me: "Perhaps the rest of the world does not want South Africa and Africa to resolve our differences; after all, they can pillage our resources and have a steady and reliable stream of strategic minerals coming from you. They need nothing more. If we were to join hands, with Africa's energy and your technology and proximity, we would represent competition to them."

The new diplomacy in both directions is a shift from confrontation to negotiation and compromise.

In Southern Africa we too have to come to terms with the parameters of international conduct. Since becoming a republic in 1961, South African foreign policy has undergone fundamental changes. We have progressed from a distant part of Western Europe and a civilising mission, to an acceptance of our African identity and the need to come to terms with our fellow Africans.

In doing so we have had to absorb the lessons of history and reassess our values and priorities. Are we Third World or are we First World? Should our policies and actions be Third World or First World? By which standards will they be judged?

The basic tenets of our African policy are:

- The RSA is part of Africa, in and through which our future lies.
- African problems must be resolved by Africans.
- The isolation of South Africa is contrary to African interests.
- The use or support of violence for the promotion of political objectives is unacceptable.
- Joint interests and responsibility in respect of the economic, sociological and ecological welfare of Southern Africa ought to be the basis of co-operation and good neighbourliness.
- The RSA is economically powerful and has the infrastructure and capabilities to be the cornerstone of regional development.
- South Africa is an ally against foreign invasion.
- The South African Government is irrevocably committed to the removal of apartheid and participation of all South Africans in the governmental process, up to the highest level.
- South Africa favours a [illegible] conference for promotion interests in Southern A[illegible]

Reverse grazing rights move Louw

By MEG BRITS

ONE day after Cape administrator Mr Gene Louw had turned down an application for emergency grazing rights in the Cedarberg area, the permit was granted on the instructions of the department of the Minister of Environmental Affairs, Mr Gert Kotze.

Mr Louw has now written to Mr Kotze requesting that the grazing permit issued for the sensitive area be withdrawn.

A spokeswoman for Mr Louw said yesterday the permit was granted to a farmer, Mr Ernst Nieuwoudt, one day after Mr Louw had turned down an application for emergency grazing rights in the area.

She said Dr Dawie de Villiers, minister with responsibility for administration and privatisation in the Office of the State President, had supported the original application in his capacity as MP for Piketberg, where Mr Nieuwoudt has his farm.

Mr Louw reacted sharply when told earlier this week that the permit had been granted without his knowledge. He was reported as saying he regarded the incident in the most serious light and that severe steps would be taken against the people responsible.

He instigated an immediate inquiry and decided within 24 hours to write to Mr Kotze requesting that the permit be withdrawn.

Mr Louw's spokeswoman confirmed that the permit had been issued, on March 23, by an officer of the Cape Provincial Directorate of Nature and Environmental Conservation.

However, this, she said, was only because the directorate administered the area in question for the National Department of Environment Affairs.

Early end to SA's 'cold war' predicted

OWN CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — International perception of South Africa has changed positively over the past six months and there are promising signs of an end to the "cold war", according to Mr Len Abrahamse, chairman of Syfrets and past president of the South Africa Foundation.

"I believe that for the first time in a number of years we can be more optimistic with regard to perceptions held abroad," he told the South African Institute of International Affairs.

"Although the real test will be the return of foreign investment in South Africa, we may be experiencing the end of the cold war and a prospect of the road ahead changing."

Scepticism

He warned, however, that if the superpowers created a "relatively more peaceful world" it would be wrong to believe that apartheid would become more acceptable. South Africa, he said, would get more attention not less.

Up to six months ago negative perceptions predominated because:

- There was great scepticism in the Government's preparedness to find a power-sharing solution and credibility in creating legitimate power sharing was low.
- Communication, let alone negotiation, between blacks and whites seemed impossible.
- South Africa's "go-it-alone" syndrome was perceived overseas as a form of desperate arrogance of whites with their backs against the wall.

Positive

It was difficult to know exactly what was going on in South Africa due to limited media coverage.

But a positive and optimistic view was emerging. The international community realised that there was no quick fix or easy solution and South Africa's struggle was not between monolithic black and white roots.

Said Mr Abrahamse: "There is growing understanding of the problem of ethnicity and South Africa's unique situation and role on the sub-continent."

The role played by Mrs Margaret Thatcher and the British government in opposing sanctions and the internal debate coupled with the Law Commission's Bill of Rights all added to the positive perception.

"The fact that even the extreme Right — who are a menace and a danger — are more concerned with accommodating black aspirations is a good sign," he said.

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Magnus guide for politics in SADF

CARL Trials 21/4/89

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Political Staff

NO TOTAL prohibition could be placed on members of the Citizen Force or the Commandos from participating in party politics, according to the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan.

However, he said "certain demands" were placed on all commanding officers.

"Their actions at all times must be such that they cannot be accused of prejudice or discrimination against their subordinates on political grounds," General Malan said during the debate on the defence budget yesterday.

"Citizen Force and Commando commanding officers must guard against becoming politically controversial figures because, it goes without saying, it would make their positions untenable."

General Malan listed a number of situations in which an officer should not use his official position. He should not:

- Encourage or influence a member under his command to join a political party;
- Participate in any demonstrations or activities for or against a party while on service,
- Use his Defence Force connections to promote or prejudice the interests of a party, or
- Compromise the SADF through his political affiliations.

DP predicts election issues

3049
Star 2/4/87

By Dawn Barkhuizen

Key issues in the general election would be the economy and reform, co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, said in Florida, Johannesburg, last night, while addressing a racially mixed audience of about 350 people.

Dr Worrall predicted that the National Party would build its election strategy around security. But it would not be so easy to talk about a "revolutionary climate" when relations with Mozambique were good, Namibia was being granted independence and Russia was leaning on the ANC, he said.

"The NP might attempt to present itself as being strong on security — but I don't think bombs and unrest illustrate security.

"This election will be fought on reform and economics," he said.

2 Ministers may opt out of election

Star 21/2/89

30/4/9

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Political Reporter

At least five National Party MPs, including two Ministers, may not stand for re-election in this year's general election.

The Star has learnt that the Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr Danie Steyn, and the Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, will probably stand down.

The NP MP for Brentwood, Mr Johan van Zyl, announced this week that he would not be available for re-election because of personal reasons.

The other two NP MPs who might not stand are Mr Chris Ligthelm of Alberton and Mr Lucas van Vuuren of Hercules.

Mr Steyn (65), MP for Wonderboom, is the second-oldest MP in the House of Assembly. He became Minister of Education and Training in 1982 and Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs the next year. He was appointed to his present position in 1986.

Mr Wentzel lost his Bethal seat to the Conservative Party's Mr Chris de Jager in the 1987 general election. However, he retained his position as Minister of Agriculture because Mr P W Botha wanted him to complete the implementation of proposals by the State President's Advisory Board for re-building the agricultural industry.

Although the NP won the Brentwood seat with a 2 011-majority in 1987, the CP has identified the East Rand seat as one of those it could win this year.

Mr Ligthelm was elected to Parliament in a 1976 by-election, which was a blow to the former United Party.

Mr van Vuuren's Hercules seat is widely regarded as a marginal seat which could go to the CP.

● See Page 6.

No black rule in 10 years — Minister

Vereeniging Bureau

Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe last night gave the guarantee that South Africa would not be ruled by a black majority government within the next 10 years.

He was addressing a lively and heated meeting in the Meyerton Town Hall.

The meeting, which marked the start of the National Party's election campaign in the Vaal Triangle, was characterised by heckling and was briefly interrupted after a fight broke out in the audience.

The scuffle arose after one of a group of hecklers repeatedly shouted at the Minister and then took a swipe at an elderly NP supporter.

The rowdy element was, however, swiftly surrounded by NP supporters and ushered out of the hall.

Outlining the policies of the various political parties, Dr van der Merwe said voters had three choices — the Democratic Party (DP), the Conservative Party (CP) and the NP — in the coming general election.

He said it was not necessary to spend much time on the DP as the party spoke for itself in its indecision about leadership.

Dr van der Merwe stated that it became absurd when a party started drawing lots to elect a leader.



Dr Stoffel van der Merwe . . . heckled at lively meeting in Meyerton.

It was difficult to trust "such people who undertake safaris to the ANC in Lusaka".

Referring to the CP, Dr van der Merwe said that partition was still their alpha and omega.

After seven years, the CP also still did not have the answer.

Voters could see for themselves what had happened in a few municipalities where the party took control following last year's municipal elections.

Focusing on the NP, he stressed that the party had learnt through costly experience that a certain direction could not be embarked upon with an attitude of "come hell or high water".

He said it was natural that the course taken must be adapted by circumstances of the time.

The NP believed in democracy and the participation of all groups at government level.

Dr van der Merwe gave the assurance that white South Africans would not be ruled by a black majority government within the next 10 years.

Mr At Snyman, MP for Meyerton, last night denied rumours that he would not be defending his seat in the constituency during the next general election.

He said that these stories were unfounded — just like rumours circulating in Vanderbijlpark that Dr Gerrit Viljoen would also not be available for re-election as the town's MP.

OPINION

304A W MRTC
21-27/4/89

DP? Looks a lot like the old UP

The Democratic Party's scalded cat response to the membership application by Jan Van Eck reminds one of that old United Party dictum: Never risk an over-close moment with anyone too 'extreme' or 'maverick'

By ANTHONY HEARD

Former editor of the Cape Times

IF the new Democratic Party had schemed and planned to alienate moderate left-wing and black opinion, it could not have done it better.

Its exclusion of Jan van Eck, a veteran of the progressive-liberal movement, is a signal that goes way beyond the threat to the career of the MP for Claremont.

His public skewering is an affront to South Africans of colour who have no effective vote. It indicates a confused and dismal way ahead for a DP already looking strained by encompassing strange bedfellows like Helen Suzman and Louis Luyt. The move will be applauded by the more conservative whites.

The decision by the party's national board suggests that this hotch-potch of big capital, social democrats, fertiliser kings and prominent ex-Nationalists is determined not to be seen in the company of someone close to the United Democratic Front.

The DP is going for white power, not the broader body of South Africans, which is why the exclusion of MPs from other houses, Charles Redcliffe, Cecil Kippen and Archie Pool, is equally damaging and inexplicable.

The DP is looking awfully like the old United Party — never risking an over-close moment with those regarded as "maverick", "extreme" or worse by that mythical group of whites dubbed "moderate".

The party's scalded cat response to things said or done by Wynand Malan in the run-up to the merger also shows its way ahead. Indeed, Malan promises to be as much a stone in the belly of DP conservatives as would Van Eck.

It has been bizarrely instructive to witness the formation of a DP national board which includes, presumably unapologetic and in excellent standing, people like Louis Luyt, the secret agent used by government to spend R32-million of public slush-money to form the *Citizen* and thus lay the foundations for the death of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

It is both bizarre and ironic that Van Eck, whose liberal credentials were earned over many years of public service, is locked out of a so-called liberal, ostensibly broadened and democratic opposition by people falling over backwards to associate with hardly-repentant ex-Nationalists. They are welcome, he not. They have a party to merge, a dowry, you see.

The event is symbolic of the fact that, whatever powerful oratory is devoted to negotiation, non-racialism and democratic principle, the new party is in danger of becoming only marginally better than the old United Party, which ingratiated itself with conservative white opinion to the point, for instance, of sitting on the government's Schlebusch Commission, which led to the banning of a number of student leaders.

Will the DP similarly connive in assisting government repression — in the townships, on the border, in regard to detentions without trial? The past record of many on the national board in such matters is not good.

This, of course, is a grand time to lambast the left. The mass democratic movement is bruised, exhausted. Detentions, prosecutions and harassment have taken their toll. The revolt of 1984-86 is over, or at least in recess.

In the present conditions, the cause of the UDF is a very dicey one indeed for whites to espouse. It is far safer (one can almost hear Div, or could it be Zach or Denis? intoning) to seek the comfort of the "moderate centre".

A few have had the courage to stand out against the conservative tide. Van Eck is one. At considerable personal risk, he has toured burning townships, asked awkward questions, challenged authority — even the omnipotent defence force — and (to borrow a phrase from an ex-colleague) "comforted the afflicted and afflicted the comfortable".

Yet this member of the house of assembly is told, together with MPs seeking to join from other houses, that their applications are refused, amid mealy-mouthed excuses about the "imminent dissolution" of parliament.

Was this, like an act of God, one of the myriad side-effects of PW Botha's stroke and the crisis in the National Party? Or was Van Eck the victim of a shoddy trade-off among recent-Nationalists who are now fervent Democrats?

If Van Eck had joined Wynand Malan's NDM one day before the merger, he would be safely in the new party's embrace. Yet, if the decision stands, he will probably fight as an "independent democrat" in the election. There will be a risk of splitting the opposition vote, and even of a local equivalent of Sheila Camerer gracing Claremont for the Nationalists. Don't blame van Eck for that — blame the DP national board.

Numerous people of liberal and social-democratic inclination have watched the formation of a "broadened" opposition with nervousness. The inclusion in the national board of cohorts of recent-Nationalist luminaries did nothing to raise confidence.

If not quickly rescinded, the move against Van Eck will be the last straw for many liberals and social democrats.

But there is an opportunity. The way could be opened for the formation of a more cohesive, credible grouping to the left of the government, indeed to the left of the DP. That mustard seed could grow into government, in company with black South Africans, in a very different South Africa.

It will have to be social democratic; yes, mildly socialist. It will be reminiscent of past years when people like Peter Randall bravely undertook suburban *huisbesoek* in the cause of social democracy; and lost. But this idea's time could be nigh.

It will have to be a movement with which the black masses can instinctively associate — in company with a growing number of whites. They will see that the rapid spreading of wealth helped by modest state intervention, against the background of a re-thought social-democratic strategy in a changed world, is everyone's insurance policy.

That will leave the DP what it always should have been — the party of big business. Without Van Zyl Slabbert, without Van Eck, probably without Wynand Malan — or Sampie Terreblanche.

The DP could be doing social democracy a favour.



Malan and Worrall ... alienating black opinion?

Picture: ANNA ZIEMINSKI, Afrapix

●Anthony Heard was editor of the *Cape Times* from 1971 to 1987. He was awarded the Golden Pen of Freedom by the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers in 1986 after his interview with banned ANC leader Oliver Tambo. He now writes for major papers in North America and Europe

THE ODDER COUPLE

Ahe Berry

'Rambo' Tony set to play a key role in our politics

MR TONY LEON, the Democratic Party's leader in the Johannesburg City Council, has earned himself many titles in a political career which has seen him progress from an ordinary councillor to opposition leader in merely three years.

He is the darling of Houghton MP Mrs Helen Suzman; his party seniors regard him as one of the most talented young men in South African politics.

His aggressive, flamboyant style has also earned him the title of "Rambo". Fellow DP councillors fondly call him "Hitler"; others mockingly the "angry youngster".

But whichever way you look at the 31-year old attorney and constitutional law lecturer at Wits University, he has emerged as one of the country's most talented and exciting politicians.

ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE
Political Reporter

His meteoric rise continued recently when he outstripped several former Progressive Federal Party heavyweights to be elected one of the PFP's four members on the DP's National Board.

But his rapid rise in municipal ranks pales in comparison with his progress in party-politics. This year's general election could see him in Parliament as one of the country's youngest MPs.

Although he undoubtedly has his eyes set on a parliamentary seat — constituencies mentioned include Houghton and Hillbrow — his extraordinary flair for politics could, ironically, count against him.



FLAIR: DP's rising star Tony Leon

For some of his seniors believe he should for the time being stick to his present job of changing the country's biggest city into what he eloquently calls a "shining city on the hill".

The young fire-brand has already changed the face of municipal politics in the city.

Some NP councillors have admitted that Mr Leon has wiped the floor with what he once called the "imcompetent racist municipal regime riddled with internal dissension".

Not only does he subject the ruling NP to constant tongue-lashing on anything from racial segregation to the misuse of taxpayers' funds, from secret management to rank incompetence, but he has set his mind on finding and suggesting practical solutions for the city's problems.

Those include a charter of acceptable community standards to address white fears of mixed living, a municipal police force to enforce standards, and private sector involvement in providing public amenities to cater for the needs of a rapidly-expanding inner-city population.

But his most notable achievement in municipal politics is that he has changed his party caucus from a benign grouping to a cohesive and motivated force in Johannesburg — to the extent that his caucus typifies the new fighting spirit which has gripped the liberal opposition.

A former PFP Transvaal youth leader, he was elected to the city council in 1986.

In 1988, he was elected PFP leader in the council, the youngest to reach this post.

Love him or hate him, all acknowledge Tony Leon is rapidly climbing the ladder of South African politics.

THE BEST IN BOOKS

SA still at five to midnight

B Day 24/4/89 (304A)

CAN SOUTH AFRICA SURVIVE?, edited by John D Brewer (Southern, R39,95)
NEGOTIATING SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE, by Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer (Southern, R39,95)

IN 1977, after the Soweto riots, author R W Johnson argued unfashionably that revolution was not at hand, that white rule was powerful enough to maintain medium-term domination and that the economy was not in the state of near-collapse portrayed by many commentators.

Ten years later, an academic workshop in Amsterdam examined his book "How Long Will South Africa Survive?" After the 1984-85 riots, the state of emergency, the Rubicon rand, the debt standstill and the impact of sanctions, they concluded that Johnson's analysis was still largely valid.

"Can South Africa Survive?" is based on revised versions of the workshop papers and the analyses of where time had proved Johnson right and how the situation could change.

Johnson's thesis was based on the immovable clock; SA was at five minutes to midnight, but the hands were locked motionless and revolution was both so near and so far.

Editor John D Brewer concludes that it is still five to midnight, but that the hands of the clock, while motionless, are no longer locked. Where Johnson saw time as being on the side of the *verkramptes*, Brewer says it is on the side of the black majority, not only because of population growth but because of the economic implications of the demographic shift.

The diminishing number of whites will not be able to meet the economic needs of a growing number of blacks for food, housing and jobs. Blacks will gain increasing economic power as consumers and producers, and this will inevitably lead to a redistribution of political power, he argues.

But Brewer, like most of the chapter authors, does not see an immediate threat to white political supremacy, even though the balance is shifting against it.

In a chapter on the "laager economy" option, T C Moll finds the fiscal costs of apartheid soaring when the State can ill afford them. But he concludes that the economy remains resilient and attempts to undermine it have multiplied negative effects on the political system that will replace apartheid.

"Negotiating South Africa's Future" is the result of another 1987 workshop, this time at Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies. It flowed from the Dakar meeting between the ANC and a group of largely Afrikaner South Africans and an article by Giliomee in the Sunday Times arguing for a high-level accord between the principles of African and Afrikaner nationalism.

Schlemmer concludes that resolution is possible but will have to be based on compromise, with both Afrikaners and the ANC prepared to accept second-best options; a combination of black majority rule and white protection.

This will not come until the costs of the conflict are so high that each is willing to compromise rather than bleed the country, its people and its economy in a violent stalemate.

MICHAEL ACOTT

Women meet ANC

A DELEGATION of 53 women from South Africa, mainly Afrikaans - speaking, cried, laughed and sang together with women exiles belonging to the ANC and with women of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) Party at a three day meeting in Harare.

Most of the South African's returned yesterday after the historic get-together described by Mrs Jenny Boraine of Idasa as an "overwhelming success."

A statement said the aim of the meeting was to exchange views and come to a common understanding of the nature and source of the conflict in South Africa.

"It was agreed that every effort must be made to dismantle apartheid as it is the root cause of the crisis in our country and the Southern African region," said the communique.

ANC National Executive committee members who attended the meeting said: "The women will go home with a vision of what is possible in South Africa."

CALLS TO SHORTEN SA ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

B/Dun 26/4/89 GERALD REILLY 304A

PRETORIA — Pleas to shorten SA's "long-distance" election campaigns were made at the weekend.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said there were six months of costly, economically disruptive electioneering ahead.

What the politicians had to say from the hustings could be said in half the time it normally took them in a traditional SA election campaign, he said.

But, until the political parties had the sophisticated equipment and computers needed to beef up the mechanics of electioneering, SA would be have to put up with long campaigns. He added goverment should subsidise the parties to buy the equipment.

DP MP Harry Schwarz said he stronyly favoured a shorter campaign, but the moment President P W Botha announced an election was to be held the campaign was triggered.

"Even although the election will only be proclaimed later, the country has already been plunged into an election environment," he said.

More court divisions rejected

B1 Dun 26/4/89 Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Calls for the establishm[ent] of the Supreme Court, [in] Western Tra[nsvaal]

It's positive reform before '92 or new Europe could sink SA

ROBERT GENTLE in London

THE European single market of 1992 will affect SA much more than even the most broadly-minded Pretoria bureaucrat would care to imagine.

Far from some nebulous, trade-related concept being cobbled together in places like Brussels and Strasbourg for the sole benefit of the European Community (EC), it is a potentially devastating piece of legislation for SA.

Its effect is directly tied to future developments in SA, the South African reform process and the single market in Europe are two sides of the same coin for South African business.

SA will sink or swim depending on whether or not the EC — which post-1992 will be the biggest single trading bloc in the world — is favourably disposed towards SA or not.

On the upside, the single market holds out the possibility of an end to disinvestment, access to more trade and technology and a genuine desire by Western governments to see both the South African economy and the political system succeed.

Frightening

On the downside, it could see a tightening of the screws already throttling the SA economy — more sanctions, an end to fresh credit, withdrawal of landing rights, closure of embassies and non-recognition of passports.

The downside is a frightening scenario, but what is even more frightening, according to SA watchers in Britain, is that it has taken so long for the country to wake up to what is ultimately SA's Rubicon — whatever President P W Botha may once have thought.

"There is the danger of SA being so concerned — however justifiably — with its immediate internal problems that it is incapable of seeing things going on in the outside world that are directly relevant to those problems".

Those are the blunt words of Lord Marsh, former British Labour cabinet minister and one-time chairman of British Rail. He echoes a view often heard in Whitehall these days — that SA has been lulled into a false sense of security because of the presence in Europe of Margaret Thatcher. Consequently, Pretoria has not grasped the urgency of reform.

"People there think she is first and foremost a closet member of the National Party, that she can play Joan of Arc and protect them from the wicked EC," says Marsh. "Why, she can't even do that for the British people on a matter as trivial as value added tax."

His summary of the problem is as frightening as is it simple.

To date, SA has been able to weather the storm of hostile European opinion by appealing to the commonsense of her traditional friends, particularly Britain and West Germany.

Where governments have been of the right political complexion — and leaders of the right conviction — it has been possible to buy time. Post-1992, the holes in this wall will have been papered over to present a unified commercial entity operating on one, coherent and mutually agreed set of trade policies.

It will no longer matter what West Germany or Britain or any other EC country thinks of SA's reform process. Group policy will prevail.

"It's as simple as that," says Marsh. "If in the run-up to 1992, the problems of SA are not at least perceived to be on the road to some sort of solution acceptable to all, the EC will be forced to act."

He bases this view on the political complexion of the present European parliament, which he regards as split down the middle between left and right, with a smattering of conservationist "Greens" in between.

"There is the real possibility of a left-of-centre government emerging, with all the anti-SA sentiment — however justifiable or not — which that would entail."

Emotive issues

SA's worst nightmare, a common sanctions policy, would no longer be in the realms of fantasy. That view of Fortress Europe — Thatcher's worst nightmare — finds an echo at the SA Foundation in London.

Says director David Willers: "If European Commission President Jacques Delors's vision of 1992 is correct — namely, that 80% of all commercial decisions will be taken in Brussels — that's 80% of decisions that directly affect us."

He goes on to warn of how the European parliament, even today, comes up with unexpected votes on emotive issues, such as the environment. And with SA coming a close second behind acid rain and exhaust emissions in the emotion stakes, prospects do not look good. "Evidence of change in SA will have to be that much more dramatic after 1992 to make an impact on the EC," he says.

What does SA do in the meantime?.

Speed up reform — real reform — liberalise the economy, scrap the Group Areas Act, privatise and deregulate, says Willers In short, get the country moving and make use of what influence SA still has with individual EC members to convince them of its sincerity.

"Ultimately, SA will be the architect of its own isolation if it cannot reform in a manner that restores health to the economy," says Willers, who sees this as the only route to political reform.

Nick Mitchell, chairman of the British Industry Commitee on SA (BICSA), also sees 1992 as Pretoria's last chance to put its house in some semblance of order. Having to grapple with the hostile investment climate, he perhaps appreciates more than others the tremendous opportunities that would open to SA if the EC were an ally rather than a foe.

That's why he urges South African business not only to whip Pretoria into line but to start laying the groundwork now for the problems SA would inevitably face if it is allowed access to the huge new European market.

These include improving black skills, worker education and productivity. He says that even if SA did have access to the single market, it wouldn't have the right products at competitive prices. The international marketing effort would also have to be jacked up. "Even in today's hostile climate, South African businessmen could be doing a lot more in European markets," he says.

Mitchell, Willers and Marsh are all talking about the same thing from different angles — the problem of getting the South African economy in gear so as to bring about the political change that the EC is looking for.

They all acknowledge how easy it is to criticise from the relative comfort of Thatcherite Britain, but feel it is precisely this detached view that puts the SA issue in stark persective.

"Look how long it took Thatcher to right the wrongs of successive post-war British governments," says Mitchell. "It's never too early to start." However, with barely three years left before 1992 and with many believing Pretoria has not grasped the enormity of the subject, time is not on SA's side.



□ LORD MARSH'... blunt warning

SA opening markets in Asia, Eastern Europe

HELOISE HENNING

THE Department of Trade and Industry is undergoing a restructuring to help exporters, director of trade promotion Bert Pienaar told the FCI Industry Ahead Conference last week.

Following government's new export promotion formulas, the department was being restructured into sections to deal with conventional trade, unconventional trade and trade with Africa.

"We have had excellent progress in entering markets that do not openly trade with SA. Counter-trade has become a vehicle into Asia and Eastern Europe. We have been invited to Hungary, Poland and the USSR.

"Since the peace initiative in Namibia, various new African markets have been opened to us, and the department has established an African Bureau through which we hope to assist businesses."

The department's offices overseas wouldbe put to more efficient use to keep contact with foreign industrialists and even negotiate deals on behalf of businessmen in SA.

The department was also building a data bank on each country. As chairman of the export credit guarantee reinsurance committee, Pienaar said he had access to information on credit-worthiness and import barriers in other countries.

"We will not make the same mistake as the US did in its trade with Africa. We can not afford hand-outs, but we can offer competitive products."

Pienaar, until recently SA's trade consul in Taiwan, said South African industrialists lacked an export culture. Import replacement had been the focus of industrial development over the past few decades, and this was reflected in the quality and standards of goods made in SA.

"Taiwan would not permit foreign investment if the company did not commit itself to exporting. Taiwan has always considered the world as its market, while its local market is only a segment of the total market."

Pienaar assured the conference government wanted to accommodate bona fide exporters For this reason, Section 11 bis of the Income Tax Act is being retained for a further three years as the new export schemes were phased in.

Regarding the industry-specific export incentives designed for the so-called "sunrise" industries, he said any industry that believed it qualified could contact the Board of Trade and Industry to get a pipeline study done. The incentive scheme would benefit all industries that delivered inputs into the pipeline.

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Completed and sealed tender documents are to be lodged before 16h00 on Tuesday, 2 May 1989 at Room 1049 (Mr J C Lutingh) of the Ciskei Peoples Development Bank, Independence Avenue, Bisho.

Tender documents will be supervised and opened by a General Manager of the Peoples Bank in the Committee Room, 1st Floor, Ciskei Peoples Development Bank Building, 657 Independence Avenue, Bisho at 14h00 on Friday, 8 May 1989 and Tenderers will be entitled to attend.

The Peoples Bank shall not be obliged to accept the highest or any Tender received and shall have the right, in its sole and absolute discretion, to accept such Tender as it chooses or to reject them all.

Ciskei Peoples Development Bank

The carpet-baggers sow dissension in the liberal camp

KEN OWEN

AFRIKANERDOM's two great bequests to South Africa — the Afrikaans language and Roman Dutch Law — have both been put in jeopardy by the National Party's oppressive reign, but the Nationalists are not alone in their culpability.

The curious propensity of Afrikaans opponents of apartheid to abandon their own community and to take up refugee status in other communities — usually English — has also contributed to the damage. The constant flight of Afrikaner dissidents has crippled the development of a modern Afrikaans liberalism in the communities which they have abandoned.

As a result, Afrikaans has in 40 years displaced English as the language of oppression. English, though weakened by the emigration of its elite, has ironically become, in its pidgin form, the language of liberation. Even a semanticist like Wimpie de Klerk is forced, when he writes on liberal topics, to use English terminology because Afrikaans has not developed its own.

Worse, the Nationalists have gutted the libertarian traditions of Roman Dutch Law by elevating the executive to quasi-totalitarian status. From the 90-day detention law of John Vorster, to the Rabie Commission, to the most recent fascist proposals to enable government to get rid of Botshabelo, the story has been one of abject submission to power.

The result has been to discredit the law and the courts, and to expose both of them to attack in the name of justice. In passing, of course, the Nationalists have all but destroyed the one really important English contribution to SA — the idea of liberty under law, or, in a more technical sense, the rule of law. But that is another subject.

Many Afrikaners of outstanding talent have rebelled against this destructiveness. Among the names that come instantly to mind are Beyers Naude and Braam Fischer; Johan van der Vyver and Marinus Wiechers; Breyten Breytenbach and Andre Brink; Andre du Toit and Herman Giliomee; Marius Barnard and Tiaan van der Merwe; and many, many others.

A few, mainly churchmen like Johan Heyns or academics like Willie Esterhuyse, have continued to toil in the unrewarding soil of Afrikaner nationalism, but most have fled from the Afrikaans institutions where they became, by reason of their dissidence, outcasts. They have, instead, climbed aboard the ramshackle English bandwagon.

Beyers Naude found refuge in the SA Council of Churches, Fischer in "the struggle"; Van der Vyver has gone to Wits, Du Toit and Giliomee to UCT; Brink is at Rhodes, and Breytenbach is in exile. Many journalists and writers have abandoned, or been driven out of, Afrikaans publications: Wimpie de Klerk, David de Villiers, Harald Pakendorf, Hennie Serfontein, Hans Strydom, and whole generations of younger people.

Lately, there has been an attempt to return to Afrikaans in publications like "Die Suid-Afrikaan," and "De Kat" and "Vrye Weekblad," but mainly Afrikaans dissidents write in English, addressing themselves to English readers, preaching the exile's hot-eyed sermon like white Russians in Paris.

Their influence on Afrikanerdom has, by their apostasy, been destroyed. They represent nobody but their admirable selves and, like poor relations, they carp endlessly about the accommodation among the English.

Politics has been no different. Jan Steytler, Japie Basson, Van Zyl Slabbert and many others have fled from the harsh Afrikaner environment to find an admiring following among English voters whom, very often, they learned in the end to despise. Slabbert's contempt is legendary.

Now Wynand Malan, Wimpie de Klerk, Louis Luyt, David de Villiers and a phalanx of Afrikaners of prominence are trying the same stunt, though more ambitiously. Already they have established dominance of the Democratic Party, where they have managed, in the politics of smoke-filled rooms, to capture most positions on the Democratic Party's governing board.

However, a political party is not a church or a university; it is — or it is supposed to be — a representative, mass organisation. A writer or a philosopher, or even a lawyer, can survive on his own; a political leader without followers is nothing but a huckster. And herein lies the weakness of the Democratic Party, the source of its dissensions.

Every move the party leaders make is subject to the suspicion, often justified, that they are not necessarily expressing the wishes, or even recognising the limits of tolerance, of their followers. The following of every one of the DP's leaders, except the PFP MPs in their own constituencies, is in doubt. And in the case of the PFP there is a nagging suspicion that support was evaporating anyway.

Certainly, there is no way of telling how much support Zach de Beer can count on; he was manoeuvred into leadership, rather than elected, and now his rivals are trying to manoeuvre him out again. Nor is it irrelevant that Worrall challenges on the basis of public opinion polls. He recognises that legitimacy depends on mass support.

However, Worrall himself, while waving the poll data to show that he can pull in more support than the old PFP crowd, is not willing to risk his neck again in Helderberg, where he came within 39 votes of establishing a power base. He wants a safe passage into Parliament from the loyal PFP folk whom he has been castigating for years.

Malan is even weaker. He has perhaps just enough votes in Randburg to defeat his old friend, Olaus van Zyl, provided the PFP voters, on whom his henchmen pour scathing, ethnocentric criticism, turn out for him again.

This is not to suggest that the energetic Afrikaners of the Third and Fourth Forces do not deserve to lead the DP; clearly, they are smarter, tougher, more ambitious, and better at the close-in knife work than the leaders thrown up by the depleted English community, Denis Worrall excepted. The feeble English deserve their role as the doormat to the future.

Yet there is this problem: the only source of legitimacy, and therefore of authority, for a political leader is mass support, and not one of the DP leaders can demonstrate as much support as Harry Schwarz in Yeoville or Roger Hulley in Constantia. Without legitimate authority, dissension reigns.

When Worrall and Malan were alone, they fought like two scorpions in a bottle; now they unite to deny De Beer the leadership. Later, they will no doubt fight like scorpions again. This is the nature of unrepresentative politics. It is what happens in the Kremlin.

The remedy is to go back to the voters, to the source of legitimate political authority, in order to identify *representative* leaders. To squabble for the decaying rump of the PFP, like hyenas over a carcass, is no solution.

Until Afrikaans leaders accept the challenge of leading Afrikaans followers into liberalism, they will remain what they are now: ethnic carpet-baggers, ruthlessly exploiting a defeated, dwindling and demoralised minority. And Afrikanerdom's two great gifts to the nation — the law and the language — will remain in the fatal custody of the National Party.

Dramatist attacks lack of truth in SA

One of the "angry young men" of South African theatre delivered a blistering attack at the weekend on the lack of truth in society and the role of the church in perpetuating this situation. He also criticised the evils of apartheid and censorship.

Mr Deon Opperman (27) stunned his audience, co-hosted by Pact, the Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging (ATKV) and the magazine *Insig*, at the State Theatre in Pretoria.

Censorship, he said, had its "cancerous fingers" deep in our life and Afrikaans had — in the land of states of emergency, detention without trial and oppression — "turned sour in the throat like milk in the sun". The artist had the task to seek the Holy Grail of truth, he said.

Obituary

Sydney Pillay

The Transvaal leader of the Solidarity Party, Mr Sidney Pillay died at the weekend of a heart attack. Mr Pillay of Bakerton, Springs was 64.

He is srvived byhis wife and five children.

The chairman of the House of Delegates, Mr Boetie Abramjee, said yesterday he wanted, on behalf of the entire council, to express his sincere condolences to the Pillay family. — Sapa.

DP slams Govt over proposal for Indian removal

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party has slammed Government suggestions that the Indians of Pageview should move to Mayfair.

"This is a disgraceful disregard for people who have owned their homes for so many years," Mr Peter Soal, DP MP for Johannesburg North said today.

He was reacting to Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer's disclosure last week that as MP for the area he was opposed to Pageview becoming a free settlement area.

Mr Meyer said that he believed the 42 Indian families in Pageview could move to neighbouring Mayfair, which is also in his constituency of Johannesburg West.

"After many years of peaceful pleading to be allowed to stay, they are simply being swept away from the place where they and their families have lived for many years on ground given to them by President Kruger.

Star 24/4/89 304A

Apartheid rejected at historic meeting

Tears and laughter as women share views

By Robin Drew,
The Star's Africa
News Service

HARARE — A delegation of 53 mainly Afrikaans-speaking women from South Africa cried, laughed and sang together with women exiles belonging to the ANC and with women of Zimbabwe's ruling Zanu (PF) party at a three-day meeting in Harare.

Most of the South Africans returned home yesterday after the historic get-together, described as "an overwhelming success" by Mrs Jenny Boraine of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

A statement said the aim of the meeting was to exchange views and come to a common understanding of the nature and source of the conflict in South Africa .

"It was agreed that every effort must be made to dismantle apartheid as it is the root cause of the crisis in our country and the southern African region," said the communique.

ANC national executive committee members said afterwards: "The women will go home with a vision of what is possible in South Africa.

"The young Afrikaners saw how much they have been lied to and they recognised the power of the Government's propaganda machine.

"They found us to be normal human beings and not the devils we had been painted as."

Leading ANC members present included Mrs Ruth Mompati, Mrs Lindiwe Mabuza and Mrs Gertrude Shope.

There were discussions behind closed doors about the armed struggle and the reasons for its adoption by the ANC and also about conscription of young whites into the armed forces.

Mrs Boraine said it was no good whites talking only to each other.

"We need to hear what the black people have to say and to hear it directly from them," she said.

The concluding statement said there was broad agreement to continue the exchange of views and it was agreed the shape of the future South Africa depended on the participation and contribution of all women.

The South African delegates were from many parts of South Africa and all walks of life. They were there as individuals and their political affiliations included the National Party.

Communities and their value systems are the product of different experiences

SA – like going back into the future

Star 24/7/85

UTH Africa is a microcosm Planet Earth. It contains all different backgrounds, life periences and value systems ich make 20th century homo iens what he is. Coming here ike going back to the future.

eep politico/psychological cur- s are swirling about this coun- sometimes in contradiction, etimes overlapping, always be- lering in their complexity. Like floods in Natal, they are often rgiving. We have the identical st and Third World ratio that racterises the planet itself. What th Africa decides today about its re, the world will have to decide orrow.

ltural 'Rubik Cubes'

he confluence points of these rents are generally defined in ns of race, ethnicity or national- . But should race and ethnicity elevated to this eminence? Is it more helpful to understand the idsets and value systems of indi- uals and entire societies? New ural "Rubik Cubes" have made ir appearance and they reflect iking patterns instead of skin mentation. The African who ieves affluence in the Ivory ist is, for instance, known as a ropean". This has nothing at all lo with the colour of his skin.

he value systems of people and nmunities are the product of ir experience, not of their genes. e hunter-gatherer will perceive world and society about him in a y very different from the capital industrialist, though each is per- tly rational in his own terms. et, of course, today's capitalist in- strialist will have had a relative- recent ancestor who was a hunt- gatherer somewhere in Europe — so much for genetic theories).

We all respond to the immediate challenges of our environment. A tribal structure may be appropriate in certain circumstances, a feudal one or a democracy in others. Such structures are created by human brain syndicates in order to resolve the problems of existence. But value systems are not static. They will change as the external environment changes. What makes South Africa such a fascinatingly complex society is the existence here of so many competing, overlapping and changing value systems or world views.

The Soweto dweller of today has values which are altogether different from those of his father and grandfather. Nor is today's urban Afrikaner the same person as his father and grandfather. Exposure to industrialisation, materialism and information has changed the mindsets of both. The *Buppie* (Black Urban Professional) has more in common with the Afrikaner *Yuppie* than with brothers and sisters from the homelands.

Race is incidental.

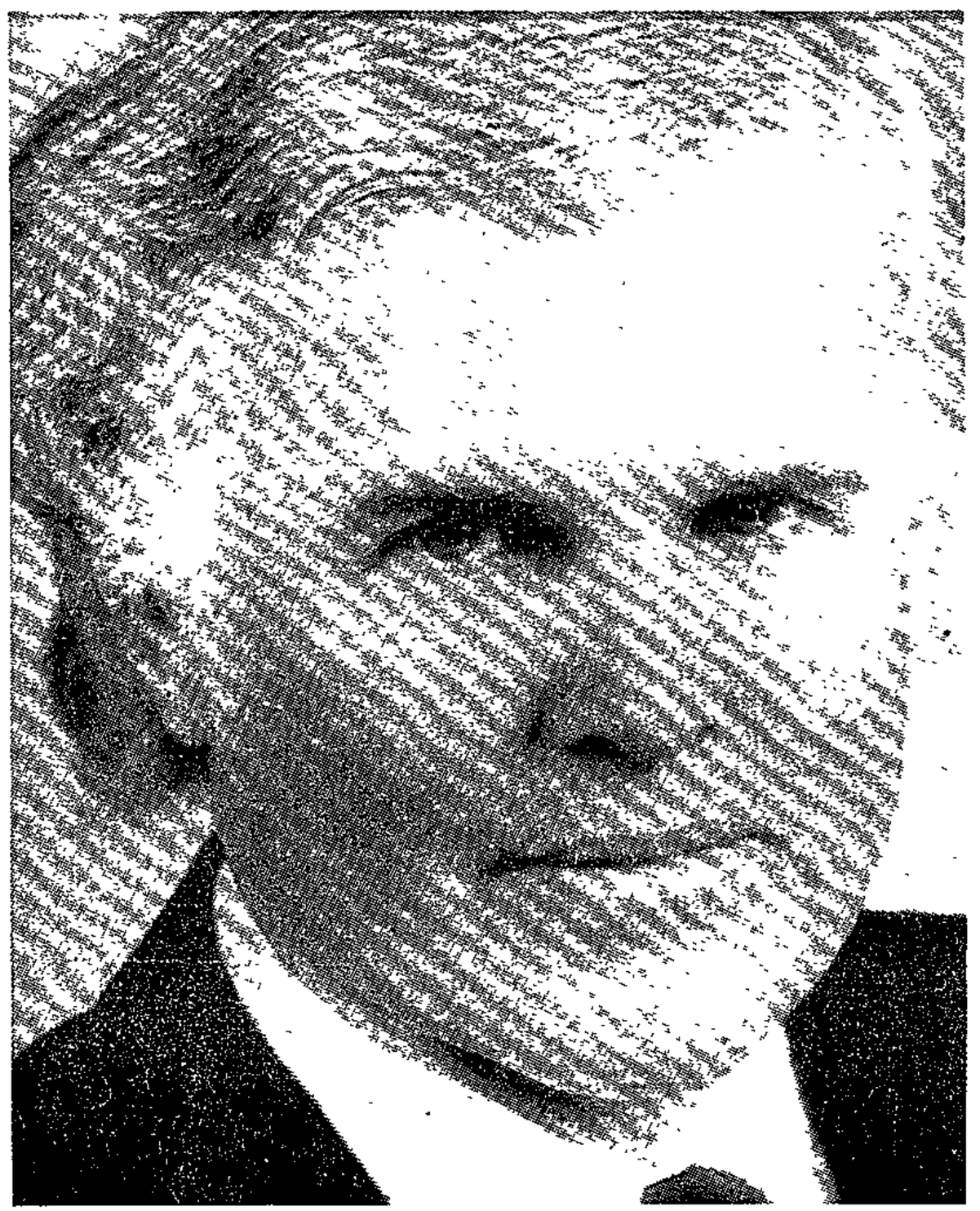
It is striking that the favourite television programme in Soweto should be "Dallas", where not a black face is to be seen in a major role. But the glitter of "Dallas" is in line with aspirations in Soweto. The "Bill Cosby Show", on the other hand, has been immensely popular among Afrikaner communities in the Free State, in spite of Cosby's blackness. Cosby is the patriarchal head of a close-knit family, in keeping with the traditional values of the rural Afrikaner.

By a "value system" we mean how people think, not what they think. There are more than five billion types of people on the planet.

FOCUS ON SOUTH AFRICA



This is the first of a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas, who recently completed his 25th visit to South Africa. He specialises in socio/political analysis and has been making presentations of his analysis of this country to leaders in business and government. He has worked on five continents and made similar presentations in mainland China. He has been invited to the Soviet Union to describe the process of change. This series is drawn from Dr Beck's publications, "The South African Psychological Map" and "The South African Formula". Graham Linscott is a Special Correspondent of The Star.



Dr Don Beck . . . Texan psychologist who has visited SA 25 times.

These value systems are types in people. Much as the brain can house the multiple personalities of Eve (in the film, "The Three Faces of Eve") and Jekyll and Hyde, it can also integrate a series of different horses for courses thinking patterns.

Eight politico/psychological currents are to be detected in South African society at present. Sometimes they flow together, sometimes across one another or against, causing social turbulence. Several have broken out of their channels and millions of people are on a kind of floodplain which could take them anywhere, so confused and directionless are their operating systems.

The issues on the surface, such as the violence around Maritzburg, the conflict between Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism and the Low Road and High Road scenarios for SA can be best understood by tracking these deep currents.

● **Tomorrow: The Afrikaner's Third Trek.**

8 points of reference

The eight main politico/psychological currents which will be referred to throughout this series are:

The Survivalist Impulse — This is expressed in subsistence living within extreme poverty or primitive conditions.

Tribal Order (not to be confused with the 10 tribal structures still visible in South Africa) — This world view is characterised by animist belief in spirits, strong bonds of human reciprocity, allegiance to "our people" and the ways and wisdom of the elders.

Much of the violence in the townships is evidence of the agony of the transition from the old ways.

Power Empires — These are built up by self-assertive individuals: Township godfathers, party bosses, warlords, unscrupulous financial magnates. The raw energy can be disciplined only by one-party states, authoritarian leaders or very firm policing.

TRUE BELIEVER

"Right Way" Ideology — The true believer perceives life as being not for pleasure but for sacrifice, obedience to rules and belief in a Higher Power, which can alone provide peace of mind. Such strongly held convictions make for intolerance, holy crusades and rigid control over values and mores.

The notion of in-group purity is set against out-group evil. Suicidal nationalism becomes possible and non-conformity is harshly punished.

Pragamatic Enterprise — The focus on materialistic progress, pursuit of the "good life" here and now and fascination with technology drive this value system to achieve and advance, but in this life. The key words are industrialisation, success, entrepreneurialism, upward mobility, consumerism, free enterprise and other displays of accomplishment or status.

This elitist system underpins the thinking of the Free Market movement in South Africa and rejects control by the communal/collective forces of egalitarianism and group identity. Political power-sharing, negotiated compromise and a system of checks and balances in a pluralistic democracy are the result of the working of the "invisible hand" in the marketplace.

Egalitarian Harmony — By rejecting dogma, materialism, divisive nationalism and inhumane exploitation this newly emerging world view values inclusion, equality and social concern. It is clearly discerned in the Scandinavian countries, liberal religious persuasions and social democratic movements in Europe.

This current has launched a global attack on South African apartheid and even the expanding free enterprise based black empowerment schemes.

Integrative Evolution — This thinking pattern demonstrates ways to integrate various value systems and at the same time facilitate the natural evolution of people, organisations and entire cultures through a series of passages and channels, out of cul-de-sacs and on to plateaux.

Since this mindset is based on an understanding of the implicit order within chaos, it views change as inevitable and accepts that different people will think in different ways. Societies must therefore manage a state of flow instead of a rigid and restrictive pattern.

Global Renewal — This current has been spawned by such global problems as the diminishing ozone layer, acid rain, the threat of Aids and a concern for all life.

Hendrickse accused of 'evading' corruption

Star 24/4/89

By Tim Cohen

Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse has refused to comment on a 47-page report alleging corruption in the management committee which controls coloured areas in Johannesburg.

The report, which makes allegations of corrupt land allocation and electoral fraud, was compiled earlier this year by the United Civic Association (UCA), a minority group in the South Western management committee.

The UCA executive committee said it was deeply disappointed by Mr Hendrickse's response and described it as an "evasive cover-up". Its leader, Mr Dudly Arends, said it as an attempt "to put on a brave face" before the general election.

In a letter to the UCA, Mr Hendrickse wrote: "I have to inform you that the first part of the memorandum compiled by your association deals with alleged corruption by members of the Eldorado Park management committee and a Member of Parliament and his wife about which the Administration cannot comment."

The UCA report includes sworn affidavits from two Eldorado Park residents who allege that before last October's municipal elections they were asked to cast their votes under false names.

It also states that the MP for the area, Mr D H Mateman, and two councillors, Mrs M E Mateman and Mr S S Adams, were listed as "silent members" of Hopewillith Investments, a close corporation allocated a property by the management committee for R300 000.

The council minutes record that Mr Mateman (who was a councillor at the time) and Mrs Mateman were asked to recuse themselves while the item was considered.

However, the UCA claims Mr Adams did not recuse himself despite the fact that he was bound to profit from the allocation.

Mrs Mateman, now chairman of the management committee, last night said she would respond after having read the report.

Cape Times 24/4/89 (30 col)

Vermaas assets 'R153m' short

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pretoria attorney Mr Albert Vermaas's liabilities exceed his assets by R153,8m, the liquidators of his estate said in a letter to creditors sent on March 31.

The figures are derived from unaudited book values and estimated realisable values.

"We are not in a position to indicate whether there will be a dividend at this early stage, as all transactions relating to the assets and liabilities of Vermaas must be investigated," the letter says.

"This is emphasised with respect to the potential claim from the Receiver of Revenue to an amount of R15m and the effect thereof on any amount distributable, if any, to other creditors."

The book value of Mr Vermaas's single largest asset — affiliate companies in Verco Holdings — is R104 561 629, but it has no estimated realisable value.

Other book value assets which have no realisable values are a R36m investment in Eurobank, 100 shares each in Eurotrust and Reef Acceptances and the W A. Vermaas & Co capital account of R107 785.

Loans and liabilities (book value and realisable value) is given as R161,3m.

Mr Vermaas's game farm Sebaka has a book value of R700 000 but a realisable value of only R300 000; his home has a book and realisable value of R230 000; his luxury cars and boat a book value of R1 599 000 and a realisable value of R750 000.

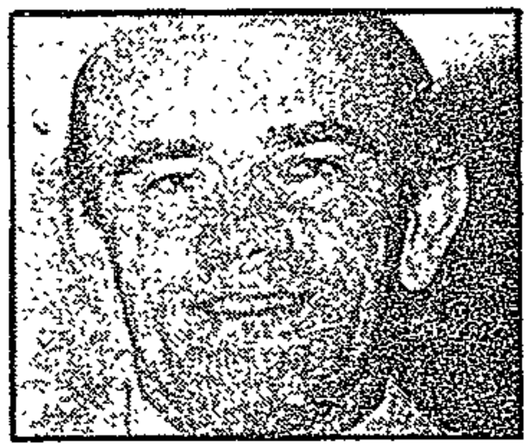
The letter notes that the liquidators are negotiating with the Reserve Bank with a view to releasing the assets it has attached.

According to documents handed in to the Master of the Pretoria Supreme Court, agents for Mr Vermaas's deposit-taking scheme received very large commissions on investors' monies.

The documents show that Mr Vermaas generally offered interests of between 40% and 60% and investors were usually paid about 20% of that with the agents taking the balance as commission.

A printout of computer records showing investors' names, the amount of the investment, rate of interest paid and the names of the agents who received commission on the investments and the percentage interest they received was handed in during the first meeting of Mr Vermaas's creditors.

In the case of Sentra-Oes, for example, eight agents were paid commission totalling 40,2%, more than double the interest received by the investor, Sentra-Oes.



Mr Dave Dalling .... "is Government dealing with Irish insurgents?"



Mr Koos van der Merwe . . . "CP not against clandestine operations."

'The last thing SA needs'

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The South African Government was challenged today to say if it had official arms dealings with Irish guerillas.

Mr Dave Dalling, Democratic Party defence spokesman, said the last thing South Africa needed was to be branded as a country contributing to world terror.

This followed disclosures that Paris-based South African diplomat Mr Daniel Storm had been trapped in a secret arms deal with members of the para-military Ulster Defence Association.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has been tight-lipped about the affair.

It has only confirmed that a person by the name of Daniel Storm is based at the Paris embassy and that the matter is being investigated.

Allegations have been made in British newspapers that Mr Storm works either for Armscor or the National Intelligence Service, but local diplomatic sources said he was listed as a diplomat.

Mr Dalling said the South African Government had to explain urgently whether it was dealing with Irish insurgents.

He said the Government had to answer the following questions. 304A

- Was Mr Storm acting on his own or with official approval?
- Which branch of government did Mr Storm work for and what were the parameters of his duties?
- Was South Africa going to provide arms in exchange for the missile parts?
- Was South Africa involved in previous dealings with the Ulster Defence Association?
- Was South Africa involved in arms deals with any other guerilla groups?

Mr Koos van der Merwe, Conservative Party defence spokesman said "the Government should take the country into its confidence".

"We are not against, shall I say, clandestine operations to obtain arms.

"But if terrorist organisations are involved, we should know about it."

It is understood that Mr Storm will be recalled to South Africa.

S 4/4/87

R400 000

Star 24/4/89.

Women face future together

Staff Reporter (304A)

"Women Facing The Future Together" is the title of a lunchtime forum for business and professional women, which will be launched by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) this week.

Organisers say the forum aims to:

- Provide a platform for democratic-thinking people to give their perspectives on aspects of the South African situation and options for the future.
- Encourage women across the broad spectrum of South African society to exchange views on issues of common concern. This includes the contribution women can make to bring about a democratic society.

The guest speakers at the launch on Friday are Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, Idasa director of policy and planning, on "Moving into the 1990s" and Mrs Sally Motlana, of the Black Housewives League, on "Being a woman in South Africa".

Additional meetings of "Women Facing the Future Together" will be held at the Mariston Hotel, corner Koch and Claims streets, Joubert Park on June 23, August 18, October 20 and December 8.

Community leader Mrs Ellen Kuzwayo is one of the supporters of the forum.

For more information, please contact Melody Emmett or Lisa Seftel at (011) 403-3580.

Beeld calls for PW to step down now

Political Reporter

The government-supporting Afrikaans morning newspaper *Beeld* has plegded its unequivocal support to National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk for the State Presidency.

In a stinging editorial today, *Beeld* said it was time that Mr de Klerk officially become State President. The Government had of late become paralysed as everyone waited for the new man to take over the reins.

It had been more than 14 days since President Botha had confirmed to an appreciative parliamentary audience that he would step down after the general election — expected to be held on September 13, according to *Beeld*.

"Is it really necessary that a situation which now begins to look unbearable should drag one week short of a full five months?"

Issues of great importance were demanding urgent attention like the release of Nelson Mandela and the Group Areas Act.

Footballer slated for playing in SA

HARARE — A storm has broken over the episode in which a Zimbabwean football player, Boy Ndlovu, went to South Africa to play a game for National Soccer League club Jomo Midas Cosmos.

Ndlovu has been condemned "to hell" by the Minister of Sport, Mr David Kwidini, who said he should be banned from playing soccer in Zimbabwe for a long time.

But Zimbabwe football officials say Ndlovu did not fully understand the implications of his actions. — The Star's Africa News Service.

'Macbeth' is on at Wits

The Wits Theatre will be presenting the Transvaal matric English setwork play, "Macbeth" nightly from tomorrow until Saturday May 6.

Performances commence at 8 pm and Saturday matinees at 2.30 pm. There will be no shows on Sundays or public holidays.

Special school discounts are available. For block booking or inquiries, telephone 716-4071, or book through Computicket. — Staff Reporter.

Overlapping values of SA's people—

THE first in a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/-psychological terms.

Dr Beck is a psychologist and Director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas, who has just completed his 25th visit to South Africa. He specialises in socio/political analysis and has been making presentations of his analysis of this country to leaders in business and government.

He has worked on five continents and made similar presentations in mainland China. He has been invited to the Soviet Union to describe the process of change.

This series is drawn from Dr Beck's publications, The South African Psychological Map and The South African Formula. Graham Linscott is Special Correspondent of The Argus.

SOUTH Africa is a microcosm of Planet Earth. It contains all the different backgrounds, life experiences and value systems which make 20th century homo sapiens what he is. Coming here is like going back to the future.

STUDY

Deep politico/psychological currents are swirling about this country, sometimes in contradiction, sometimes overlapping, always bewildering in their complexity.

Like the floods in Natal, they are often unforgiving. We have the identical First and Third World ratio that characterises the planet itself. What South Africa decides today about its future, the world will have to decide tomorrow.

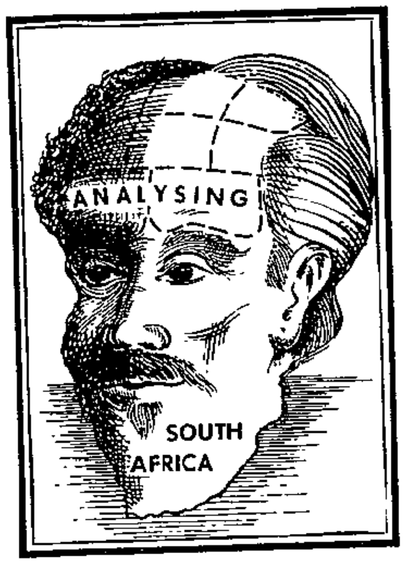
The confluence points of these currents are generally defined in terms of race, ethnicity or nationalism. But should race and ethnicity be elevated to this eminence? Is it not more helpful to understand the mindsets and value systems of individuals and entire societies?

New cultural "Rubik Cubes" have made their appearance and they reflect thinking patterns instead of skin pigmentation. The African who achieves affluence in the Ivory Coast is, for instance, known as a "European."

This has nothing at all to do with the colour of his skin.

The value systems of people and communities are the product of their experience, not of their genes.

The hunter-gatherer will perceive the world and society about him in a way very different from the capitalist industrialist, though each is perfectly rational in his own



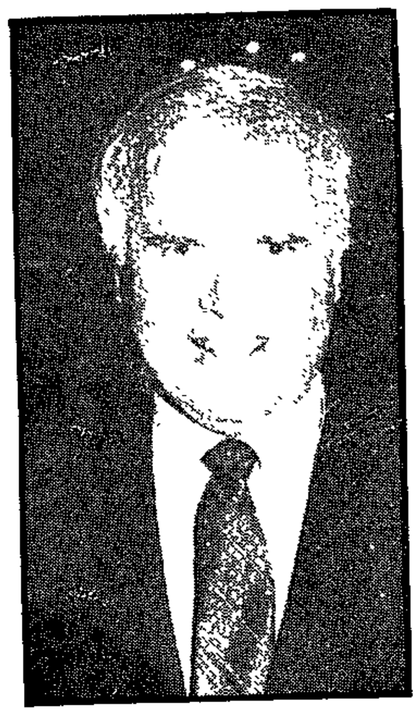
terms. (Yet, of course, today's capitalist industrialist will have had a relatively recent ancestor who was a hunter-gatherer somewhere in Europe — so much for genetic theories).

We all respond to the immediate challenges of our environment. A tribal structure might be appropriate in certain circumstances, a feudal one or a democracy in others. Such structures are created by human brain syndicates in order to resolve the problems of existence.

There are no universal forms of government or economic arrangement. But value systems are not static. They will change as the external environment changes. What makes South Africa such a fascinatingly complex society is the existence here of so many competing, overlapping and changing value systems or world views.

The Soweto dweller of today has values which are altogether different from those of his father and grandfather. Nor is today's urban Afrikaner the same person as his father and grandfather.

Exposure to industrialisation, materialism and information has changed the mindsets of both. The *Buppie* (Black Urban Professional) has more in common with the Afrikner *Yuppie*



Dr Don Beck

than with brothers and sisters from the homelands. Race is incidental.

It is striking that the favourite television programme in Soweto should be Dallas, where not a black face is to be seen in a major role. But the glitter of Dallas is in line with aspirations in Soweto.

The Bill Cosby Show, on the other hand, has been immensely popular among Afrikaner communities in the Orange Free State, in spite of Cosby's blackness. Cosby is the patriarchal head of a close-knit family, thoroughly in keeping with the traditional values of the rural Afrikaner.

By a "value system" we mean how people think, not what they think. There are more than five billion types of people on the planet. These value systems are types in people.

Much as the brain can house the multiple personalities of Eve (in the film, The Three Faces of Eve) and Jekyll and Hyde, it can also integrate a series of different "horses for courses" thinking patterns.

Social turbulence is caused by eight currents

EIGHT politico/psychological currents are to be detected in South African society at present. Sometimes they flow together, sometimes across one another or against, causing social turbulence.

Several have broken out of their channels and millions of people are on a kind of floodplain which could take them anywhere, so confused and directionless are their operating systems.

The eight main currents are:

● **The Survivalist Impulse**: This is expressed in subsistence living within extreme poverty or primitive conditions.

● **Tribal Order** (not to be confused with the 10 tribal structures still visible in South Africa): This world view is characterised by animist belief in spirits, strong bonds of human reciprocity, allegiance to "our people" and the ways and wisdom of the elders. Much of the violence in the townships is evidence of the agony of the transition from the old ways.

● **Power Empires**: These are built up by self-assertive individuals: township godfathers, party bosses, warlords, unscrupulous financial magnates. The raw energy can be disciplined only by one-party states, authoritarian leaders or very firm policing.

● **"Right Way" Ideology**: The true believer perceives life as being not for pleasure but for sacrifice, obedience to rules and belief in a Higher Power, which can alone provide peace of mind. Such strongly held convictions make for intolerance, holy crusades and rigid control over values and mores. The notion of in-group purity is set against out-group evil. Suicidal nationalism becomes possible and non-conformity is harshly punished.

● **Pragamatic Enterprise**: The focus on materialistic progress, pursuit of the "good life" here and now and fascination with technology drive this value system to achieve and advance, but in this life.

The key words are industrialisation, success, entrepreneurialism, upward mobility, consumerism, free enterprise and other displays of accomplishment or status. This elitist system underpins the thinking of the Free Market movement in South Africa and rejects control by the communal-/collective forces of egalitarianism and group identity.

Political power-sharing, negotiated compromise and a system of checks and balances in a pluralistic democracy are the result of the working of the "invisible hand" in the marketplace.

● **Egalitarian Harmony**: By rejecting dogma, materialism, divisive nationalism and inhumane exploitation, this newly emerging world view values inclusion, equality and social concern.

It is clearly discerned in the Scandinavian countries, liberal religious persuasions and social democratic movements in Europe. This current has launched a global attack on South African apartheid and even the expanding free enterprise-based black empowerment schemes.

● **Integrative Evolution**: This thinking pattern demonstrates ways to integrate various value systems and at the same time facilitate the natural evolution of people, organisations and entire cultures through a series of passages, and channels, out of cul-de-sacs and on to plateaux.

Since this mindset is based on an understanding of the implicit order within chaos, it views change as inevitable and accepts that different people will think in different ways. Societies must therefore manage a state of flow instead of a rigid and restrictive pattern.

● **Global Renewal**: This current has been spawned by such global problems as the diminishing ozone layer, acid rain, the threat of AIDS and a concern for all life.

The issues on the surface, such as the violence around Pietermaritzburg, the conflict between Afrikaner nationalism and black nationalism and the Low Road and High Road scenarios for South Africa can be best understood by tracking these deep currents.

TOMORROW: The Afrikaner's Third Trek.

British newspapers up in arms

South Africa would react with outrage should, for instance, a British diplomat based here be found arranging arms swaps with the ANC. The backlash to news that a South African diplomat has been involved in arms deals with Ulster extremists is reflected in the British media, reports PETER DELMAR.

BRITISH newspapers yesterday reported that shadowy South African agents had continuing contact with Northern Ireland nationalists fighting against incorporation in the Irish Republic in a bid to obtain sophisticated British missiles.

The Independent newspaper said Protestant Loyalists had obtained their biggest single arms supply last year through an unspecified South African connection.

Quoting Irish Loyalist sources, it said the delivery of a variety of weapons in January last year put the Loyalists in "the big league of terrorism for the first time".

And the Guardian said South African agents apparently approached the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) more than two years ago, offering £1m in arms or cash for a detailed model or replica of the anti-aircraft Blowpipe missile.

Intermediaries

The Blowpipe is a portable anti-aircraft missile used successfully in the Falklands War. In the updated Javelin version, its manual guidance system was made semi-automatic.

The Guardian said the UDA rejected the approach, indicating it would be interested in swapping arms if arranged by other intermediaries.

"Equipment reported stolen in Northern Ireland — a training simulator, a cutaway demonstrator model and components — is believed to have been sought by Armscor ... so it could make its own missile."

The Independent said the arms consignment received by the Loyalists included about 200 Czechoslovakian Kalashnikov rifles, 90 pistols, 450 anti-personnel grenades and up to a dozen RPG-7 rocket launchers and warheads.

Although the Royal Ulster Constabulary seized more than half the arms, some weapons were successfully used in attacks against the IRA — the best known being the single-handed attack on an IRA funeral in Milltown last year by Ulster Volunteer Force member Michael Stone.

The Independent claimed about £150 000 changed hands, but the suppliers were more interested in getting their hands on plans for missiles produced by Shorts, a Belfast-based arms manufacturer.

While the Blowpipe cropped up in earlier conversations, the suppliers' priority was to obtain the updated Javelin and, especially, the Starstreak system for which they offered several million pounds.

The Protestants were told that in return they could get Armscor weapons or arms from a number of countries, the Independent report said.

The original contacts with the South Africans were made via a middleman at meetings in Belfast and London with three separatist groups.

After failing to get the Shorts parts or plans, the groups turned their hand to bank robbery, netting £325 000 in June 1987.

The Independent said arrests made after the bank hold-up led police to Ulsterman Noel Little, who was questioned and kept under surveillance. Little was detained along with South African diplomat Daniel Storm and two other Loyalists at the weekend. Regarded as the Ulster Resistance's chief arms buyer, Little maintained contact with the South Africans and was expected to stage a repeat transaction.

The Guardian said links between South Africa and Loyalists had been fostered over several years.

'Hypocrisy'

Meanwhile, the right-wing London Daily Express yesterday accused South Africa of stabbing Britain and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the back.

It said Britain was entitled to demand straight answers when one of Pretoria's diplomats was caught in the company of three extremist Ulstermen and a US arms dealer.

"There seems to be some hypocrisy here, bearing in mind South Africa's frequent condemnation of violence and terrorism," it said.

"What is more, it looks very much as if Pretoria has been meddling in Britain's internal affairs in a spectacular manner, and not for the first time either.

"Mr Botha's government is fond of praising Mrs Thatcher for her opposition to sanctions.... It is a funny way to repay the Prime Minister."

Jo'burg Nats to ask govt to allow Sunday movies

PETER DELMAR

THE ruling NP caucus in the Johannesburg city council last night decided to ask Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to allow film shows on Sundays.

NP council leader and management committee chairman Jan Burger said the preamble to the SA constitution entrenched religious freedom, so a ban on Sunday movies could not be justified.

The former PFP opposition in the council campaigned for years for Sunday movies, but encountered strong opposition from NP leader the late Danie van Zyl.

State paid more than R2m to buy Vermaas farms

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government paid more than R2m in 1983 for two farms owned by Albert Vermaas in the Cullinan district, Education and Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen said in Parliament yesterday.

The farms Christiaansrus and Sandspruit were acquired by the SA Development Trust in about 1983.

Land in the district was purchased for incorporation in KwaNdebele.

Viljoen said the remaining extents of Portions 2 and 7 of the farm Zandspruit 189 JR were acquired from Verco (Pty) Ltd, of which W A Vermaas was the sole director.

The Harms Commission found Vermaas owned 100% of Verco shares.

Viljoen said Christaansrus 182 JR was also acquired from Vermaas. These farms were expropriated for R2 047 500, including game value.

The property evaluation was approved by the former Community Development Board.

"The properties were expropriated for the thus approved valuation of R1 965 000. The owner was, however, not satisfied with this price and instituted a claim in the Supreme Court, which was settled out of court. A further amount of R82 500 was offered on advice of the State's legal representatives," Viljoen said.

- and legal chaos."

had consumed the filtered water.

Political structures 'must be legitimate'

30CA
8/04 25/4/89

CHRIS CAIRNCROSS

CAPE TOWN — Although SA must ultimately decide its own constitutional future, any new political structures put in place must also be perceived to be legitimate internationally, an Assocom delegation said yesterday.

It told the President's Council (PC) constitutional committee that any search for a new constitutional model was not only a matter of importance to those who lived in SA, but also for those countries with which it did business.

Using as a basis for its arguments the 1985 study by Jan Lombard and Andre du Pisanie, The Removal of Discrimination against Blacks in the Political Economy of SA, Assocom said it was essential any future political system provided for necessary checks and balances; safeguards for basic human rights; and the protection of minority groups against domination.

The fundamental character of the private enterprise system should form the basis of any new political structures for SA. This led logically to the implacement of the political principles of federalism or confederalism.

"In a nutshell, it would mean Assocom sees government in any future constitutional dispensation as 'strong but limited and dispersed'."

Assocom said it also followed that central economic planning would not work in SA because of the heterogeneous nature of the community. "Serious attempts at central planning of production and distribution of income in SA would produce disastrous results, as it patently has in so many other African communities."

The Bill of Rights recently proposed by the SA Law Commission was a significant development and there was merit in such a Bill containing a substantive further provision in which the rights of free enterprise and competition were enshrined.

"In passing, we believe a Bill of Rights would eliminate problems at

Soviet envoy wants contact

SOWETAN Reporter

THE Soviet Union believes that contacts with South Africa are useful "because they make it possible to better understand each other," the Russian ambassador-at-large Vyacheslav Ustinov, has said.

Mr Ustinov is expected to head the Soviet delegation which will visit South Africa at the end of this month to attend a meeting of the joint commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba to be held in Cape Town.

It will be the first time that Soviet officials will officially visit South Africa since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1956.

The Africa News Organisation, ANO, reported from Moscow that Mr Ustinov said in an interview that the Soviet Union regarded its participation in the joint commission as a possibility to outline our views on different issues, including the internal situation in South Africa".

"Our talks take place in a constructive ... spirit. There is no rivalry between us, nor can there be any. We have made it clear that we have no interests in that region, except humanitarian. We stand for political freedom for the African majority, just as for all nations and radical minorities in South Africa," he said.

DP: hundreds of new members signed up

THE DP'S first two weeks of existence had been "conspicuously successful" with committees being established in several NP strongholds and hundreds of new members signed up, a party spokesman said yesterday.

DP communications director James Selfe said 1 500 members had been enrolled and thousands more were in the pipeline.

The PFP, IP and NDM had a combined membership before the merger of 45 000.

Launch

Selfe said new memberships proved the DP's drawing power was greater than the sum of its three constituent parties.

Since the launch, party leaders had addressed 11 major public meetings and at least another 25 were planned for the next three weeks.

The first DP constituency committees were launched in Vereeniging and Klerksdorp. In addition, a meeting in Potchefstroom drew 250 people and other platteland meetings were planned for Ceres, Natal and the Free State.

Selfe said one of the DP's biggest strengths was in attracting support in platteland areas where the PFP had

PETER DELMAR

previously had little success.

With several months to go before an election, turnouts at DP public meetings had been considerably higher than at average campaign meetings — most of them recorded in NP-held seats.

The DP had drawn 2 500 people to a Cape Town public meeting three days after the April 8 launch. A week later, 1 000 people turned up to hear the three co-leaders; Zach de Beer, Denis Worrall and Wynand Malan, speak in Stellenbosch.

Selfe said the three leaders had a hectic speaking schedule, addressing several meetings a week at venues throughout the country as they capitalised on the momentum created by the DP's launch.

The most successful membership drive in the Southern Transvaal region had been in the Johannesburg West constituency of Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer — a DP election target. Malan last week drew 350 people to a meeting in the area.

And last Wednesday, an audience of 400 heard him and Worrall speak in Florida, the seat of Finance Minister Barend du Plessis.

'Untenable' impasse over PW

PETER DELMAR

THE staunchly pro-government Afrikaans daily Beeld yesterday appealed for a speedy resolution to the "untenable" impasse surrounding the presidency.

Top NP sources said the editorial accurately reflected the desire within the NP for new party leader F W de Klerk to replace P W Botha as president as soon as possible.

Questioning whether a sort of paralysis was not descending on the nation's rulers, Beeld said government urgently needed to address and explain its stand on important issues such as the Group Areas Act and jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

These questions would play a decisive role in the election, particularly if they were left hanging in the air.

Malan should resign — DP

Blowpipe incident damaging relations with UK, France

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan was today challenged to resign as the Blowpipe missile crisis showed signs of damaging relations with Britain and France.

British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher yesterday expressed great concern at allegations of arms deals between the South African Government and Northern Ireland Protestant extremists, a British government spokesman said.

The spokesman said Mrs Thatcher raised the issue during talks at her Downing Street residence with South African Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, who reiterated an earlier South African Government statement that Pretoria did not supply arms to terrorist groups.

Today Mr Colin Eglin, Democratic Party foreign affairs spokesman, said that if Mr Daniel Storm, the "diplomat" trapped in an arms deal with Irish loyalist guerillas, had been involved in "murky arms deals with terrorist organisations, there is no doubt the Minister of Defence should resign".

The Government has now virtually acknowledged that Mr Storm was working for Armscor. It is understood Mr Storm is still in Paris, but has been recalled to face an inter-departmental probe.

Government sources said this would involve Foreign Affairs, the Defence Force and Armscor.

Their aim would be to determine whether Mr Storm had exceeded "the reasonable needs of South Africa" and secondly whether there had been any dealings in the past with any shadowy organisations.

Both General Malan and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha strongly stressed that Mr Storm was not authorised to supply arms to "terrorist organisations" — as alleged in reports of the incident.

Preventing repetition

If he had "exceeded his authority, the necessary steps would be taken — also to prevent a repetition," they said.

Mr Botha said the South African Government had investigated the matter and wished to point out that: "It is Armscor's task to maintain South Africa's defensive capability."

General Malan said the matter was being investigated. He said that South Africa sometimes had to use "uncoventional methods" to guard its security and development because of the international arms embargo.

"Whenever unconventional action is taken, there are limits within which the action can take place. It is South African Government policy to provide no support or weapons to terrorist organisations.

"If it should emerge that the allowed limits were overstepped in the present case, this is unacceptable to the Government."

Sapa reports that Mrs Thatcher raised the issue with Mr du Plessis only briefly during the hour-long meeting, which was mostly devoted to the situation in southern Africa.

Opposition Labour Party MP Mr Gerald Kaufman earlier alleged that grenades supplied by South Africa were used by the Protestant Ulster Defence Association in attacks against police in Northern Ireland.

Questioned in parliament by Tory MP, Mr Ivor Stanbrook, whether there was any evidence that South African weapons had been used in "terrorist incidents" in Northern Ireland, British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe replied: "It is not possible for me to offer any concluded judgment on that today."

Security sources said the Blowpipe was probably stolen from an army base.

Star 25/4/86

Judge urges: 'Reconsider' treason charges

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Given the spectrum of politics in our society from black to white and far left to far right, a charge of treason should be carefully considered and reconsidered before being brought, Mr Justice Van der Walt said yesterday.

He made this comment at the conclusion of his judgment in the Rand Supreme Court, acquitting unionist Mr Moses Mayekiso and four others on charges of treason and alternative charges of subversion and sedition.

"It is a matter for comment and concern that so much energy and time was spent in the course of this trial on evidence made necessary and relevant by the charge of treason which has proved abortive.

"Treason," he said, "is a crime in a very special category where the ideas and political aspirations of those charged are part of the issue."

Complex society

Mr Justice Van der Walt said that in our strange and complex society a charge of treason should be considered very carefully before being brought "given the spectrum of politics of our citizens from black to white and from far left to far right, with the grievances and aspirations in most cases legitimate, the intemperate and exaggerated language liberally spiced with political cliches, and most of these citizens striving for a just South Africa".

During his judgment Mr Justice Van der Walt referred to statements in the press at the time attributed to Mr Mayekiso and which formed part of the state's evidence.

He said the state had built up a persuasive case on these that might possibly indicate a subversive intent and possible furtherance of certain events in the township.

The judge said, however, that taking conditions in Alexandra at the time into account and the Alexandra Action Committee's desire for political support, their evidence before the court could not be rejected and might reasonably be true.

Mr Justice Van der Walt noted in particular Mr Mayekiso's meetings with Alexandra's administrator, Mr Steve Burger, and other local authorities. "This, in my view, refutes any suggestion of a subversive intent," he said.

He said it was evident the support by the five accused and the AAC of the rent boycott was a form of protest against conditions in Alexandra and the perceived corruption of the councillors — not to make Alexandra ungovernable but to upgrade living conditions.

The judge also said a strong case had been made out against Mr Paul Tshabalala concerning his participation in the people's court at 31, 7th Avenue.

He added, however, that the single person who testified on this was an extremely poor witness and while the court did not think Mr Tshabalala had been completely truthful, his evidence that he had only mediated on domestic problems could reasonably be true.

Mr Justice Van der Walt described the minutes of AAC meetings from its inception in February 1986 until its demise with the arrest of four of the five in June that year as the "most important part of the defence's evidence".

"Despite a faint suggestion by the state that it is not genuine, I'm satisfied on the evidence before the court that it is," he said.

"The importance of the minutes lies in that it affords an insight into the thoughts of the AAC executive and actions at the time covered by the indictment."

JOHANNESBURG. — "We are returning to continue where we left off," freed Alexandra treason trialist Mr Moses Mayekiso told a media conference after he and his four co-accused were acquitted yesterday.

He said the message from the judgment delivered yesterday by Mr Justice P J van der Walt was that structures such as street committees were lawful "and we should now continue building them".

Mr Mayekiso said the community structures he and his colleagues of the Alexandra Action Committee (AAC) had been accused of building were democratic in that they encouraged answerability and accountability by community leaders.

He said: "The power should be given to the people where it belongs," adding: "We believe the solution is to get rid of apartheid. The power should be given to where it belongs."

Mr Mayekiso, 40, said the marathon trial was "a trial of the whole struggle for a better society" in South Africa.

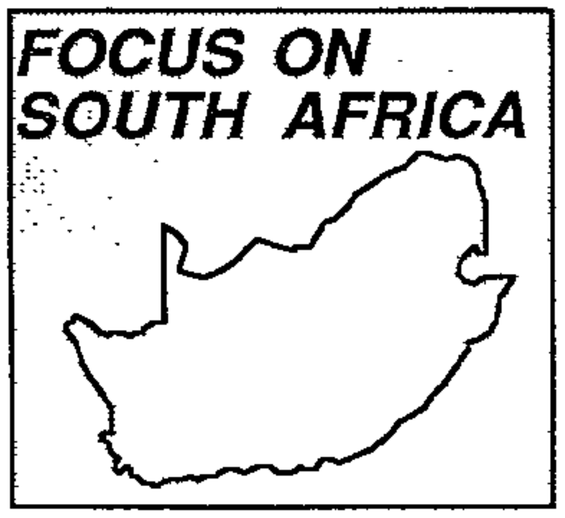
He said community structures such as street committees and "people's courts" were "spontaneously" introduced by the people in response to "the injustices in our society".

Third Trek is about to begin

304 cm
Star 25/4/89

This time it's going to take place on an intellectual level

This is the second of a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas.



The Afrikaner is about to embark on his Third Trek, which is likely to have consequences just as far-reaching as his two earlier migrations. What is different this time is that it will be a migration of the mind and across new terrain, whereas the two earlier treks were physical.

But let us first explode a few myths about the Afrikaners. They are not a monolith, there is no single Afrikaner type. Membership of the Afrikaner volk does not imply a single, rigid mindset. Rather, there is an evolving and changing spectrum of beliefs.

Consider the following types:

Homo Afrikaner Prometheus (Power Empire) — typified by the modern-day Boer on commando duty in a border area.

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General Smuts

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Homo Afrikaner Integratus (Integrative Evolution) — the Afrikaner of complex thinking who knows society is changing.

Homo Afrikaner Globalus (Global Renewal) — the planetary visionary (a rare species typified by the late General Jan Smuts, Sir Laurens van der Post and, perhaps, some of today's Afrikaner writers and philosophers).

The types will sometimes overlap and they represent, in general, a ratcheting process in which they have proceded from the mindset of primordial group solidarity to more complex modes of thought. Yet, in spite of this wide spectrum, most Afrikaners still fall within the definition of "the volk".

Afrikanerdom has always had a strong ideological content, a response to external pressures from the indigenous peoples they encountered in Africa (increasingly so after they trekked from the Cape) and from British imperialism.

But this strong ideological base has been changing steadily over recent years. Although most Afrikaners would still describe themselves as such, exposure to the materialism of an industrial society has profoundly altered the mindset of large numbers. They have increasingly taken on cosmopolitan First World values and reject the value systems of a previous generation. They find themselves sharing a value system with large numbers of English-speakers and an increasing number of blacks who are also ratcheting through to First World mindsets.

These new developments are most visible in Afrikaner youth. It might be regarded as peripheral and superficial that so many should favour professionalism in rugby or that others should support cricket. But these are important indications of changed values.

Afrikaner Yuppies are a feature of our times; young Afrikaners are querying and rejecting compulsory military service, which was unheard of less than a generation back.

Change retarded

However, these changes within Afrikaner thinking depend largely on exposure to First World values. The changes will be retarded by any shutting off of this exposure, whether through internal censorship or through international economic or cultural sanctions.

It is ironic that sections of the international community should seek to remove the very conduits for change in the values of the South African group whose position of political power allows it to translate those new values to South African society as a whole. If the international community is serious about change in South Africa, it should seek rather to flood the country with Western capital, technology and culture.

A large and influential portion of Afrikanerdom is already receptive to such developments, but could still be alienated by world ostracism.

However, it seems that whatever the international community might or might not do, the whips are already cracking for the Afrikaner's Third Trek (though this time they are whips of the intellect). The First Trek was a physical one from the Cape Colony, to escape British rule and the instability of the Eastern Frontier and to satisfy land hunger and sheer wanderlust.

The Second Trek was also physical in the sense that it was a trek from the impoverished platteland to the towns. But it was a trek of the mind in that the Afrikaner had to come to terms with material disadvantage. He had to devise new strategies to cope with the challenge, which resulted in the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism.

The Afrikaner's political mobilisation in order to get into his hands the levers of State power — then use them to the advantage of his own people — is (in Afrikaner terms) one of the success stories of the century.

But every solution contains the seeds of its own destruction. The Afrikaner's new affluence and education exposed him to First World values which undermined the old ideological certitudes.

It also became obvious to him that Afrikaner advancement had been at the expense of others, and this was neither morally tenable nor safe in the long run.

That is why the Afrikaner is about to embark on his Third Trek. It is a trek of the mind which will bring him into contact and close co-operation with people who share the same value system: English-speakers, blacks, all of whom are ratcheting in their own way into more complex systems of thought.

Common cause

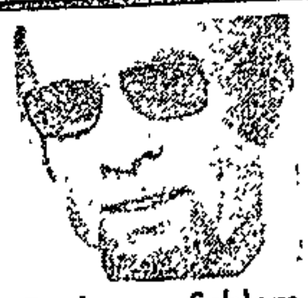
The bustle of the *inspan* is evident in the Democratic Party. The stir is likely to show itself very soon within the National Party itself.

This is a trek in which the Afrikaner has to discard his sectionalism and seek common cause with others in carrying prosperity and First World values to the rest of a continent which is desperate for a proper lead from people born of Africa. It is possible because the values of all involved in the effort — white and black — already coincide or are very close to it.

●Tomorrow: Who are the Africans?

Star 25/4/84 (3) 30 A

China has lesson for South Africa – Schlemmer



Professor Schlemmer ... pitfalls can be avoided.

By Helen Grange

South Africa could learn a great deal from the Republic of China's reformist policies, especially in respect of housing, job creation and production strategies, said Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director for the Centre of Policy Studies (CPS) at Wits University.

Speaking at a CPS briefing on "Policy Developments in China and their relevance to South Africa", Professor Schlemmer said South Africa could benefit from the kind of "comprehensive, integrated approach to economic development practised in China".

"We could learn from China's efforts to educate behaviour by instilling in people an understanding of how difficult it is to change a society," he said.

Professor Schlemmer said, however, that there were many pitfalls in China's economic structure that should be avoided in the South African context.

"China has a huge social welfare institution which provides inferior service because the government cannot afford to run it properly."

Mr Colin Eglin, MP for Sea Point, said South Africa and China experienced the same problems, arising from a combination of First and Third World economies, but that China had made a "hard nosed economic decision" to open the country to world trade.

Give the

Beeld pledges support for FW

Political Reporter

The Government-supporting Afrikaans newspaper *Beeld* has pledged its unequivocal support for National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk for the State Presidency.

In a stinging editorial yesterday, *Beeld* said it was time that Mr de Klerk officially become State President. The Government had of late become paralysed as everyone waited for the new man to take over the reins.

APPRECIATIVE

It had been more than 14 days since President Botha had confirmed to an appreciative parliamentary audience that he would step down after the general election — expected to be held on September 13, according to *Beeld*.

"Is it really necessary that a situation which now begins to look unbearable should drag one week short of a full five months?"

Issues of great importance — including the Group Areas Act and the release of Nelson Mandela — demanded urgent attention.

Violence key issue at talks with ANC women

Political Reporter

The use of violence to bring about a democratic non-racial South Africa was the most contentious issue discussed by a delegation of about 50 South African women who met 30 African National Congress women in Harare at the weekend, according to tour leader Mrs Jenny Boraine.

Speaking from Zimbabwe yesterday, Mrs Boraine said consensus was reached that continuous dialogue was the most effective way in which to seek peaceful political solutions for South Africa.

"The ANC delegation generally agreed that violence and conflict were wrong. But no resolution was passed that there would be an end to violence, neither from the ANC's side nor from the South African Government's side."

She confirmed that three members of the ANC's national executive — Ms Barbara Masekela, Ms Gertrude Shope and Ms Ruth Mompati — attended the three-day congress entitled "Women in the struggle for peace".



Idasa delegations leader Mrs Jenny Boraine.

The tour, sponsored by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa), included talks with women from Zanu-PF, among others Mrs Sally Mugabe, wife of Zimbabwe's Prime Minister Mr Robert Mugabe.

Mrs Boraine said it was a moving and emotional experience to meet South African women in exile.

Hackles rise over 'sexist' DP tee-shirt

JENNY VIALL

SEXIST or sexy? The new DP tee-shirt has put up the hackles of many women, who find the wording on the tee-shirt offensive and sexist.

The tee-shirt shows two cartoon characters holding up the DP logo."Hey, Koos, let's put the new DP logo on this chick's chest," says one. Koos answers: "Chick!? Piet moet asseblief nie dof wees nie. Dit is sonder tywfel 'n demokratiese 'oke'!"

"Ja, well, no fine . . . Anyway, looks like a national asset to me."

"Nou gaan jy te ver met jou patriotisme."

"Nog nooit, no never."

"Vat vyf, my mate."

Comments from women range from: "It's sexist and demeaning and portrays us as brainless sex objects" to "It's okay, but I wouldn't wear it."

Lack of sensitivity

One 52-year old woman said: "I've always been a liberal and worked for the PFP for many years. However, if this is indicative of their level of awareness, I am seriously reconsidering working for them. This kind of image is aimed at the macho guy in the pub. First they throw out Van Eck, and now this. It shows an extraordinary lack of intelligence and sensitivity."

Some women felt it had a limited appeal because of the word chick. "I'm a grandmother, and I would certainly not wear it — everybody would think I'm a fool — I'm not a chick, I'm too old."

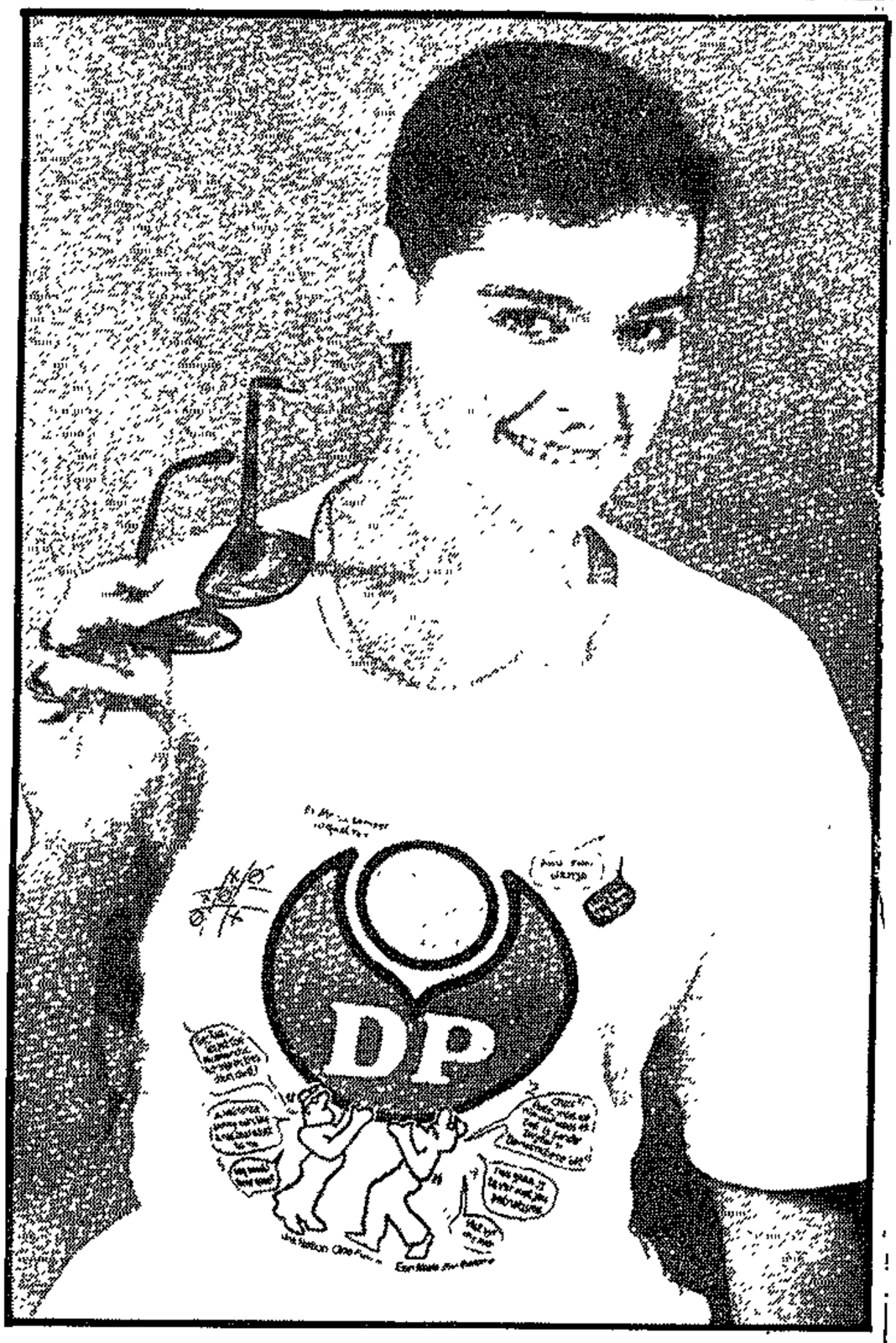
Another woman in her late 40s said she wasn't particularly offended from a "sexist" point of view — "I'm past worrying about what people call me," she said, "I just think it's totally pointless. Who do they think is going to wear it? Bimbos?"

Most women agree it is sexist: "Calling a woman a chick is offensive — we don't have feathers and wings."

"It's demeaning and belittling: By calling women chicks or birds you diminish their status as people, objectifying them and reducing them to the level of brainless animals. Perhaps the DP must look again at how they view women and the role of women in a future South Africa."

Many women, although not offended, felt it wasn't a clever thing to do. They felt that using "chick" was gratituous: "What does it mean? Why use 'chick'? It has no meaning in the context of a political party. Why bring chicks into it?"

One woman was prepared to give the DP the benefit of the doubt: "Maybe in the context of cartoon characters, it is meant to be funny. It doesn't really work, though."



Model Jenni Leonard and the "offensive" DP tee-shirt.

Another woman felt particularly strongly about the tee-shirt: "I am not surprised! It is merely a reflection of how narrow the political understanding is of so many so-called democrats who operate within the parliamentary system. But give them time — by the year 2000 they might have come up against the clout of the 51 percent oppressed majority — ie women."

Below the cartoon characters is a slogan that says: One Nation, One Future. Judging by reactions to the tee-shirt, it seems that the DP must reconsider the sensitivities of a large part of the nation.

Break out of your cocoons, Afrikaners told

MR6US 25/4/89 30KB

By BRONWYN DAVIDS, Staff Reporter

AFRIKANERS should break out of their cocoons and start asking questions about what was happening in South Africa, Democratic Party adviser Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert told 200 Matie students.

He was guest speaker at the launch of the Democratic Party on the Stellenbosch University campus yesterday.

"You and your children will live in the new South Africa and it is your duty to break out of your Afrikaner cocoons and find out what is happening in this country.

"In spite of the government's divisive structures, all South Africans will be one nation soon. You should go and find out what people think.

"Within the barriers of the state there is only one party that will stand for one nation, no discrimination and democracy at the next elections — and that is the DP.

"Now is the time for serious debate, criticism and argument. Now is the time to ask what sort of political, economic, law and order and education system is suitable for this country."

It was time for Afrikaners to leave behind their "primitive" political thought processes.

"The Conservative Party is nothing but a National Party that has remained behind with the old system of social engineering".

"I asked a CP member what would happen to Hillbrow if his party came into power. Would it be black or white?

"He said: 'We will just make it part of Soweto.'

"This is the way the flat-earth society racists have been bred."

● The Argus Bureau in Port Elizabeth reports the DP will be launched in the city tonight.

Dr Denis Worall, Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan will speak at a meeting in the Feather Market Hall.

DP could take over in 5 years, says Worrall

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — More than 1 200 people turned out at the Maritzburg City Hall last night to hear the three leaders of the Democratic Party make their joint début in Natal by hammering at National Party leaders and policies.

Dr Denis Worrall, one of the three leaders, said the party could become the official Opposition and take over government within five years.

Mr Wynand Malan said there was unity between himself, Dr Zac de Beer and Dr Worrall.

He accused the government of being reckless with security. The government boasted of security yet there was internal violence and externally the threat of isolation.

Dr Worrall defended the three-man leadership saying it was a style that worked. It was needed to consolidate the supporters.

The DP could become the official Opposition and take over the government in five years.

Dr de Beer attacked the NP on its lack of commitment to justice.

"Forty years in office have made the fat cats in the NP so complacent, so arrogant that they do not care whether what they are doing is just or not. And when the courts say it is not just, the response of the NP is to kick the courts in the teeth," Dr de Beer said.

'Stormy life' for Cape Democrats

By ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporter

THE Cape Democrats, a movement for whites who want to take part in extra-parliamentary politics, celebrates its first anniversary this month.

POLITICS

The CD was founded on April 26 last year. Although chairman Mrs Amy Thornton has been prohibited from taking part in its activities, the CD has become an important political voice by providing public forums on many issues.

During the first year, the CD has spoken out on topics ranging from the municipal elections to the more recent detainees' hunger strike.

It has also looked closely at the Labour Relations Ammendment Bill, supported dismissed workers, called for alternative national service and been one of the first organisations to put Aids on its agenda.

The CD initiated the "red ribbon campaign" asking people to wear red ribbons to show their support for detainees on hunger strike.

At a general meeting last year, the CD decided unanimously not to participate in the muncipal elections and to campaign around the slogan "One City, One Future".

It has affiliated with the United Democratic Front and adopted the Freedom Charter.

According to members, the organisation is strongly dedicated to democracy.

Decisions are workshopped and the "cult of the individual" is held at bay by having different members of the executive committee chair public meetings.

At the launch last year, advocate Mr Dullah Omar praised members for their courage and said the organisation was likely to have a "stormy life".

Five months after that, executive committee chairman Mrs Amy Thornton was detained during the run-up to the October municipal elections.

Her subsequent release was followed by a restriction order which prohibited her from taking part in the activities of the CD, the United Democratic Front, the Cape Areas Housing Committee and the United Women's Congress.

Her restriction order does not prevent her from commenting to the Press, however, and she believes the CD members have "justified their existence" by achieving many of the goals they set for themselves.

This year, a public meeting on the hunger strike went ahead in the City Hall after the CD applied for an application from the Cape Town Supreme Court to declare the meeting lawful.

The application was postponed sine die after the divisional commissioner of the police gave an assurance that he did not intend prohibiting the meeting.

In the week before its birthday, another meeting will have been held on Namibian independence.

It is this role of educating and informing people which many of their members deem the CD's most important contribution to South African political life.

Danie Steyn quits politics



Mr Danie Steyn

THE Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology and 15-year MP for Wonderboom, Mr Danie Steyn, today announced his retirement from politics.

Mr Steyn, 65, who has been active in the National Party for 36 years, will not seek re-election.

He was appointed Minister of Education and Training in 1981 and a year later was made Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs



Embarking on the 'third trek'

THE SECOND in this six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and Director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas, who has just completed his 25th visit to South Africa.

THE Afrikaner is about to embark on his Third Trek, which is likely to have consequences just as far-reaching as his two earlier migrations. What is different this time is that it will be a migration of the mind and across new terrain, whereas the two earlier treks were physical

STUDY

But let us first explode a few myths about the Afrikaners. They are not a monolith, there is no single Afrikaner type Membership of the Afrikaner volk does not imply a single, rigid mindset. Rather, there is an evolving and changing spectrum of beliefs. Consider the following types:

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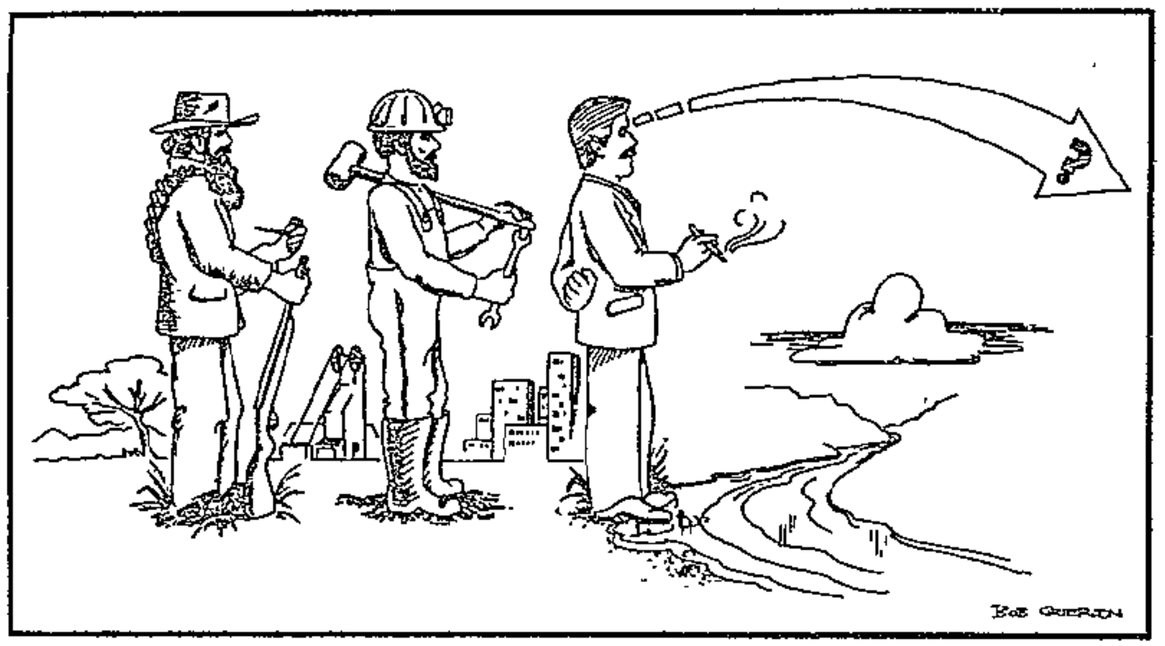
The types will sometimes overlap and they represent, in general, a ratcheting process in which they have proceeded from the mindset of primordial group solidarity to more complex modes of thought. Yet, in spite of this wide spectrum, most Afrikaners still fall within the definition of "the volk".

Afrikanerdom has always had a strong ideological content, a response to external pressures from the indigenous peoples they encountered in Africa (increasingly so after they trekked from the Cape) and from British Imperialism. There is a close analogy with the Israeli experience where external threat caused people with great internal differences to present a monolithic front.

But this strong ideological base has been changing steadily over recent years Although most Afrikaners would still describe themselves as such, exposure to the materialism of an industrial society has profoundly altered the mindset of large numbers. They have increasingly taken on cosmopolitan First World values and reject the value systems of a previous generation. They find themselves sharing a value system with large numbers of English-speakers and an increasing number of blacks who are also ratcheting through to First World mindsets.

These new developments are most visible in Afrikaner youth. It might be regarded as peripheral and superficial that so many should favour professionalism in rugby or that others should support cricket. But these are important indications of changed values. Afrikaner Yuppies are a feature of our times= young Afrikaners are querying and rejecting compulsory military service, which was unheard of less than a generation back.

However, these changes



within Afrikaner thinking depend largely on exposure to First World values. The changes will be retarded by any shutting off of this exposure, whether through internal censorship or through international economic or cultural sanctions

It is ironic that sections of the international community should seek to remove the very conduits for change in the values of the South African group whose position of political power allows it to translate those new values to South African society as a whole. If the international community is serious about change in South Africa, it should seek rather to flood the country with Western capital, technology and culture. A large and influential portion of Afrikanerdom is already receptive to such developments but could be alienated by international ostracism.

However, it seems that whatever the international community might or might not do, the whips are already cracking for the Afrikaner's Third Trek (though this time they are whips of the intellect) The First Trek was a physical one from the Cape Colony, to escape British rule and the instability of the Eastern Frontier and to satisfy land hunger and sheer wanderlust

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But every solution contains the seeds of its own destruction The Afrikaner's new affluence and education exposed him to First World values which undermined the old ideological certitudes It also became obvious to him that Afrikaner advancement had been at the expense of others, and this was neither morally tenable nor safe in the long run.

That is why the Afrikaner is about to embark on his Third Trek. It is a trek of the mind which will bring him into contact and close co-operation with people who share the same value system English-speakers, blacks, all of whom are ratcheting in their own way into more complex systems of thought.

The trek leaders are Homo Afrikaner Pragmatus, Homo Afrikaner Humanus, Homo Afrikaner Integratus and Homo Afrikaner Globalus. The bustle of the inspan is evident in the National Democratic Movement, the Independent Party and the "Fourth Force" of the soon-to-be-formed Democratic Party. The stir is likely to show itself very soon within the National Party itself.

This is a trek in which the Afrikaner has to discard his sectionalism and seek common cause with others in carrying prosperity and First World values to the rest of a continent which is desperate for a proper lead from people born of Africa. It is possible because the values of all involved in the effort - white and black - already coincide or are very close to it

● Tomorrow: Who are the Africans?

Apartheid divisions via a man's genes artificial

Star 26/4/84

This is the third of a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas.



THE terms "African", "black", "coloured" and "negro" all reflect slightly different perceptions of human beings who happen to have African genetic roots. But it is extremely doubtful whether these terms have anything more than the most superficial value.

Certainly, history has had an effect in determining the mindset and value systems of large numbers of people of African origin — their starting-out point in a society where they have had to mix with other cultures and other mindsets.

But they are subject to exactly the same factors as are altering the mindsets of people in SA who are of European or Asian extraction.

Misleading, mischievous

It is quite misleading, if not mischievous, to speak of a black "type" or "characteristic" or to imply that the brains of different branches of the human family are different.

That is not so. African, European or Asian genetic material has been shown conclusively to have nothing to do with neurological processing. Superficial categories and stereotypes should be abandoned.

Yet clearly there were profound differences between indigenous Africans and Europeans who arrived from 1652. What were they?

They were differences in mindset and values, caused by adaptation to challenges of existence which were altogether different.

Africa's natural habitat had produced a society which was dealing with a Garden of Eden.

Food was plentiful, the weather relatively benign and there was considerable *lebensraum*.

This made for thought-processing systems which were analogue/natural/intuitive/holistic. Society was collective/communal and decision-making systems tended to be egalitarian, each member of the tribe or clan making his contribution.

By the time the Europeans arrived, this was beginning to modify slightly. The natural evolution of value systems in a society becoming more complex produced empires such as those of Shaka.

The natural habitat in Europe was far more hostile and required different skills if human beings were to survive. The weather itself forced earlier societies to develop more complex mechanisms to cope with seasonal changes and the relative food shortages.

Brain skills

This developed, in turn, into mutually hostile city states, ideologies and nationhoods. The Phoenician reliance on trade made necessary the development of a written alphabet. The European brain was forced to develop in different adaptive/congruent ways.

Yet certain Europeans have developed relationship learning/right brain processing preferences (which one might expect in the African environment), while Africans have developed analytical/left brain skills, which produce mathematicians.

There simply are no racial characteristics about the functioning of the human brain. Different mindsets due to different circumstances — certainly. Human beings would otherwise not survive. Try to imagine a Johannesburg stockbroker suddenly being placed in a hunter/gatherer milieu. He would have to radically adjust his mindset or die.

European settlement has had a huge impact on the thought systems of the African population.

Africans have had to adjust first to colonialism then to industrialisation (which by no means implies that these value systems are superior morally or in any other way to what went before — they are merely more complex).

At the moment millions of Africans are ratcheting through to the values of materialistic First World society, where their tastes are for consumer goods, entertainment and personal success. In that society they find Afrikaners who were not there a generation ago, English-speaking whites, Asians, smaller minority groups.

These are all part of a cosmopolitan society artificially divided by apartheid.

Tomorrow: Fundamental polarisation requires sensitive handling.

POLITICS

Stals denies financial year-end spending spree

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — It was not unusual for exchequer issues in March to be considerably higher than in other months of the year, Finance director-general Chris Stals said yesterday.

He was responding to reports that government ended the fiscal year with a spending spree. In March R7,9bn — almost 14% of total spending — was spent. Monthly spending for the rest of the year did not exceed R5bn.

Stals said: "This happens every year." All outstanding accounts — including for expenditure programmes that might have been undertaken earlier in the financial year — had to be paid before the end of the year.

Stals could not explain why almost 82% of improvement of conditions of service spending took place in March.

But Commission for Administration chief director Johan Raath said this was mainly as a result of departments submitting claims for the 15% salary increase granted to public employees from January 1.

After administrative procedures had been followed, most departments had submitted their first claims for the salary increases granted to their officials only in March.

Some spending was also owing to departments claiming for occupational specific salary improvements before the end of the financial year.

Although most occupational specific improvements were generally announced in November, departments tended to fund these themselves and claim the money back from the Improvement of Conditions of Service Vote before the financial year-end.



● STEYN

Danie Steyn to stand down in next election

CAPE TOWN — Economic Affairs and Technology Minister Danie Steyn is to retire from politics after the next general election. B Idam 26/4/89

In a statement he said he had informed his constituency he would not be making himself available for re-election.

Steyn, who has had a 36-year association with the NP, said he would continue as an ordinary member of the party to give it his help and support. (304n)

He has represented the Wonderboom constituency since 1974 and has been a Cabinet Minister since 1982. — Sapa.

Will Stals replace De Kock?

3044

Top finance officials to get new jobs

BD Day 26/4/89

MIKE ROBERTSON
and GRETA STEYN

TWO of government's top finance officials, Gerhard Croeser and Chris Stals, are to get new jobs.

Stals is to be appointed a special adviser to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Croeser is to take over as Finance director-general.

Croeser, who has been chief executive, policy, since 1986, is a career civil servant who has spent almost 30 years in the Department of Finance. He was the architect of the RSCs — created in terms of his report on local authority finance.

No stranger to controversy, Croeser was the only member of the Jacobs Committee to express reservations about the abolition of prescribed assets. A Stellenbosch B Com graduate, he has been an outspoken critic of excessive government spending and the financing of current spending through borrowing.

Du Plessis is expected to announce the Croeser/Stals changes when he returns from London at the the end of the week.

While it was speculated yesterday that the moves were a precursor to Reserve Bank Governor Gerhard de Kock's possible retirement at the end of next year, when his five-year term ends, well-placed sources emphatically denied that.

The end of De Kock's term will virtually coincide with Stals's expected return to the Bank.



● STALS



● CROESER

Monetary officials expect Stals to return to the Bank in August next year when his secondment to the department ends, although this is by no means certain.

Stals, who has been tipped for a long time to take over from De Kock, was seconded from the Bank to the department in August 1985 when he was senior deputy governor.

Asked to comment on the expected announcement, Stals would only say: "This is still being considered. The minister will make an announcement within a few days."

● To Page 2

Top finance officials to get new jobs

3044 BD Day 26/4/89

● From Page 1

It is understood Stals will concentrate on certain specialised aspects of the department's work, while Croeser takes over the day-to-day running.

High on Stals's list of priorities will be the re-negotiation of the debt standstill. The present standstill expires in June next year.

He will also concentrate on the activities of the tax advisory committee, in particular the introduction of VAT.

Stals and Du Plessis have apparently been keen for some time that the director-general be freed of administrative responsibilities and be allowed to play a more hands-on role in certain key areas.

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SOVIETS 'KEEN ON BETTER LINKS'

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The Soviets were clearly looking at the possibilities of future economic links and co-operation with SA, especially in mining, Institute for International Affairs director-general John Barratt said last night.

He told the Artisan Staff Association's annual congress in Port Elizabeth that this indicated a big change in hard-line Soviet policy and it had required a response from SA which had been surprisingly positive.

A completely new way of thinking away from the "total onslaught dogma" of the past was needed from the country's policy makers.

An increase in Soviet diplomatic and political influence in southern Africa not only on the Angola/Namibia issue but also on others, including the settlement of SA's internal political conflict, was likely.

Barratt said there was no doubt the Soviet Union was taking more interest in SA with non-official contacts being encouraged and increasing meetings at official level.

The "total onslaught" was based on the premise that the Soviet government was the mastermind or puppet master of all external and internal attacks on the SA system.

In fact, the dogma greatly exaggerated the Soviet role — even at the height of the Soviet influence in Africa in the '70s.

Barratt said the new thinking in Soviet policy on regional conflicts had a big impact on southern African developments, especially in the Namibian issue.

The policy now was not to support efforts to seek a military solution but to promote political settlements. There was a greater political will on all sides to settle conflicts which wasted resources and prevented development.

Jobs pool lags badly

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Star. 26/4/89. 30 HP

Restructuring suggested in report

President's Council might include blacks

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Blacks could become members of the President's Council in terms of a recommendation in a report, released yesterday, on the restructuring of the council.

The report, drawn up by an ad hoc committee of the council, also recommends that membership of the council be reduced from the present 60 to 36.

The investigation was undertaken at the request of President Botha.

The committee was asked to look into the rationalisation of the council's advisory function in terms of the Constitution in order to reorganise it into a part-time council consisting of persons with the necessary expertise and experience.

It also had to investigate the possibility of performing the functions of part-time or statutory councils or boards whose functions overlapped with its own, such as the President's Economic Advisory Council, the National Manpower Commission, the National Welfare Council and the Council for Population Development.

The report also had to deal with the council's present powers to resolve clashes between the Government and some of the Houses of Parliament — the council has the power to push through legislation that has been turned down by some of the Houses.

The way to black membership of the council is opened by a recommendation for the scrapping of sections of the Constitution that limit membership to persons who qualify for election or nomination to one of the Houses.

Mr Botha has in the past expressed himself in favour of the possibility of black members.

The report recommends that the council's decision-making function on legislation be retained. It also recommends that the rationalisation of the council and other statutory bodies should not take place at this stage but that a greater degree of co-ordination and joint planning of the activities of the council and these bodies be promoted.

The report suggests that a smaller council should remain a full-time body consisting of 12 members designated by the leader of the majority party in the House of Assembly, six by the majority party in the House of Representatives and three by the majority party in the House of Delegates.

The President would appoint 15 members, six of whom would not be supporters of the majority parties.

The nomination of members by the President would ensure legislation while providing the opportunity to bring in expertise for specific needs.

The committee says that, through its reports — many of which have been fully or partly accepted and implemented by the Government — the council has been an instrument of reform.

Russians join the big indaba in Cape Town

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — This city will be invaded by Russians, Cubans, Angolans and Americans from today as delegates arrive for the third scheduled meeting of the tripartite Joint Commission (JC) which monitors the peace accords in Namibia and Angola.

This will be the first official Soviet visit to South Africa since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1953.

The JC will start meeting in the Cape Sun hotel tomorrow morning and is scheduled to continue on Friday and the conclusion will depend upon progress.

Discussions will centre on the agreement reached at the JC's extraordinary meeting last Thursday that security forces in northern Namibia should withdraw to base for 60 hours from 6pm today to allow Swapo insurgents inside Namibia safe passage back to Angola.

The progress of the agreement will be carefully monitored by the JC, diplomatic sources said.

In town for deadline

They said it was fortuitous that the deadline would expire while the delegations were still in Cape Town, which would allow them to discuss any problems which might arise.

A delegation of six Russian observers will be headed by special diplomatic envoy Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov.

Mr Ustinov has been reported as saying that he regards the JC discusions as an opportunity to outline views on various matters — including the internal situtation in South Africa.

The large Cuban delegation of 28, including nine journalists, will be led by Mr Carlos Aldana.

Heading the Angolan delegation of 11 will be General Franca Ndalu.

The South African delegation will be headed by Mr Neil van Heerden, Director-General of Foreign Affairs, and will include the Chief of the Defence Force, General Jannie Geldenhuys, and Dr Neil Barnard, chief of the National Intelligene Service.

The American observer delegation will be headed by Mr Chas Freeman, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa.

The American and Soviet delegations are due to arrive together this morning on a commercial flight from London.

The Angolans are due to arrive at DF Malan in their own aircraft at 5pm and the Cubans at 9.30Pm.

It will not be all work and no play for the diplomats. Ample time has been set aside for leisure activities and South Africa is anxious to repay the hospitality it received at the two previous scheduled meeting of the JC — especially the one in Havana.

First official visit in years

Soviets say SA contacts are useful

Star 26/4/89

304A

The Star's Africa News Service

The Soviet Union believes that contacts with South Africa are useful "because they make it possible to better understand each other," the Soviet ambassador-at-large Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov has said.

Mr Ustinov is expected to head the Soviet delegation which will visit South Africa later this week to attend a meeting of the Joint Commission between South Africa, Angola and Cuba to be held in Cape Town.

It will be the first time that Soviet officials will officially visit South Africa since the two countries broke off diplomatic relations in 1956.

The Africa News Organisation (Ano) reported from Moscow that Mr Ustinov said in an interview that the Soviet Union regarded its participation in the Joint Commission "as a possibility to outline our views on different issues".

Constructive

"Our talks take place in a constructive spirit. There is no rivalry between us, nor can there be any. We have made it clear that we have no interests in that region, except humanitarian. We stand for political freedom to the African majority, just as for all nations and racial minorities in South Africa," he said.

Mr Ustinov said South Africa and the Soviet Union had never been enemies as they had never been involved in any hostile actions "in the literal sense of the word".

"However, since we have different approaches to the political solution of South African problems, we are, apparently, opponents," he said.

The Soviet Union supported the right of the African people to freedom and independence and to use "all means and methods of the struggle that would accord, I specially emphasise this, with the well-known resolutions of the United Nations and its agencies".

Mr Ustinov said South African representatives had agreed that the image of the Soviet Union as an enemy did exist in South Africa and was especially strong among certain sections of the white community.

"On the other hand they noted the South Africans' great interest in the Soviet Union and its *perestroika* and new way of thinking. They said that practically all speeches by President Gorbachev were published in South Africa, sometimes even earlier than in the west," he said.

Pik suggests a southern Africa 'Marshall Plan'

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, has called on European leaders to join South Africa in a "Marshall Plan" for southern Africa.

Mr Botha said yesterday he had suggested the Marshall-type recovery plan for the region when he met European leaders on a tour last month.

He was speaking at a Johannesburg conference organised by the University of South Africa on "Europe 1992".

"Common interest suggests that Western Europe and the countries of southern Africa should work together to develop the human and natural resources of the region," he said.

In Africa it had been found that capital funds themselves did not bring about development. Managerial and technological competence, personal integrity and dedication in the application of the funds were indispensable.

South Africa was short of funds but had a wealth of technical and scientific knowledge.

SA tolerance limited, Malan warns Swapo

Star 26/4/89

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

South Africa's patience with Swapo insurgents in Namibia had limits, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, warned last night.

Speaking at a political actuality week at the University of Potchefstroom, General Malan said that South Africa was doing all in its power to advance the peace process, but it was also keeping a close watch on Swapo.

"If the insurgents do not now return to the 16th parallel in Angola we will have to consider and decide what happens ahead."

His advice to Swapo was to end its "provocative opportunism" now.

South Africa had gone out of its way to keep the peace process on track.

This was shown by its agreement to confine the security forces to base for 60 hours to allow Swapo insurgents safe passage out of the country.

He said Swapo would profit by taking note that this action was based on a position of strength, and was not a concession made from weakness.

FOCUS ON TORTURE

Helen Suzman asks questions

ALLEGED torture by the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad again came under the spotlight in Parliament on Monday during the law and order debate.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Democratic Party law and order spokesman, referred to the "remarkable comment of a Johannesburg magistrate who said some time in February that every accused for the past eight years had told of torture" at the hands of the squad.

In reply to earlier questions by her, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok said that the Commissioner of Police had been given instructions to investigate the torture allegations following comment of a judge in a criminal trial in October 1988.

Evidently nothing had been done for five months after Judge van der Walt said that the Attorney General of the Witwatersrand should investigate torture allegations against the squad.

"The Attorney-General, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said that he had thought that the judge's comment was 'rhetorical',".

Mrs Suzman said that Mr Vlok had stated that because of the squad's successes in combating organised crime in the PWV area, there were carefully calculated

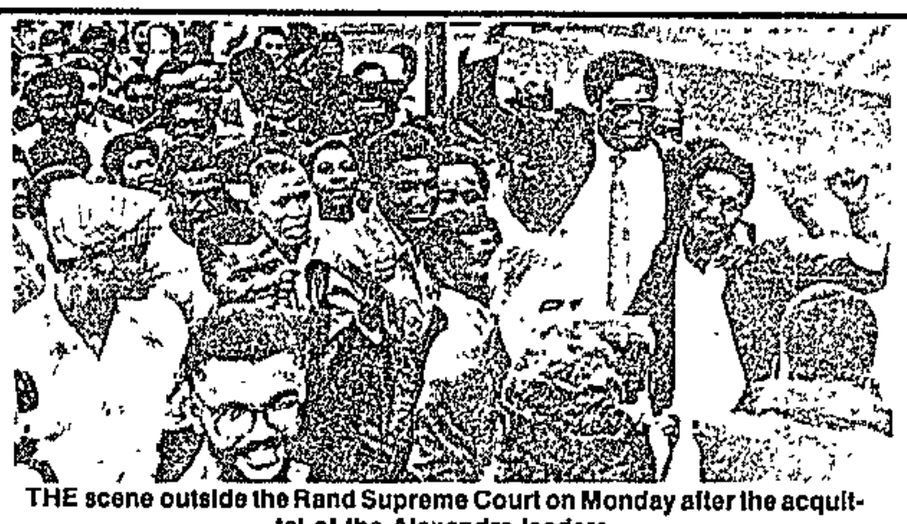
SOWETAN Correspondent

attempts to discredit it.

But she cited the case of Mrs Maswanganyi, a sangoma, who claimed she had been tortured by the squad on suspicion of robbery.

Her claim for civil damages had been settled out of court with a payment of R40 000 plus costs.

"She can hardly be considered part of such a calculated attempt to bring the unit into discredit."



THE scene outside the Rand Supreme Court on Monday after the acquittal of the Alexandra leaders.

'A victory for all those who helped shine spotlight on Mayekiso trial'

UNITED Auto Workers president Mr Owen Bieber blasted South Africa's apartheid gorvernment for the "malicious and outrageous" prosecution of a key trade union leader, who was found not guilty on Monday of charges of subversion and sedition.

Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa), and four co-defendants were acquitted by Rand Supreme Court judge P J van der Walt at the close of a trial in Johannesburg that began in October 1987.

"The South African authorities knew all along that Mayekiso committed no crime, but they jailed him for 901 days and subjected him to a long and costly trial to keep him from his crucial role as the leader of the second largest trade union in South Africa," Mr Bieber said.

"Mayekiso should have been free to pursue his union's agenda of a better life for its members and their families, but instead he sat day after day behind the bars of apartheid's jails for crimes he never committed," the UAW president said.

Attention

The Mayekiso trial drew international attention because convictions would have widened significantly the government's ability to prosecute political opponents on treason and subversion charges for what has been considered allowable political dissent.

Legal observers said that convictions would have wiped out the line between such dissent and criminal activity — subjecting a wide range of union, church and community activists to potential treason indictments for non-violent protest and organising.

"The acquittals are a victory for the defendants, but also for all those who helped shine the spotlight of international scrutiny on this trial," Bieber said.

"The UAW is proud to have been a part of the international campaign urging that justice be done in the Mayekiso case.

"When we began this effort, Moses Mayekiso faced the horrible possibility of a hangman's noose," he said. "Today, he's a free man ready to carry on the struggle."

Mr Bieber convened a committee of prominent American judges and lawyers to monitor the Mayekiso trial shortly after it began in 1987.

Prominent

The committee includes a former justice of the US Supreme Court, three sitting judges on US courts of appeal, a former US attorney general, the district attorney of Brooklyn, NY, and a number of other prominent jurists.

Benno Schmidt Jr., president of Yale University and former dean of Columbia University Law School, went to South Africa on behalf of the committee in February to observe the trial first-hand.

He met with the Judge presiding over the trial, as well as the Attorney General overseeing the prosecution, the defence lawyers, the defendants and the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and visited Alexandra township where the actions cited in the indictment allegedly occurred.

Mr Bieber yesterday sent a telex to South Africa's Minister of Law and Order strongly urging that the government not impose restrictions on the freedom of Mayekiso.

Bannings

In other "show" trials of prominent anti-apartheid activists, defendants who have been acquitted have quickly been placed under restriction orders, preventing them from meeting with groups of five or more, from giving interviews, travelling, etc.

"You have robbed Moses Mayekiso of his freedom for nearly three years, despite his innocence," Mr Bieber's telex to Minister Adriaan Vlok stated.

"I strongly urge your government not to place any restrictions on him, or his co-accused To restrict them following acquittal would undermine your own judiciary."

Mr Bieber commended Judge van der Walt for "his brave and outspoken judgment, which should serve as a reminder to South African authorities that treason, subversion and sedition are not charges to be brought casually."

Mayekiso and his co-accused faced charges of treason, subversion and sedition for their efforts to organise township residents seeking improved living conditions there.

The state claimed they supported rent and consumer boycotts and so-called "people's courts".

Conditions had deteriorated seriously in Alexandra in 1986, in part because the Government hoped to relocate many township residents further away from Johannesburg

Failure

The defendants were accused of organising yard, street and block committees to put pressure on the local town council to improve housing, health services, sewage disposal, crime control and transportation.

When final arguments opened in the trial on April 3, the prosecution acknowledged it had failed to prove the treason charges and moved that they be dropped. Monday's verdict of not guilty came on the remaining charges of subversion and sedition.

The UAW president had attempted to visit Mayekiso in John Vorster Square prison in August 1986, while he was detained without charge, but his request was denied.

Mr Bieber then met with South Africa's Minister of Justice in Cape Town to protest the detention.

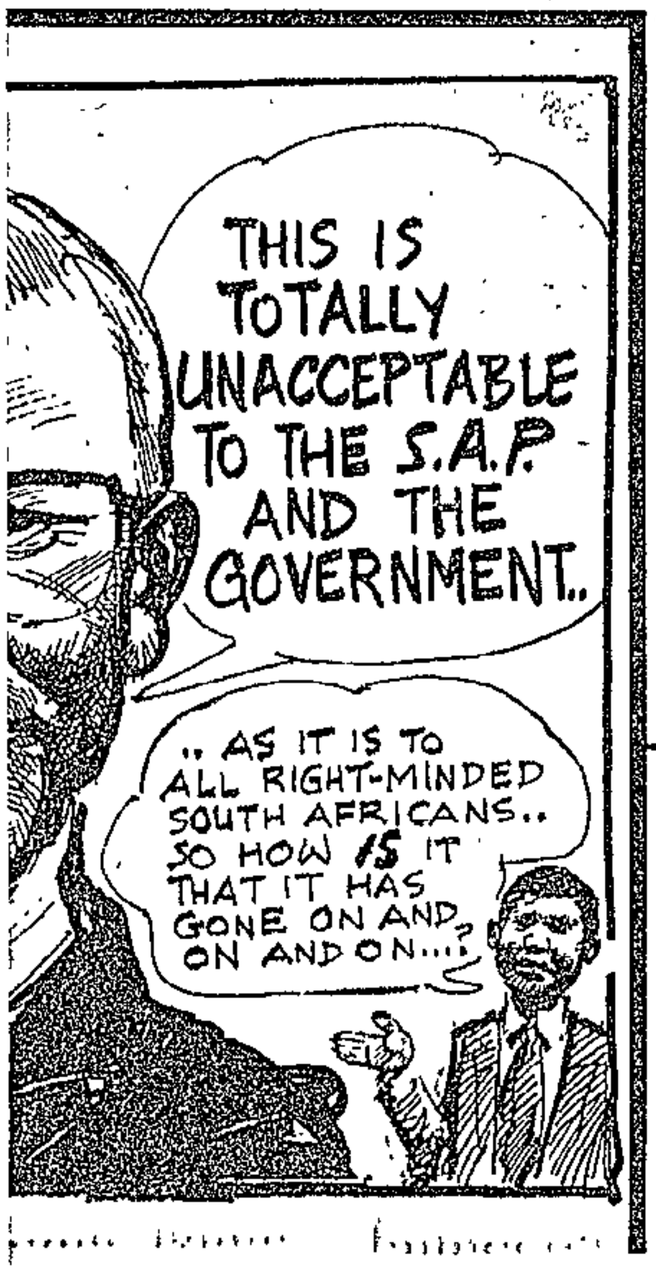
The UAW sponsored a speaking tour earlier this month of Mayekiso's wife, Khota, in Detroit, Chicago, Washington and New York.

Mayekiso also discussed the trial with Sen. Paul Simon (Democrat - Illinois), who heads the Africa sub-committee in the Senate, and with Representative Howard Wolpe (Democrat - Michigan), who chairs the African sub-committee in the House of Representatives.

The Mayekiso case was the focus of a broad international campaign co-ordinated by the International Metalworkers' Federation, a 14-million-member trade secretariat based in Geneva. The UAW and Mayekiso's union, Numsa, both are affiliated to the IMF.

FOCUS

Universal News Services — Washington



Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Sam Mabe. Sub-editing, headlines and posters by Sydney Mailhaku. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.

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Cost of bureaucracy still on the increase

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — SA's public service continued to expand last year — and so did the bureaucratic costs, Commission for Administration figures released yesterday indicate.

They show an increase in exchequer personnel of 13 746 to 957 607 and in total salaries by R807m to R12,653bn — and no general increases were granted in 1988.

Spending on salaries and related expenditure rose from R14,8bn to R15,8bn — an increase of R1,06bn.

Of the exchequer personnel, 730 828 were in administration departments, up by 12 325 compared with 1987; 167 890 in self-governing territories, up by 2 202; and parastatals down by 780 to 59 687.

Total personnel spending increased by R4,3bn to "about" R20bn between 1986 and 1987, with no figure given for 1988.

Vlok: More on Khotso bombing

CAPE Times 26/4/89 (304)

POLICE are serious about solving cases of alleged terror from right-wing circles and were not "sitting with folded hands and doing nothing", the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, said yesterday.

Speaking during the police vote in Parliament, Mr Vlok disclosed additional information about the bomb explosions at Khotso House, headquarters of the South African Council of Churches, Khanya House, headquarters of the Southern Africa Catholic Bishops' Conference, and Cosatu House.

He said one of the suspected Khotso House bombers had died on September 7 last year at the Northpark Plaza in Northcliff, Johannesburg, when a limpet mine he was allegedly laying exploded, apparently prematurely. The identity documents of the man, Mr Kgoro William Mabodja, had been found in the basement of Khotso House after the bombing, the minister said.

Police, Mr Vlok said, were still searching for two other suspected terrorists in the bombing, one of whom is Mr Khotso Chikane, whose documents and papers were found in one of the seriously damaged vehicles parked in the Khotso House basement.

Mr Vlok said police had repeatedly asked people who had received treatment in hospital after the explosion to contact them. Nobody had yet done so.

A special investigation team under the command of Major-General Joubert, deputy CID chief, which he had appointed last year, had brought interesting facts and information to light.

When this had been made known on January 10 this year, a flood of indignation had been let loose.

In regard to the controversy about a hole in the fence at Cosatu House, the police had established that this hole existed for a considerable time before the explosion and gave entrance only to the backyard, not the building itself.

"It also appears now that it was in reality an escape route in the case there were police raids on the building."

As far as the fire at Khanya House was concerned and the possible involvement of Mr Barend Strydom, the self-acknowledged leader of the so-called Wit Wolwe, Mr Vlok said he could not say more because of the sub-judice rule.

Regarding the killing of Mr Matthew Goniwe and others, a competent court had pronounced "that no member of the force had anything whatsoever to do with the killings", the minister said — Political Staff, Sapa

DP to be a 'home' for Afrikaners

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party was not a party that would "only tolerate Afrikaans-speaking voters", DP National Board member Mr Jannie Momberg said last night.

Speaking at a DP meeting in Hout Bay, Mr Momberg said: "It will be a home for those Afrikaners who share the belief in a non-racial, democratic, free-enterprise South Africa.

"The DP will provide a home for all South Africans, whether they speak Afrikaans or English. People who are being mischievous enough to drive a wedge between language groups are busy with an extremely destructive game."

Mr Momberg said Afrikaners who had joined the DP were people who had for years tried to change the National Party from inside but had found the NP was unable to change.

DP decision welcomed

Political Staff

THE DP's Western Cape region has welcomed the decision of the party's National Board to review the membership applications of the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, and two MPs in the House of Representatives.

The other two MPs were Mr Charles Redcliffe and Mr Cecil Kippen.

The acting chairman of the region, Dr Jannie Hofmeyer, said that since the launch of the DP earlier this month, 2 000 new members had signed up in the Western Cape to boost current membership levels in the area to over 12 000.

He said over 500 new members had signed up in Stellenbosch alone.

Stereotypes aside — who are the Africans?

ARGUS 26/4/89

3044

THE THIRD in this six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and Director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas, who has just completed his 25th visit to South Africa.



Don Beck Graham Linscott

THE terms "African", "black", "coloured" and "negro" all reflect slightly different perceptions of human beings who happen to have African genetic roots. But it is extremely doubtful whether these terms have more than the most superficial value.

STUDY

Certainly, history has had an effect in determining the mindset and value systems of large numbers of people of African origin — their starting-out point in a society where they have had to mix in with other cultures and other mindsets.

But they are subject to exactly the same factors as are altering the mindsets of people in South Africa who are of European or Asian extraction.

It is quite misleading, if not mischievous, to speak of a black "type" or "characteristic" or to imply that the brains of different branches of the human family are different.

That is simply not so. African, European or Asian genetic material has been shown quite conclusively to have nothing to do with neurological processing. Superfical categories and stereotypes need to be abandoned.

□ □ □

Yet it is quite clear that there were profound differences between the indigenous Africans and the European-based settlers who began arriving in this country from 1652. What were they?

They were differences in mindset and values, caused by adaptation to challenges of existence which were altogether different.

Africa's natural habitat had produced a society which was dealing with a Garden of Eden. Food was plentiful, the weather relatively benign, there was considerable *lebensraum*.

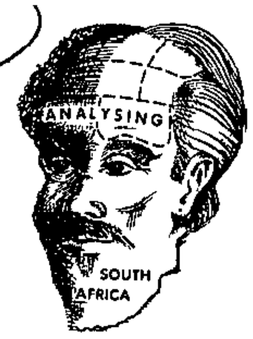
This made for thought-processing systems which were analogue/natural/intuitive/-holistic. Society was collective/-communal and decision-making systems tended to be egalitarian, each member of the tribe or clan making his contribution.

By the time the Europeans arrived, this was beginning to modify slightly. The natural evolution of value systems in a society which was becoming more complex produced empires such as those of Shaka and Mselikatze.

The natural habitat in Europe was far more hostile and required different skills if human beings were to cope and survive. The weather itself forced earlier societies to develop more complex mechanisms to cope with seasonal changes and the relative absence of food.

This developed, in turn, into mutually hostile city states, ideologies and nationhoods. The Phoenaecian reliance on trade made necessary the development of a written alphabet. The European brain was forced to develop in different adaptive/congruent ways. Yet certain Europeans have developed relationship learning/right brain processing preferences (which one might expect in the African environment), while Africans have developed analytical/left brain skills, which produce mathematicians.

There simply are no racial characteristics about the functioning of the human brain. Different mindsets due to different circumstances — certainly. Human beings would otherwise not survive. Try to imagine a Johannesburg stockbroker suddenly being placed in a hunter/gatherer milieu. He would have to radically adjust his mindset or die.



European settlement has had a huge impact on the thought systems of the African population. Africans have had to adjust first to colonialism then to industrialisation (which by no means implies that these value systems are superior morally or in any other way to what went before — they are merely more complex).

At the moment millions of Africans are ratcheting through to the values of materialistic First World society, where their tastes are for consumer goods, entertainment and personal success. In that society they find Afrikaners who were not there a generation ago, English-speaking whites, Asians, smaller minority groups. These are all part of a cosmopolitan society which is artificially divided by apartheid.

And, of course, much of African society has other mindsets. There are those who cling to the values of the tribe; the assertive and amoral individualists who have broken away from tribal values — the township gangsters and warlords; and those who have found the "true faith" in a strong ideology, whether of the African National Congress/United Democratic Front, Inkatha or the Pan Africanist Congress.

Each of these movements itself contains a spectrum of mindsets, making matters extremely complicated.

It seems probable that the Inkatha spectrum would run through from tribalists to First World materialists. That the UDF spectrum would tend to run from the breakaway individualists to First World materialists. Both would have their share of ideologues.

It also seems probable that the ANC and the PAC would contain an even higher proportion of ideologues, especially among the exiles. And this brings us to an interesting question: If blacks inside South Africa (mainly in Soweto and other large conurbations) have already ratcheted through in large numbers to a materialistic First World value system, will they not reject the ideological mindset of the ANC and the PAC? Will they not choose pragmatism, free enterprise and the consumer society before an ideological one-party state?

Finally, apartheid is a destabiliser in black society. The violence around Pietermaritzburg illustrates what happens when you force together people who hold different values. The Pietermaritzburg area contains the entire spectrum tribalists, breakaway gangster/warlords, ideologues (of varying hues) and First World materialists.

They ought to be dispersed, each group following its own interests, but apartheid has forced them together in a confined area administered in terms of a particular ideology — that of Inkatha. It is like a giant piston compressing gas to flashpoint.

It seems unlikely therefore that agreements between Inkatha and the UDF or interventions by them or by the police will resolve the Pietermaritzburg problem. The First Worlders need to be able to find a niche among their own kind; the ideologues need the space to disengage.

The primary issue in South Africa is to find ways to blend streams of consciousness that flow from a variety of orientations. Perhaps we should look for ways to blend the warmth and sensitivity of the traditional African sense of community with the First World advantages of technology, affluence and cosmopolitan values.

These currents can surely be made to flow together, one complementing the weaknesses or excesses of the other. Perhaps we can put the whole brain back together.

Tomorrow: Polarisation

Stals to play role in re-negotiating debt standstill

CAPE TOWN — In his new role as special adviser to Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, Chris Stals will play a leading role in re-negotiating the debt standstill.

Du Plessis is expected to announce this week Gehard Croeser will take over as Finance director-

MIKE ROBERTSON

general, while Stals, who holds the job at present, will become a special adviser to the minister.

The debt standstill expires in June next year, but negotiations with foreign bankers are expected to start soon.

Stals will also concentrate on the activities of the tax advisory committee, in particular the introduction of VAT, and will continue to chair the committee on economic and financial relations between SA and the TVBC states.

NP mandates invalid, says Leon

BIDay 27/4/89 (304n)

PETER DELMAR

THE NP's last two election mandates were worthless and invalid in the light of a statement by "State President-apparent" F W de Klerk that the NP would seek a new constitution.

This was the view DP leader in the city council Tony Leon expressed at a public meeting in Kimberley last night. Leon said the NP had not received a mandate in its last two elections because those campaigns were fought on the "virtues" of the tricameral constitution.

More seriously, he said, the NP would go to the elctorate asking for a blank cheque. "Their manifesto will consist of an army of pompous phrases which will engulf the electorate as they search for a meaningful idea."

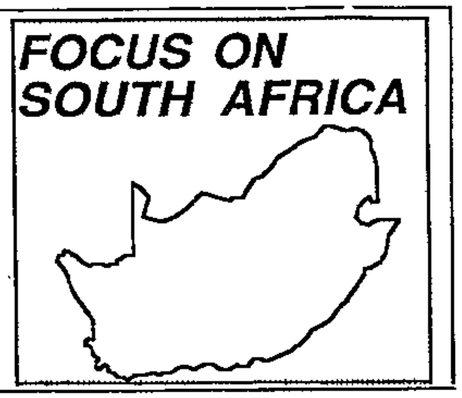
Leon predicted government would "tinker around at the margins of the system" rather than dismantle apartheid structures.

About 15% of government spending was used to "prop up the apartheid apparatus", he said.

"Sinecures, jobs-for-pals and an expectation of entitlement represent real political corruption."

SA yearning for consensus

This is the fourth of a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas.



Dismay over radicals is an opportunity to sidestep polarisation

Potential for polaristion exists in any society. However, in most societies, varying opinions are so evenly spread and so many of them are clustered about the moderate centre that consensus prevails, even though there still are differences.

Where a society has deep and fundamental cleavages, often defined in terms of race, language or religion, polarisation is an ever-present threat which requires skilful and tactful handling.

In South Africa official policy — apartheid — appears almost to have been designed to promote polarisation. It has occurred, and at times the process has gone dangerously far, yet it is astonishing how much middle ground remains.

It is as if the victims of apartheid simply refuse to believe the worst of their fellow-countrymen.

And — crucially — polarisation is not a permanent or static phenomenon. Attitudes do change, people do respond to events and creative policies can do much to reverse the process of polarisation.

Northern Ireland and the Lebanon are examples of polarisation which has gotten out of hand.

The polarised cells of society consist themselves of conciliatory, moderate and radical forces, each one of which attempts to define the situation for the others and win them over to its course of action.

This creates great turbulence within the cells — witness the violence around Maritzburg where Inkatha and the UDF/Cosatu are in competition.

But when one looks at the wider dispute — in this case continued exclusive rule by whites versus political rights for blacks — it is the competing groups within the polarised cells which determine the degree of polarisation.

In reaction to external events, individuals tend to make a positional switch on the continuum from "flexible" to "rigid" or the other way round Should events make conciliation a real possibility, the switch could be to "midrange" (consensus).

The strength of the radicals generally remains more or less constant, however, because their ideological commitment makes them impervious to external influences, while their extremism makes them unacceptable to the majority, even within the polarised cell.

The three graphs give a theoretical illustration of polarisation within South Africa at different times.

Graph A describes a multi-polar mobilisation before communal violence erupted in the black townships in 1984. Positions are fairly evenly spread along the continuum, with a fair amount of rigidity in both black (left hand side) and white camps, but a fair degree of flexibility as well — more flexibility than rigidity among the whites. The extreme radical positions are held by the Pan Africanist Congress (left) and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Graph B describes a bipolar mobilisation at the height of the township violence. Television footage of necklace murders and other atrocities has driven a majority of whites into a rigid, uncompromising position. Police counter-violence has driven a majority of blacks into a correspondingly rigid and uncompromising position. The midrange has almost disappeared and few on either side are prepared to show flexibility.

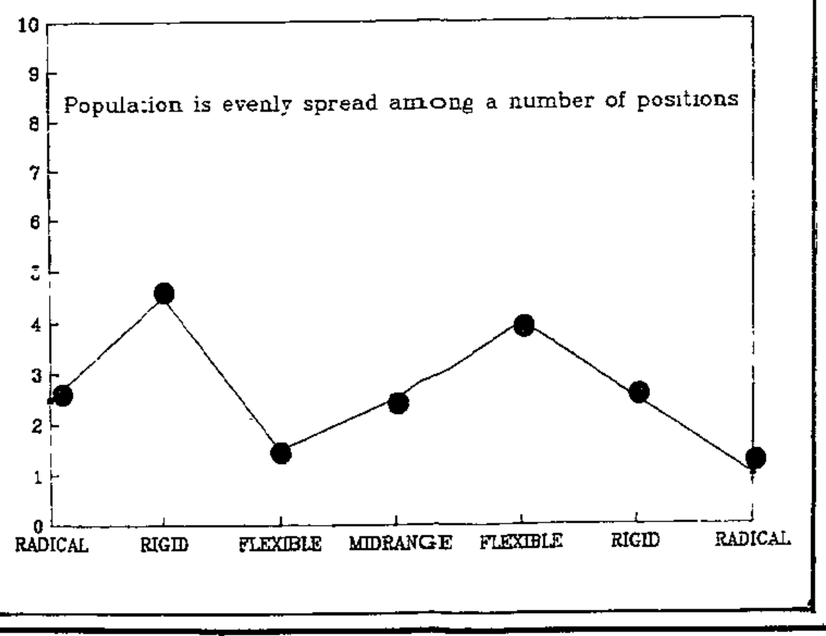
Graph C describes the position since Boksburg's Conservative Party council brought financial ruin and international opprobrium on the town for re-introducing Jim Crow apartheid and since events surrounding the "Mandela Football Club" discredited an important sector of the black struggle.

A majority of blacks and whites belong to the midrange; many more on either side are prepared to be flexible. The midrange mobilisation of Graph C is clearly what should be aimed for because it creates the climate for real negotiation.

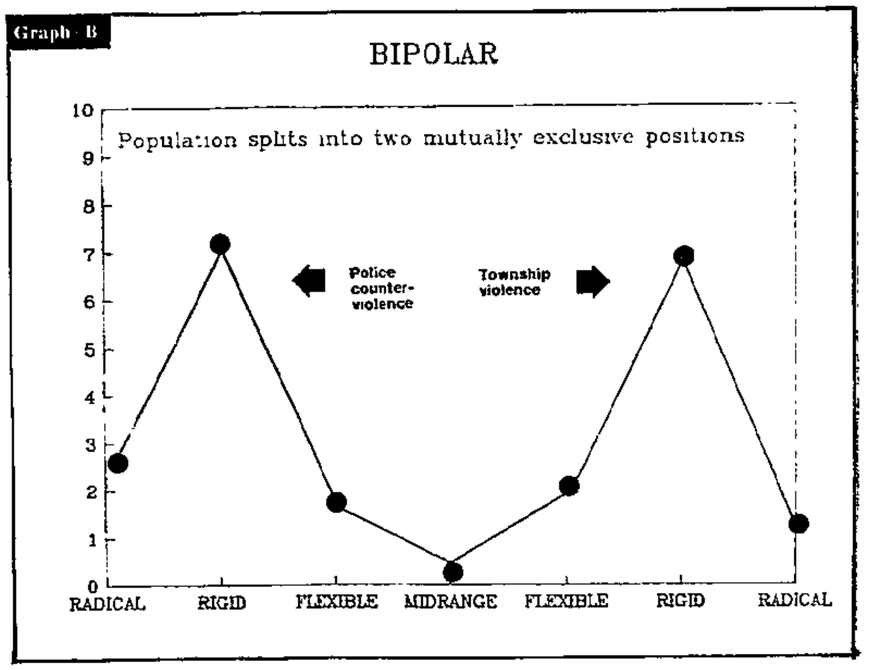
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●Tomorrow: Some perspectives on change.

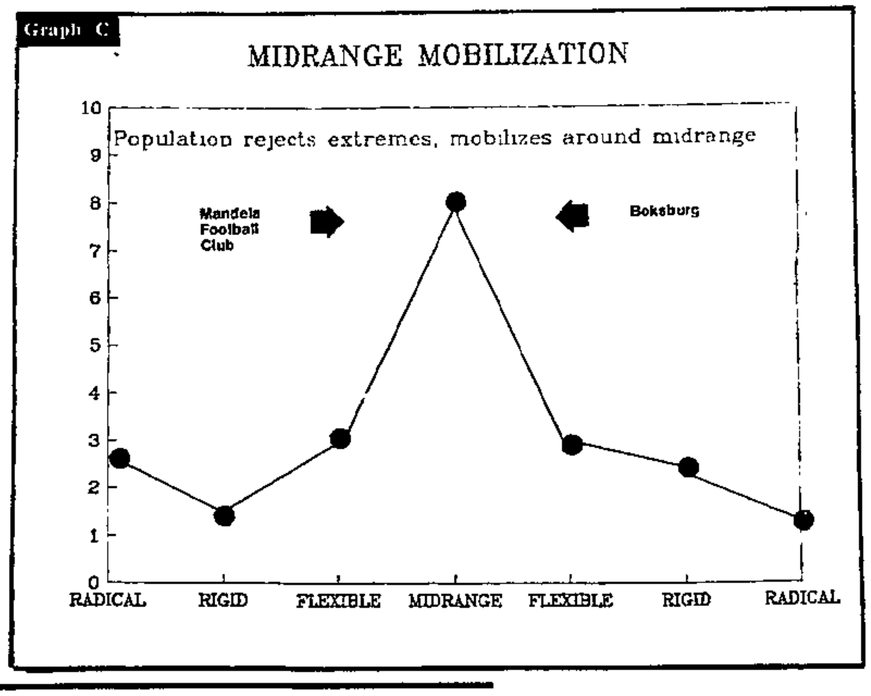
Graph A



Graph B



Graph C



CP plans meeting boycott

Star 27/4/87

By Anna Louw,
East Rand Bureau

(304B)

Conservatives in the Kempton Park Town Council have decided to boycott traditional "closed meetings" which they claim are a deliberate move by the Nationalists to withhold information from voters.

In a statement, Conservative Party councillors said the closed meetings were held prior to the monthly council meetings where the items on the agenda were discussed in detail and differences ironed out.

The CP councillors claimed open council meetings were merely for show where the "mark of approval" was placed on all the items on the agenda.

● The Kempton Park Town Council could face a by-election in Ward 15 if its representative on the council, Mr Rudi Delport (NP), is transferred to Cape Town as expected, but the town clerk has not yet received Mr Delport's resignation.

If he does resign, the by-election could be held in September.

Jo'burg likely to see last of petty apartheid soon

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Reform-minded National Party sources, encouraged by the verligte sounds made by Johannesburg's new management committee chairman Mr Jan Burger, believe the city's last bastions of petty apartheid will fall before the end of the year.

Their optimistic predictions are shared by the Democratic Party, which says that would allow the official opposition in the city council to tackle grand apartheid, such as the amalgamation of Johannesburg, Soweto, Lenasia and Eldorado Park into one municipality.

NP sources yesterday said the NP caucus's moves to desegregate buses would be followed by moves to open swimming pools, hospitals and recreation facilities to all races.

Said one NP source: "Even the tricky issue of swimming pools will be addressed within the next six months. However, measures will be introduced — on a non-racial basis — to prevent overcrowding."

Deputy management committee chairman Mrs Marietta Marx declined to commit the caucus to a schedule, but said "clear guidelines" on swimming pools would be spelt out before the start of the swimming season on September 1.

"We are committed to scrapping discrimination on the basis of race, as portrayed by the attitude of Mr Jan Burger (the new management committee chairman)," said Mrs Marx.

"We have had a difficult time after the municipal elections. New councillors who represent the new spirit in the NP were elected, but shortly after the election Mr Danie van Zyl (the late management committee chairman) became ill. Mr Burger, who acted as management committee chairman for two months, could not commit himself at the time. We have to do it now, also for the sake of Mr van Zyl."

CAUTION ADVISED

The DP yesterday cautioned against over-optimism about an apartheid-free city, saying Mr Burger's promising words first had to be put into action.

The DP leader in the city council, Mr Tony Leon, said there was a vast difference between rhetoric and substance.

"While welcoming the initiatives, we first want to see the colour of their money."

He said the NP caucus was under enormous pressure from its enlightened inner-circle and the DP.

Corruption is exaggerated, says Harms

Pretoria Correspondent

The hysterics about corruption in South Africa is exaggerated, says Mr Justice Harms.

He told the annual dinner of the Pretoria Afrikaanse Sakekamer that the point had often been made in recent times that the fact that three judicial commissions were held in the past three years was evidence of the decay of South African society. But, he said, the fact that his commission had given birth to two more was coincidental.

He said all kinds of theories were put forward about why South African society was decaying, but the fact was that "all nations have their criminals, those that misuse power and those that exploit any political system".

He said a problem with a commission investigating alleged irregularities was that it listened to many stores of which a portion were pure "gossip".

"It is extremely difficult at an early stage to judge if there is any merit in the story. If one investigates the story, it is deemed that where there is smoke there must be fire. If it later appears that the story was unfounded, the damage is already done and it is often irreparable," he said.

WHITES 'HURT' BY SHARING LOO

CP MP claims

WHITE mine and factory workers should be spared the "humiliation" of having to share toilets and washroom facilities with other races, Mr Arrie Paulus (CP, Carletonville) said in Parliament yesterday.

Speaking during a mini-interpellation debate, he accused the Government of shirking its responsibility to protect white workers.

However, Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, Mr George Bartlett, said the Government's regulations were no longer prescriptive, but provided the framework for negotiations between employers and employees on this issue.

He said: "We do not believe in forcing, and neither should we enforce segregation.

The CP's objection to sharing facilities was slammed by Democratic Party MP for Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley as "the profoundest insult to other human beings of another colour. This implies that skin colour is like some kind of contagion."

The CP's concern about sharing toilets was sufficient for it to be "elevated to the subject of an interpellation . . . surely outside South Africa, only Monty Python would consider this worthy as a public issue."

But Mr Paulus said a law should be introduced in parliament to protect whites from the "humiliation of being forced to share facilities."

He asked: "Are the National Party prepared to share the toilets in their homes with their servants? Why must the white worker in South Africa suffer humiliation?"

He said if the CP came to power they would ensure "white workers have their rights."

But Mr Bartlett said: "We do not believe that the Government should dictate to companies and unions as to what they are to do. We believe this matter can be easily resolved by all concerned."

Corruption, poverty two lines of DP attack

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Corruption and growing poverty would be two key lines of attack by the DP against government in the election, DP co-leader Zach de Beer said last night.

He told a meeting in Brackenfefell that the stories of corruption which kept on breaking out were a source of shame. "We are not a nation of cheats or crooks — why is this happening?"

The apartheid policy advocated by the NP and the CP had "failed miserably" and people no longer had confidence in the future.

"No one believes in it (apartheid). But the Nats refuse to give it up or to adopt a democratic policy — because they know that under a democratic policy they would lose their jobs."

Top bureaucrats earn R138 000

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The country's five top public servants earned more than R120 000 in salary — without perks — last year, according to the Commission for Administration.

If the 15% pay hike from January is added, they will earn a basic R138 000.

Perks could add up to one-third of basic pay.

ARGUS 7/4/87 3044

Attitude changes can diminish polarisation

THE FOURTH in this six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and Director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas, who has just completed his 25th visit to South Africa.

THE potential for polarisation exists in any society where there are different opinions about how that society should be ordered. However, in most societies those opinions are so evenly spread along a continuum, and so many of them are clustered about the moderate centre, that consensus prevails, even though there still are arguments as to how agreed national goals can be best achieved.

STUDY

It is where a society has deep and fundamental cleavages, often defined in terms of race, language or religion, that polarisation is an ever-present threat which requires the most skillful and tactful handling.

Northern Ireland and the Lebanon are examples of polarisation which has got out of hand.

South Africa is an example of a society where official policy — apartheid — appears almost to have been designed to promote polarisation.

It has occurred, and at times the process has gone dangerously far, yet it is astonishing how much middle ground remains. It is as if the victims of apartheid refuse to believe the worst of their fellow-countrymen.

And — critically important — polarisation is not a permanent or static phenonmenon. Attitudes do change, people do respond to events and creative policies can do much to reverse the process of polaristion.



The polarised cells of society consist themselves of conciliatory, moderate and radical forces, each one of which attempts to define the situation for the others and win them over to its course of action. This creates great turbulence within the cells — witness the violence around Pietermaritzburg where Inkatha and the UDF-/Cosatu are in competition.

But when one looks at the wider dispute — in this case continued exclusive rule by whites versus political rights for blacks — it is the competing groups within the polarised cells which determine the degree of polarisation.

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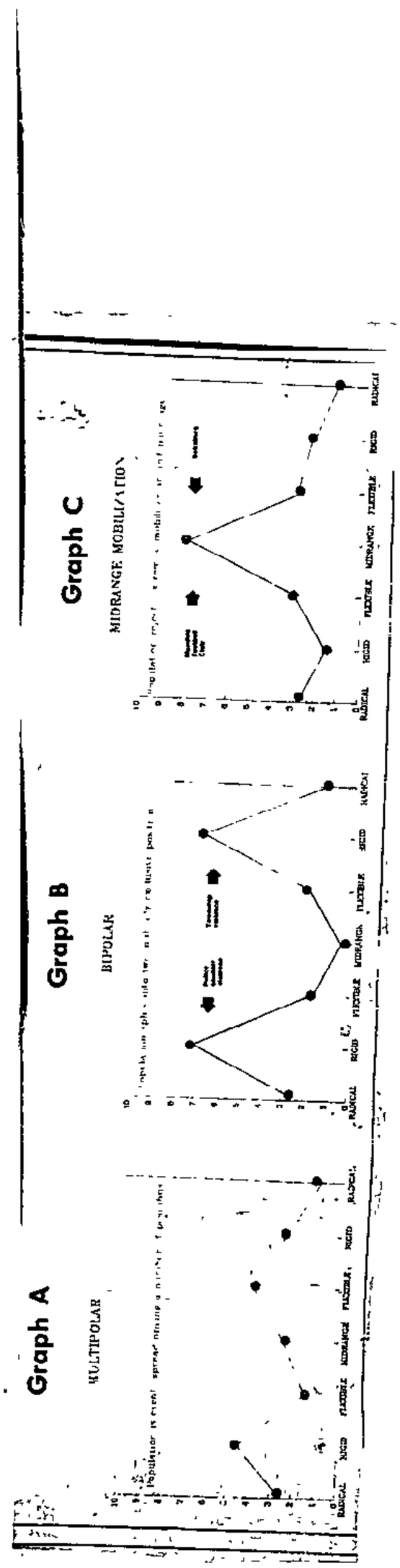
A majority of blacks and whites belong to the midrange= many more on either side are prepared to be flexible. Vast numbers of whites are convinced that CP policies will bring ruin on the country.

Vast numbers of blacks feel revulsion at certain aspects of "the struggle". They are disillusioned and are prepared to try something else.

The midrange mobilisation of Graph C is clearly what should be aimed for because it creates the climate for real negotiation between South Africa's peoples.

Polarisation can be countered. Graph C can be sustained and improved upon by bold government action, such as an undertaking to scrap what remains of apartheid, to release political prisoners and to at last convene the Great Indaba.

● Tomorrow: Perspectives on change.



Change while you can, white SA told

By CLIVE SAWYER
and SHARON SOROUR
Tygerberg Bureau

WHITE South Africans must accept change while they still have the power to do so, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said at the party's northern areas launch meeting last night.

Addressing a 200-strong audience at the Brackenfell Civic Centre, he said South Africa's eventual constitutional dispensation would be the result of a negotiation process.

The time a qualified franchise could be applied in South Africa was past.

Asked by a member of the audience about the party's stand on voting rights, Dr Worrall said: "Every black person has voting rights in terms of present government policy and to them the idea of a qualified franchise is unacceptable.

"All we in the DP are saying to white South Africans is accept change while you still have the power to do so."

Poverty

Creeping poverty and stories of corruption were causing misery and shame for ordinary South Africans, co-leader Dr Zac de Beer said.

"We are not a nation of cheats and crooks, but the truth is no-one has confidence in the future," he said.

The average South African grew poorer by the year because of the low economic growth rate, and this was no coincidence but a direct result of government policy.

President Botha had promised a clean and efficient administration in 1979, but today this administration was inefficient and corrupt.

"When we go to the polls later this year let us remember this inefficiency and corruption," Dr de Beer said.

DP dream

South Africans should forget old-style politics and trying to solve today's problems with yesterday's answers, said co-leader Mr Wynand Malan.

He said the party's path to its vision of the future was via a double-carriageway of parliamentary politics to oust the National Party government and by forming alliances with other parties and groupings which also sought democracy.

"The DP has a dream of South Africa as a democracy where race is not the basis of the constitution, where the humanity and freedom of all its citizens will be protected, and where the public interest is promoted, based on the principles of a democratic community," he said.

Security could never be guaranteed by a system of government which attempted to suppress instead of channel the aspirations of its people, he said.

"Security means far more than just an artificial state of social stability enforced through the use of the instruments of state to keep the people in their place. It will only come when all people have a stake in the system.



Party co-leader Mr Denis Worrall makes a point during last night's meeting.

Hecklers give DP leaders hard time

CLIVE SAWYER
and SHARON SOROUR
Tygerberg Bureau

HECKLERS, a pamphlet and poster thieves added light relief to the Democratic Party's first northern areas meeting.

Mr Jannie Momberg, master of ceremonies at the meeting at the Brackenfell Civic Centre, said posters advertising the meeting had been removed "almost as fast as they were put up", in Parow and Goodwood.

Before the meeting, a middle-aged man distributed a pamphlet quoting poetry allegedly written by the late Steve Biko, as well as Biblical extracts and a parable titled "The Strange Tale of Farmer Piet".

Handing out the pamphlet, he said: "Read this, I'm sure you'll appreciate the poetry of Biko."

He declined to identify himself, but confirmed he was not a member of the Democratic Party.

Hecklers disrupted speeches by the troika.

When Dr Zac de Beer said South Africa was not a nation of cheats and crooks, a roar came from the back of the hall: "Yes we are!"

Other interjections included: "What's your policy?", "sies", and "jy lieg".

When Mr Wynand Malan said Afrikaners could not live in a compartment within South Africa, a cry came from the audience: "Why not?"

When Dr Dennis Worrall said the Democratic Party had Mr Chris Heunis on the run, a bellow came: "Yes, he's running for President."

Fun days at Boland Show

Tyberberg Bureau

AMATEUR boxing, dog shows and a "super bodies" display are among the attractions at the annual 132nd Boland Show at Paarl Valley from tomorrow until Sunday.

Other items include a Miss Boland competition, a baby contest and a police drill display.

The show will be opened by the mayor of Paarl, Dr J J Sieberhagen. A concert featuring Lance James and Joanna Field will follow the opening.

Judging of the cattle, sheep, and Angora goats on display ends on Saturday. Farmers have also been invited to display their tractors at the show.

More details are available at ☎ 02211 625356.

Where will the money come from?

Maize Board: govt to pay R1,4bn debt

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Government is to pay off the Maize Board's accumulated debt — which could result in it spending up to R1,4bn in interest and capital payments in the next 10 years.

Agriculture Minister Greyling Wentzel said at a Nampo function in Bothaville that the yearly subsidy paid to the board would, in future, be used to redeem the accumulated debt of the Maize Stabilisation Fund.



● WENTZEL

He said the debt was now R460m but, with interest, was expected to rise to R540m next year.

The annual subsidy of about R76m would be supplemented by government to make provision for interest and capital-redemption payments.

If the debt was paid off over a ten-year period, this would involve annual payments of R100m a year bringing total state payments to R1,4bn.

Wentzel said this assistance to the board would also include the redemption of the debts of the Grain Sorghum Board.

A Department of Agriculture spokesman said it had not yet been decided where the money to pay for the debt redemption would come from. However, Cabinet had decided to go ahead.

In the three years to April 1988, government paid R174m to the board to assist with the redemption of its debt. In spite of this, the debt had risen to R460m and was set to rise further.

As matters stood now just to meet the interest payments alone would involve a yearly levy of R10 a ton on a harvest of eight-million tons. Meeting capital payments would involve a R15 a ton levy.

Wentzel said the introduction of the new scheme would eventually result in the ending of the subsidy paid to the board which would put it on an equal footing with the wheat industry where government had already decided in principle to do away with the bread price subsidy.

□ GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that board GM Hennie Davel declined to comment on the announcement.

But Grain Sorghum Board GM Danie van Rensburg said his board had inherited a R4m deficit from the board when it was established in 1986. With interest, the amount had risen R6m and his board was delighted with the write-off.



Cuban delegation leader Carlos Aldana, left, with Soviet special envoy Vyacheslev Ustinov, right, before yesterday's talks on Namibian independence.- Picture: REUTER

Soviets, Cubans meet Botha

MIKE ROBERTSON

CAPE TOWN — Roving Soviet Ambassador Vyacheslev Ustinov and four other delegation leaders of the joint commission meeting to discuss the Namibian peace process met President P W Botha at Tuynhuys yesterday.

Ustinov is the head of the first official Soviet delegation to SA in more than 30 years.

The joint commission proceedings got underway yesterday morning with all parties delivering position papers on how they perceived the current situation in Northern Namibia.

It is understood the discussions focussed on the restoration of Resolution 435; the implications of the current situation in Namibia, in particular progress in terms of the 60-hour withdrawal plan; and Cuban troop withdrawals.

SA delegation leader Foreign Affairs director general Neil van Heerden spent yesterday afternoon in bilateral meetings with the Cuban delegation as well with the Soviet and US mediators.

Later in the day Van Heerden, Ustinov, Cuban delegation leader Carlos Aldana, Angolan delegation leader Lt Gen Antonio dos Santos Franca and acting US deputy Undersecretary of State Chas Freeman were driven to Tuynhuys to meet Botha.

the SA crucible as two worlds meet

(304A)

Star 20/4/89

South Africa is a crucible of conflict, yet all is not doom. Something new is being forged in that crucible.

As argued elsehwere in this series, Man's thinking patterns and value systems are a response to the challenge of his environment, and they change with changed environment.

South Africans are in the most challenging environment on Earth, whether they are white or black or any shade between. They have to merge streams of First World and Third World thinking (both of which are perfectly legitimate) and take from each what is best and most appropriate to their circumstances. It is no easy task.

But the human mind is a wonderful and adaptive thing. It solves problems (often creating new ones for the future — but that is another matter) and there is every reason to believe that South Africa could be on the brink of an innovative breakthrough.

Straws in the wind: The Law Commission's recommendations on a Bill of Rights; the Government's undertaking to consider the recommendations of the kwaZulu/Natal Indaba; statements from high-ranking political leaders which question the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act; and the call from the same quarters for a Great Indaba.

If South Africa's political leaders have recognised this, they could be poised for a quantum leap into a future where they would lead the international community in terms of synthesising the interests of the First and the Third Worlds.

The objective should be to secure and expand the productive First World component of society, at the same time providing for the needs of the Third World component, allowing its members to ratchet through naturally to the First World.

The First World is a product of individual and collective thinking patterns. It does not exist in motor cars, houses and the other outward signs of affluence. Given a modicum of natural resources, a First World community would very soon reproduce its culture if placed on the bare veld. Nor does membership of the First World have anything to do with race or ethnicity because millions of black South Africans are already First Worlders.

Change in South Africa will require a multiple management strategy so that millions of people who are now at different levels of development have the resources and opportunities to ratchet through these levels. It is much like the deep sea diver: If he comes up too soon he is in danger of getting the bends. If he comes up too late he runs out of air.

It makes no sense at all to simply copy models from First World or Third World expériences. South Africa has to design its own floating/transitory system.

There are two types of change.

First Order change simply expands the present system or does more of the same.

Second Order change requires a major reframing of everything at once. There are many splendid efforts in South Africa at "change", but they are ad hoc and piecemeal.

For change of this magnitude to occur, previous internal problems have to be solved and the basic subsistence needs of all the country's people must be met. The various cultures have to be secure in the knowledge that their customs, traditions, beliefs and sacred places are guaranteed.

The Rev Jesse Jackson recently suggested that a solution to the West Bank problem would be to guarantee the Israeli culture, beliefs and traditions, plus develop the country's industry so that it becomes the Hong Kong of the Middle East.

The same strategy could work with South Africa. Afrikaner culture should be protected from attack, but the country should also be opened up to admit other cultures. It could become the Hong Kong of Africa.

The West can assist by opening up the channels of cultural interaction, providing capital for rapid expansion and facilitating the flow of thinking to more complex levels. All these strategies would enhance the value systems which dissolve racial categories.

Imagine the impact on South Africa's avid sports fans of the sacred green and gold colours on black skin. Olympic gold medals for South Africa would soon cancel out any concern about the colour of that skin.

There also has to be the capacity within South Africa to think in new ways. South Africans need new prisms to give them a fresh view of the realities about them. They need to learn to think laterally about the problems surrounding them instead of proceeding from tired old assumptions to predictable conclusions.

● **Tomorrow in the Saturday Star: A formula for SA.**

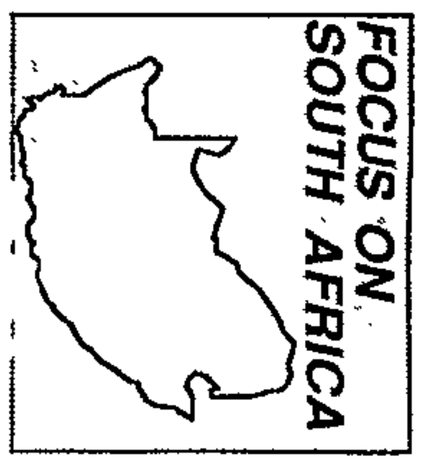
All is not doom in



Dr Don Beck.

This is the fifth of a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico-pschological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas.

FOCUS ON SOUTH AFRICA



What do I tell my people when a bomb goes off asks Harry Schwarz

MP'S OUTBURST AGAINST ANC

VETERAN government opponent Mr Harry Schwarz (DP, Yeoville) lashed out in Parliament at the ANC's use of violence, and took Idasa to task for describing the Congress as a "major and misunderstood actor on the South African scene".

Mr Schwarz rejected the ANC's "kind of democracy" and stated: "We are in competition with that organisation".

Speaking in the Law and Order Budget Debate, he quoted an Idasa document which described the ANC as "a major and misunderstood actor on the South African scene".

"What do I tell people in my constituency when a bomb goes off? What do I tell people about this misunderstanding? I invite people who are apologists for violence to say where I am misunderstanding violence.

"A bomb is a bomb. A gun is a gun. You cannot have misunderstanding when that is taking place. We need to make this clear."



DR VAN ZYL SLABBERT ... Idasa leader.

Mr Schwarz was also critical of the ANC's view of post-apartheid society.

He said: "We need to look at what kind of society is being proposed in South Africa and whether the constitutional proposals are what we want.

"They are not in favour of the kind of democracy we want and we are in competition with that organisation."

Replying to debate, Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok said: "I agree 100 percent with (Mr Schwarz). The ANC must decide what it wants. I cannot sit on two stools."

No confidence

A MOTION of no confidence was passed against the CP-ruled Carletonville Town Council on Wednesday night at a meeting of the Carletonville Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Ratepayers Association Liaison Committee, attended by nearly 300 people.

The motion was adopted by a large majority.

New sponsor

THE South African Chess Federation has announced that a new sponsor, Sasol, has come forward for this year's South African closed chess championship.

The tournament will be known as the 1989 Sasol South African Closed Chess Championship and will be held in the Sasol Recreation Club in Secunda from July 25 to August 6.

DP takes hold in E Transvaal

In the past 16 days, the Democratic Party's membership in the Eastern Transvaal has grown by 20 per cent compared to the combined membership of the three parties involved in the merger, Mr Andrew Thatcher, the DP's chairman in the region, said yesterday. Star 28/4/89

He added that about 10 new branches could be formed in the Eastern Transvaal over the next few months. 304A

The first two DP branches in the region this week held annual meetings and elected constituency committees. — Political Reporter.

Barend sees mainly black government

Star 28/4/89

3047

The Star Bureau

LONDON — A South African Cabinet Minister has told British radio listeners it is inevitable that there will eventually be more black faces than white in Government in the Republic.

Mr Barend du Plessis, the Finance Minister, added on Thursday night: "The danger of domination on account of larger numbers — that is the most difficult one to eliminate.

"But, as our State President has so often said: 'We will govern ourselves into a new situation. And I think what is terribly important in our case is that we shall make progress from one step of stabilising South Africa to the next stabilising step.'

'In other words, we shall have to avoid things which will destabilise South Africa. And that is why it is so significant to view the progress here as growing in evolutionary fashion, organically, so to speak, into a new system.'"

Mr du Plessis, described as "clearly a man of the future given his recent close-run second place in the Nationalist leadership election", was speaking in a BBC radio programme called "Apartheid: The Granite Wall Crumbles."

In the programme, Graham Leach, the former BBC Southern Africa correspondent, reviewed the changes taking place in South Africa. Others taking part included Mrs Helen Suzman, Dr Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert, and Dr Dennis Worrall.

Leach, summing up his conclusions after six years as Southern Africa correspondent, said bluntly that "apartheid's day is over — it cannot survive."

Leach said many Afrikaners no longer had the heart to pursue it, and were searching for for a way to ensure survival.

Get-on-with-the-job Burger surprises critics

By ESMARE VAN DER MERWE,
Political Reporter

Surprise moves by the National Party-controlled Johannesburg City Council to desegregate buses and open cinemas on Sunday were yesterday attributed to the leadership of the new management committee chairman, Mr Jan Burger.

NP sources said Mr Burger was sincere in his efforts to "get on with the job" of scrapping all apartheid laws in South Africa's biggest city.

But sceptical opposition parties said his lack of charisma was the reason for capitulating to pressure from enlightened members of the NP caucus, and the Democratic Party, the official opposition in the council.

DP and Conservative Party spokesmen said the late Mr Danie van Zyl had ruled his caucus with an iron fist, refusing to bow to pressure to desegregate the city. Mr Burger, however, was more susceptible to reform, they said.

The DP leader in the council, Mr Tony Leon, attributed the shift in NP thinking to Mr Burger's "undefined" leadership.

"He, unlike Mr van Zyl, cannot cope with conflict, debate and pressure from both inside his own caucus and from the DP. Mr van Zyl, with respect to his memory, was hostile to change. Mr Burger is far more impressionable and non-ideological."

Mr Leon added that the DP, which had been consistent in its efforts to rid Johannesburg of apartheid, welcomed NP moves to "liberate" the city.

The CP leader in Johannesburg, Mr Fred Rundle, said the NP's "leftist new guard" had effectively taken control.

"Under Mr van Zyl, the NP was still reasonably conservative. Since his death, however, the caucus has moved sharply to the left. The leftist influence of Mr Pik Botha and Mr Roelf Meyer (the NP's regional leaders in Johannesburg) is starting to count."

Mr Burger was "a good person", but lacked the charisma of Mr van Zyl, he added.

NP sources said that since Mr Burger's election, enlightened NP councillors were free to speak their mind and push for change.

Said one senior source: "There is no doubt that the 'new guard' has made a dramatic difference. However, most NP councillors — regardless of age — feel the NP cannot afford any more racial incidents. They simply want to get rid of the rubbish of petty apartheid. Apart from listening to the noises within the caucus, Oom Jan also wants things to get moving."

Boksburg council in majority vote to honour Treurnicht

By Bernard Gunzenhauser

Boksburg Town Council last night voted to bestow honorary citizenship on the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The motion, which was passed by a 10-7 majority, evoked strong criticism from the non-CP members of the council.

The strongest criticism of their move came from Alderman Issy Kramer, who said that a precedent for only electing State Presidents, with the single exception of former world boxing champion, Gerrie Coetzee, had been set by the council.

Mr Kramer also said that it was traditional for any nominee of the award who did not receive the unanimous support of the full council not to accept the award.

However, chairman of the management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, said Dr Treurnicht was "more than deserving" of the award because of the contribution he had made towards the town.

N17 TOLL ROAD

At the same meeting, the council passed a motion expressing their disagreement with the explanations given by Tollway regarding the proposed N17 tollroad that will eventually join the East and West Rand. A petition objecting to the road has been signed by 450 Boksburg residents.

At the crux of the CP caucus rejection was the company's apparent inability to indicate exactly where the alternative route to the tollroad would be situated.

The motion further called upon the MP for Boksburg, Mr Sakkie Blanche, to hold a public meeting to explain his standpoint on the tollroad issue to the people.

Another motion, proposed by Mr Chris Smith leader of the National Party caucus, was defeated. He had called for a letter of praise to be sent to Tollway.

USSR/SA thaw does not mean bear hugs just yet

Star 28/4/89.

3049

The recent easing of relations between the Soviet Union and South Africa does not mean diplomatic ties are about to be re-established. **BRUCE CAMERON**, The Star's Political Correspondent, reports that the thaw should not be seen as anything more than the fact that the two sides are talking to each other.

CAPE TOWN — South Africa is not about to jump into bed with the Reds and neither do the Soviets have any intention of being seduced by South Africa.

Relations between the two countries, virtually non-existent 12 months ago, have thawed only to the extent that the two are now talking to each other.

But diplomatic relations in the near future are not on as Soviet ambassador-at-large, Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov, made clear when he arrived in Cape Town this week.

He emphasised he had not even come to talk about the issue.

South Africa and the Soviet Union are sizing each other up at the moment and discovering that their propaganda about each other of the past was hogwash in many instances.

But senior South African sources said yesterday they did not particularly like what they were discovering about the Soviets.

One of the complicating factors in dealing with the Russians was that they had a bit of an identity crisis.

"They don't know if they are pre-glasnost or post-glasnost," was one of the more derogatory remarks.

Both South Africa and Russia are seeking to find where they can take advantage of any relationship.

This was emphatically stated by Defence Minister, General Magnus Malan in Parliament last week when he said South Africa's interests were the paramount consideration.

South Africa reads hopeful signs into the Soviet indication that it would prefer negotiated political solutions and that it is opposed to sanctions.

But Mr Ustinov has made it clear that the Soviets are still a long way from forcing the ANC to drop the armed struggle.

"We believe political solutions are very important but as you know the United Nations has recognised the right of nations to reach freedom by all means possible."

The Soviets insist that before they are prepared to renew formal diplomatic relations apartheid would have to be scrapped, but in the meantime they are prepared to engage in some type of constructive engagement.



Soviet ambassador-at-large Mr Vyacheslav Ustinov made it clear this week that he is not here to talk about the Soviet/SA issue.

They are clearly looking for international respectability and prestige in helping to resolve the volatile situation in South Africa.

The Soviets are being careful not to offend the African states and appear to be attempting to gain a quick march on the United States. At present the Soviets are doing most of the shouting about alleged over-reaction from security forces fighting the Swapo infiltration clearly to curry favour.

They are also doing most of the pushing for concessions for Swapo. All this has not done much to encourage South Africa to give the Soviets much of a toe-in during the Joint Commission talks.

At the moment the Soviets are sulking because South Africa has been keeping them at bay in the current negotiations to the extent they had to ask the Americans at the emergency talks at Mount Etjo to approach South Africa to let them have some say in the final agreement.

South Africa relented and the Soviets altered a word or two.

South Africa has been trying to impress on the Soviets that South Africa is not a two-bit country that can or will allow itself to be pushed around by a super power.

This was one of the main reasons why Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, encouraged Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Anatoliy Adamishin to visit South Africa after he met him for wide ranging talks in the Soviet Embassy in Mozambique last month.

He wanted the Russians to know that South Africa was a powerhouse unlike any other African country.

Mr Adamishin admitted in the Russian newspaper *Izvestia* last week that he did in fact visit South Africa, where he was given a helicopter tour of the Witwatersrand, but denied holding talks on South African soil.

In the interview with *Izvestia* Mr Adamishin made it clear that the Soviet Union retained firm relations with the African National Congress although he did concede that there was greater "realism than previously".

It is the loosening of this bond with the ANC, and particularly its support for the ANC's armed struggle, that South Africa hopes most to gain from dealing with the Soviets.

South Africa takes Soviet demands for recognition of human rights and the scrapping of apartheid with a large pinch of salt given the Soviet Union's own rather worse history on the issue of human rights.

South Africa would also not be adverse to opening solid trade links with the Soviet Union as sanctions close doors in Western countries.

This is not a new idea and was suggested many years ago by the late Dr Connie Mulder although the Conservative Party with its opportunistic negative reaction to the Soviet contacts would like to forget it.

South Africa is defintely not seeking any alignment with the West. This was best summed up by a message which was understood to have been passed to the Russians last year that South Africa did not necessarily side with the West.

Although Mr Adamishin and Mr Botha may be prepared to down a few Vodkas together there is little chance that the two countries will soon be exchanging bear hugs, instead they will continue to see-saw looking for advantage, or at best, mutual advantage.

Star 28/4/89 (304A)

Harms criticises 'boere bashing' by English press

Pretoria Bureau

The English press's treatment of recent corruption scandals was this week criticised by Mr Justice Louis Harms, who accused them of "boere bashing". He said they would never dare say the same about any other population group.

Speaking at an Afrikaanse Sakekamer meeting in Pretoria, he said the hysteria about corruption was exaggerated, and several theories about the cause of the corruption of society had emerged, some of which were linked to the character of the Afrikaner.

He quoted an article from the Cape Town newspaper *The Argus*



Mr Justice Louis Harms ... defends Afrikaner.

which referred to "noble Afrikaner traditions of nepotism and corruption."

Boere bashing was an acceptable sport, as the English would say, said Mr Justice Harms.

Other theories were coupled to the Afrikaner politics, as if someone knew the definition of an Afrikaner and what their politics were.

He said he had found no basis for this theory and that all nations had their criminals.

Politics attracted only the opportunist or idealist and it was the voter's own fault if he could not identify the opportunist, said Mr Justice Harms.

It should be remembered that for every corrupt official there were in theory at least two corrupt businessmen or members of the public. Because if there weren't any bidders the official often had nothing to sell.

He said the press had had a field day when Mr Sol Kerzner was humiliated by his admission that what he had done was wrong.

He questioned whether this reaction was really caused by moral outrage.

He asked whether it had been simply because, in their eyes, his success had been too good to be true.

Referring to the founding of *The Citizen* newspaper, he said it was today generally accepted that the row would have been over — possibly wrongly — if the facts about the birth of the newspaper had been revealed together with a call of national interest.

has no Vermaas police

DELIMITATION (304A) FMML 28/4/89.

The numbers game

The Conservative Party's (CP) outrage at government's decision to go ahead with the general election later this year without a new delimitation is understandable. The party's Transvaal power-base is hopelessly under-represented in the House of Assembly (HoA) compared to the Cape, which remains a Nationalist stronghold.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht says some Cape constituencies have barely 10 000 voters, while in a number of seats in the Transvaal there are more than 30 000. "It is a crude interference with democracy. Mr F W de Klerk, as NP leader in the Transvaal, must bear responsibility for it," he charges.

In terms of the constitution, a delimitation commission must be appointed within 10 years of the previous delimitation. But the clause providing for this is not semi-entrenched and can be fairly easily changed (for example to a period of 15 years) even if it is supported by the NP only. A move along these lines is expected soon.

A constitutional change which had been effectively blocked by the Labour Party would have meant an increase in the number of white seats in the Transvaal from 76 to 91 and from 20 to 21 in Natal. The Cape would have retained its current 56 seats and the Free State 14. A delimitation would have followed the change and the next election would have been held in terms of a far more equitable distribution of seats.

Government could, of course, have had a delimitation before the election this year based on the existing constituencies. While this would not have solved the problem of unequal provincial representation, it could have spread voters more equitably among existing constituencies, particularly in the Transvaal.

According to the Department of Home Affairs, there were 3 139 699 registered white voters at the end of last year (an average of 18 913 for each of the 166 elected seats in the HoA). Of these 1 685 271 were in the Transvaal (22 174 average for 76 seats), 852 577 in the Cape (15 224 average for 56 seats), 365 237 in Natal (18 261 average for 20 seats) and 236 614 in the Free State (16 901 average for 14 seats).

A parliamentary question from the DP on the latest number of voters per constituency is awaiting reply. A similar question last year showed that 50 seats in the Transvaal had more than 20 000 voters.

In the Cape, only four seats had more than 20 000 voters. In Natal most seats had between 16 000 and 20 000 voters. The number of voters in the OFS varied considerably between a low of 9 964 in Fauresmith and 23 196 in Welkom.

When the next delimitation will occur is now unclear. It must surely be before the general election following the one later this year. But unless government can come to terms with Labour on increasing the number of seats, the current imbalance in representation will continue — and become even worse. ■

(304A) FMML. 28/4/89.

Terreblanche slates Barend's budget speech

Staff Reporter

THE recent budget speech by the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was like shifting around furniture on the decks of the Titanic, economist and Democratic Party member Professor Sampie Terreblanche said at UCT yesterday.

Speaking during the first public appearance of the DP at UCT, Professor Terreblanche told about 250 people that the Titanic could "only avoid striking an iceberg by veering leftwards".

Professor Terreblanche shared the platform at the launch of the DP-affiliated Students' Democratic Association with the party's co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, and DP founding member and former Nationalist Mr Jannie Momberg.



STUDENT LAUNCH . . . At the launch of the Students' Democratic Association at UCT yesterday were (from left) DP founding member Mr Jannie Momberg, Dr Zach de Beer and SDA interim chairman Mr Pete Hall.

The National Party, he said, was caught in a Catch-22 situation since it could not afford to ditch apartheid, but also could not avoid including blacks on a significant scale in Parliament.

Internationally, South Africa reflected the greatest disparity between rich and poor with the government's racial policies giving rise to economic isolation, massive black unemployment and a decline in real per capita earnings over the past 15 years, he said.

Espousing the economic and social philosophy of Adam Smith, Professor Terreblanche said "social democratic" measures would initially be necessary when preparing the country for a "real free-market system".

Dr Zach de Beer, who drew a few scattered boos after delivering his speech, said in reply to a question that his party sought co-operation with organisations that shared the same aims and values as the DP.

Harms warns about corruption hysteria

PRETORIA. — The hysteria about corruption in South Africa is exaggerated, says Mr Justice Louis Harms.

He told the Afrikaanse Sakekamer here that the point was often made that the three judicial commissions held in the past three years was evidence of the decay of South African society.

Mr Justice Harms said that the fact that his commission had given birth to two more was coincidental and there were technical reasons for it.

He added that the hysteria about corruption made a person think about the hysteria over other issues, such as child maltreatment and molestation, rape, drugs, Aids, mini-buses and oil pollution.

He said that during these emotional waves everybody wanted drastic and even draconian steps to be taken to prevent and eradicate the problem.

Although people were acting with the best intentions, they should be careful that the wave of emotion did not overwhelm them. — Sapa

4 pull out because of chess chief's CP links

MG 28/4/89

By ANDREA WEISS
Staff Reporter

FOUR top chess players will not play in the South African championships this year because of the Conservative Party links of Mr Martin Serfontein, president of the South African Chess Federation (SACF).

The four players would probably have been numbered among 14 South African chess players who will compete for the South African championship.

Mr Serfontein's election as a Conservative Party councillor in Kempton Park in October has caused concern among chess players for some time. There are fears that it could split the national chess body or deprive South African chess of some of its best players.

Mr Jonathan Gluckman and Mr Stephen Tooke, rated among the leading five players in the Western Province, quit the Western Province Chess Union (WPCU) this week when the union decided not to withdraw from the SACF.

Two other players rated among the top eight in South Africa, Mr Mark Levitt and Mr Clyde Wolpe of Johannesburg, have already withdrawn their membership and, according to Mr Gluckman, several others are considering resigning.

Boksburg honours Treurnicht

M64 28/4/89

The Argus Correspondent

3044

JOHANNESBURG. — The Boksburg Town Council voted to bestow honorary citizenship on the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

The motion, which was passed by a 10-7 majority, evoked strong criticism from non-CP members of the council last night.

PRECEDENT

The strongest criticism came from alderman Issy Kramer.

He said a precedent for only electing state presidents, with the exception of former world boxing champion, Gerrie Coetzee, had been set by the council.

The chairman of the management committee, Mr Gideon Fourie, said that Dr Treurnicht deserved the award because of the contribution he had made to Boksburg.

Perspectives on how to effect change in SA

MCSJ 28/4/89 30cA

THE FIFTH in this six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico/psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and Director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas, who has just completed his 25th visit to South Africa.

SOUTH Africa is a crucible of conflict, yet all is not doom. Something new is being forged in that crucible.

As argued elsewhere in this series, man's thinking patterns and value systems are a response to the challenge of his environment, and they change with changed environment.

STUDY

South Africans are in the most challenging environment on earth, whether they are white or black or any shade between. They have to merge streams of First World and Third World thinking (both of which are perfectly legitimate) and take from each what is best and most appropriate to their circumstances. It is no easy task.

But the human mind is a wonderful and adaptive thing. It solves problems (often creating new ones for the future — but that is another matter) and there is every reason to believe that South Africa could be on the brink of an innovative breakthrough.

Straws in the wind: the Law Commission's recommendations on a Bill of Rights; the Government's undertaking to consider the recommendations of the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba; statements from high-ranking political leaders which question the Separate Amenities Act, the Group Areas Act and the Population Registration Act; and the call from the same quarters for a Great Indaba.

It is as if the very people who put apartheid into place realise that if it ever did have any validity, that disappeared long ago.

And here we possibly have the crux of the matter. Race did once — very long ago — coincide with mindsets and value systems. But the whites themselves have moved since then from an agrarian into an industrial/materialistic mindset and they have been accompanied by literally millions of blacks. Attempts since 1948 to reimpose racial definitions have been dangerous folly.

If South Africa's political leaders have recognised this, they could be poised for a quantum leap into a future where they would lead the international community in terms of synthesising the interests of the First and the Third worlds.

The objective should be to secure and expand the productive First World component of society, at the same time providing for the needs of the Third World



component, allowing its members to ratchet through naturally to the First World.

The First World is a product of individual and collective thinking patterns. It does not exist in motor cars, houses and the other outward signs of affluence.

Given a modicum of natural resources, a First World community would very soon reproduce its culture if placed on the bare veld. Nor does membership of the First World have anything to do with race or ethnicity because millions of black South Africans are already First Worlders.

Change in South Africa will require a multiple management strategy so that millions of people who are presently at different levels of development have the resources and opportunities to ratchet through these levels. It is much like the deep sea diver: if he comes up too soon he is in danger of getting the bends. If he comes up too late he runs out of air.

The entire process has to be managed in such a way that a number of critical mass set points are simultaneously facilitated — upon which change occurs. Just as a World Government would have to manage the entire globe through multiple positions appropriate to particular continents and regions, the same is true of South Africa.

For this reason it makes no sense at all to simply copy models from First World or Third World experiences. South Africa has to design its own floating/-transitory system.

There are two types of change.

First Order change simply expands the present system or does more of the same.

Second Order change requires a major reframing of everything at once. There are many splendid efforts in South Africa at "change", but they are *ad hoc* and piecemeal.

The change that can make a difference will be the one in which the entire culture shifts into a different dimension. Just as the change from piston-driven to jet-propelled aviation meant that everything had to change along with it, South Africa will probably require a major transformation.

For change of this magnitude to occur, previous internal problems have to be solved and the basic subsistence needs of all the country's people must be met. The various cultures have to be secure in the knowledge that their customs, traditions, beliefs and sacred places are guaranteed.

The Rev Jesse Jackson recently suggested that a solution to the West Bank problem would be to guarantee the Israeli culture, beliefs and traditions, plus develop the country's industry so that it becomes the Hong Kong of the Middle East.

The same strategy could work with South Africa. Afrikaner culture should be protected from attack, but the country should also be opened up to admit other cultures. It could become the Hong Kong of Africa.

The West can assist by opening up the channels of cultural interaction, providing capital for rapid expansion and facilitating the flow of thinking to more complex levels. All these strategies would enhance the value systems which dissolve racial categories.

Imagine the impact on South Africa's avid sports fans of the sacred green and gold colours on black skin. Olympic gold medals for South Africa would soon cancel out any concern about the colour of that skin.

There also has to be the capacity within South Africa to think in new ways. South Africans need new prisms to give them a fresh view of the realities about them. They need to learn to think laterally about the problems surrounding them instead of proceeding from tired old assumptions to predictable conclusions.

● Tomorrow (in Weekend Argus): A formula for South Africa.

Campaign for open Jo'burg to go ahead

Star 24/7/89

PAT DEVEREAUX

THE passive resistance campaign to challenge Johannesburg City Council's apartheid laws which segregate the city's facilities will forge ahead despite State efforts to hamper it, said representatives of various organisations planning the campaign.

The "Towards an Open City" campaign is on the brink of being launched and, according to the anti-eviction group Actstop's publicity secretary, Mr Cas Coovadia, involves "a two-pronged strategy to take our future into our own hands".

The first prong of the campaign, say organisers, will be an inner city encounter, where Johannesburg residents would be invited to live with "illegal" black families in the city centre to experience the over-crowding, harassment and eviction threats.

Second, an ongoing campaign to defy apartheid laws will be launched. Black residents will attempt to use whites-only amenities such as hospitals and will attempt to enroll their children at white schools.

But, last night the chairman of the Johannesburg Management Committee, Mr Jan Burger, said: "They can forget about this campaign. We have-

● TO PAGE 2.

'Open City' bid to forge ahead

● FROM PAGE 1.

already decided in caucus to desegregate Johannesburg. But it won't be immediate because we do have problems."

Asked whether the campaign would not pressure the council into moving faster, he said: "No, it won't. We will ignore these leftist politicians".

Reacting, the leader of the Democratic Party in Johannesburg Council, Mr Tony Leon said: "It's understandable that people who are at their wits end about racist legislation want to plan this sort of campaign."

He called on Mr Burger to spell out his plan for desegregating Johannesburg's amenities. "They are creating a climate of expectation and should move with speed to open Johannesburg," said Mr Leon.

Yesterday security police action which halted a Thursday night joint meeting of organisations planning the campaign to oppose the Group Areas Act and other segregationist legislation in Johannesburg was roundly criticised by community leaders.

Democratic Party councillor Mrs Judith Briggs, who attended the meeting, said: "About 25 people from various organisations, including Idasa, the Black Sash, Actstop and the Five Freedoms Forum attended the Braamfontein meeting to discuss the availability and use of facilities in Johannesburg for all races.

"We were interrupted after about an hour by plainclothes police, led by a Captain van Huysteen, who confiscated all documentation and notes which had been taken. We were then told we had 15 minutes to leave.

"They said the meeting was deemed to be a threat to State security.

She said: "The police action conflicted with a recent policy statement by Johannesburg managememt committee chairman Mr Jan Burger, who it is claimed is sincere about scrapping all apartheid laws in the city."

Condemned the raid

"It was also an invasion of citizens' rights as the real threat to State security is apartheid," she said.

A police spokesman has denied the meeting was broken up but admitted security police had attended under Section 25 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Mr Tony Leon also condemned the raid and said he had sent a representative to the meeting. "It is unbelievable that police are using legislation promulgated in the 1950s which they used to stop a similar defiance campaign," he added.

Five Freedoms Forum publicity secretary Ms Gael Neke agreed with Mrs Brigg's version of the events at the meeting. She condemned the police action as "absurd" in view of Mr Burger's statements that the city would be totally desegregated by the end of the year.

The campaign — reminiscent of the Defiance Campaign in the 1950s — was mooted recently at an Idasa-sponsored conference entitled "Towards an Open City" held at the Johannesburg City Hall.

"The idea of the campaign is to put the responsibility of racist legislation where it belongs — at the door of the city council," Mr Coovadia said.

He believed the campaign would put tremendous pressure on the council and at the same time enable the official opposition in the council, the Democratic Party, to raise the whole question of apartheid in Johannesburg during council meetings.

Mr Coovadia said: "Although the untimely suspension of our meeting made it impossible to finalise plans the campaign will go ahead."

"We were meeting legitimately to discuss legitimate and real problems," he added.

Keep this horror from our soil

Star 29/4/89.

BESIDE the Outeniqua and the Tsitsikama, where the crumpled edge of the continent holds back the high southern seas, lies a primordial coastline which must be the most beautiful unspoilt strip of land in Africa, if not the world.

You can stand on a cliff and stare at every horizon, and be quite sure that you will see no sign of mankind, except the path which led you there, and perhaps a yacht or fishing boat at sea.

Twelve of us were on the Otter Trail this week, scrambling through the dripping forest, over cool dark pools, through river mouths swollen with the springtide. We were a representative bunch of white South Africans — old and young. Men and women. Afrikaans and English-speaking. A retired policeman and a student. An engineer and a doctor. A businessman and a writer.

"God, this is a beautiful country ... and you liberals want to give it to the blacks!" mocked one of the middle-aged and cultured hikers.

"Over my dead body," said another.

We had been watching dolphins slide down the waves below us — and leap high in the air as they turned at the last moment to avoid being dumped in the surf.

Undercurrent Affairs

Harvey Tyson



We were among the ferns and moss of the forest, where green and purple loeries, baboons and buck live.

"Only man seems vile," I muttered.

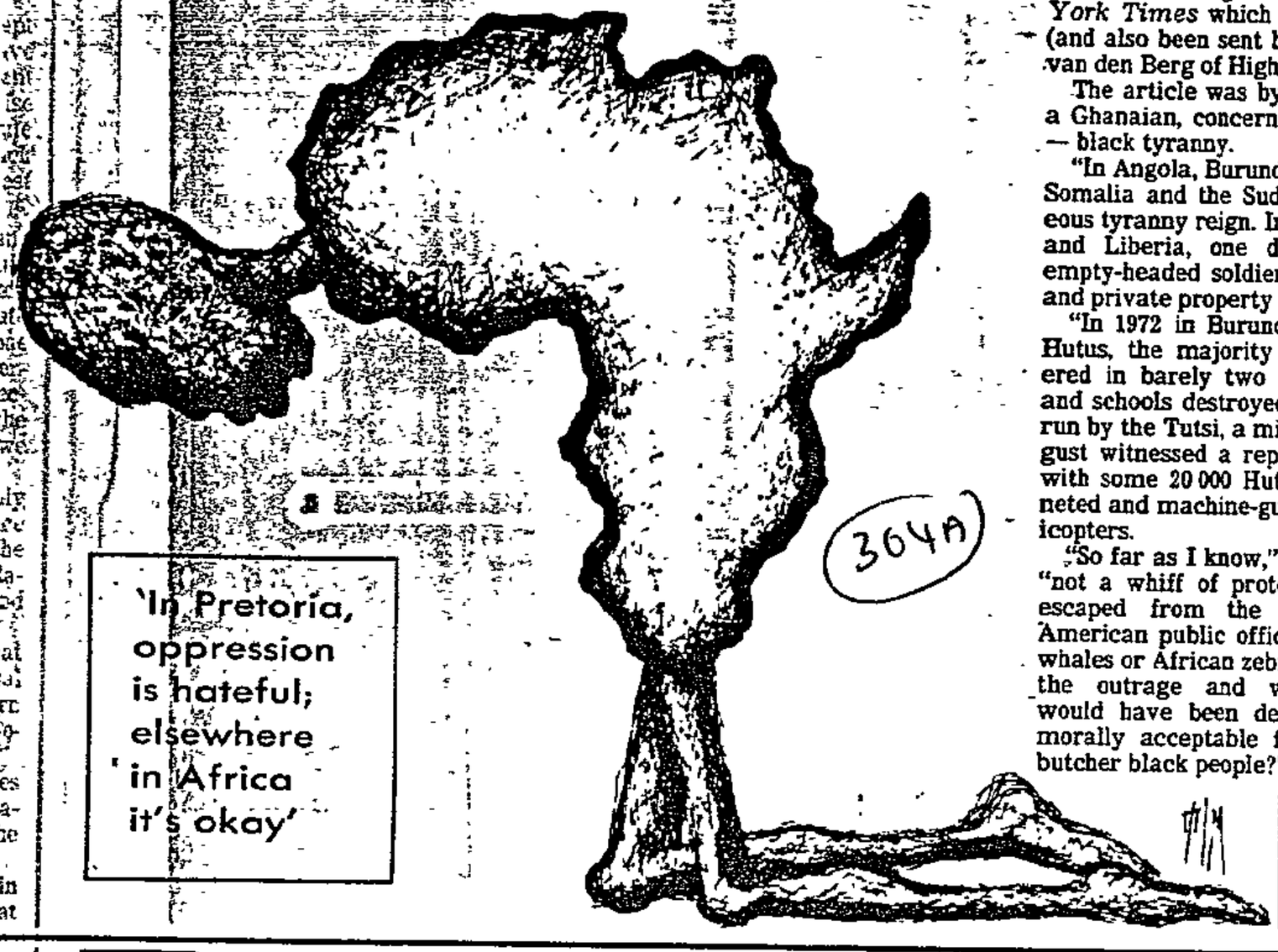
I was thinking of the article in the *New York Times* which I had seen in the US (and also been sent by a local reader, J M van den Berg of Highlands North).

The article was by George B N Ayittey, a Ghanaian, concerning tyranny in Africa — black tyranny.

"In Angola, Burundi, Chad, Mozambique, Somalia and the Sudan, carnage and hideous tyranny reign. In Benin, Burkina Faso and Liberia, one does not argue with empty-headed soldiers over civil liberties and private property rights," he wrote.

"In 1972 in Burundi, more than 200 000 Hutus, the majority tribe, were slaughtered in barely two months, their homes and schools destroyed by the Government run by the Tutsi, a minority tribe. Last August witnessed a repeat of the massacre, with some 20 000 Hutus slain, some bayoneted and machine-gunned from army helicopters.

"So far as I know," wrote the Ghanaian, "not a whiff of protest or condemnation escaped from the United Nations or American public officials. Had that many whales or African zebras been slaughtered, the outrage and world condemnation would have been deafening. Why? Is it morally acceptable for black tyrants to butcher black people?"



From the New York Times

Mr Ayittey went on to remind *New York Times* readers that the principle of political power-sharing being extolled by black African leaders to South Africa is yet to be established in black Africa itself. Only two countries (Botswana and Senegal) out of 41 black African nations allowed their own black people the right to vote and choose their leaders. Twenty-two countries were military dicatorships and the rest farcical "democracies", he said.

"Application of a standard that recognises only white-on-black tyranny is bound to aggravate the plight of all black Africans, including those in South Africa," he wrote.

So much for double standards. Their condemnation by a black African should make white South Africans feel better. But it does not address their real problem, which is: how to maintain standards; how to save our nation from the evils it has perpetrated and from the evils it can expect from beyond its borders.

In short, the problem is to protect our country from mankind's excesses.

□ □ □

Mr Ayittey provides the answer by his own example. It is that people should face reality.

— Reality in our case is that, to achieve and protect democracy, we have to provide justice and education. Justice, because whites do not deserve and cannot expect to receive it until they practise it. Education because democracy is impossible without it. We need to co-operate in educating and training every black as well as white South African.

— Reality is that the current inadequate pool of highly skilled whites will shrink even more. Already there are 200 000 empty desks in white schools, and there are millions of blacks still to be properly educated.

— Reality is that in the year 2000, when our primary school children reach matric, there will be more than four black matriculants to every white matriculant.

— Reality is that, when today's white schoolchildren are 40 years old, the *average* age of the white population will be nearly 40. This is because of the current decreasing birthrate. Conversely, the average age of fast-increasing blacks will be just over 20 years.

— Reality is that, only 11 years from now, the numbers of young whites available for military service will probably be too small to defend the country's borders.

— Reality is that, in the foreseeable future, 5 million whites will not be able to rule 50 million blacks.

□ □ □

The solution, then, is not only to accept reality, but *plan* for it. To survive; to have a chance of civilised, orderly government in our lifetimes, we have to recognise today the inevitability of majority rule (which does not necessarily mean black rule; it can be multi-racial rule by the best people available).

To avoid revolution and destruction, and for the sake of our children, white South Africa ought to demand during its next election that the Government sets a date for some future election in which everyone votes ... an evolutionary process to universal franchise. That date could be two election periods away, which brings us to the year 2000, or even a little later. But we need, now, to set an agreed deadline.

It is probable that only a peacefully achieved universal franchise will reduce political pressures sufficiently to save the country — and to save from man's predations our increasingly rare forests and pristine, plunging ravines.

But the nature of mankind suggests that there will be no agreement on universal franchise until South Africa has been torn apart by greed, fear and excessive violence.

Which means that near-perfect places like South Africa's strictly protected nature reserves will crumble under the pressures of polarised politics.

The baboons, in our mountains and in our society, will no doubt survive — but at what cost?

Realism must be launch pad for change

WHAT if the world wearied of both the South African Government and the African National Congress and the United States and the Soviet Union jointly brokered a United Nations Resolution 435-type solution? Would South Africans want that kind of forced settlement or would they rather control their destiny?

If they should choose the latter, how can it be done so that the entire society benefits?

What thinking process can change South Africa? Who are the wizards who can form the modern-day equivalent of Britain's Royal Society — an institution that was formed for the very purpose of creating a cultural think tank.

Common ground

The system of thought that can best handle South Africa's complexity is within the Integrative Evolutionary approach. This creative alternative is unique in that it rejects ideologies, political power games and even negotiated horse-trading in order to design a strategy for a state of flow.

Is it desirable that the ANC should horse-trade a rugby series against New Zealand in return for the release of Nelson Mandela? What will happen when the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Pan Africanist Congress seek common ground? Will the free marketeers or the socialists ever give in to the absolute demands of the other?

A different approach is needed. South Africa must simultaneously manage two different critical set-points.

The first is where the country has to control the explosive shifts from Tribal Order, through Power Empire and into some form of Right Way Ideology (as envisaged in the nation-building intiative described for some time now by Aggrey Klaaste, editor of *Sowetan).*

While many blacks have already moved into the more Westernised, materialistic world view, and would see any kind of black national movement as a regression, millions of others need the discipline and purpose such a movement would bring.

But how can this force of nation-building avoid activating the Afrikaner or English-speaking nationalisms which would be threatened by its appearance and strength?

The second critical set-point is where the First World component has to be taken through meritocracy, world trade, technological advancement and structures of pragmatic decision-making.

How does South Africa find a model that can regulate these set-points so that both First World and Third World sectors remain healthy, vibrant and dynamic?

Before attempting to draw up a constitutional blueprint, South Africa needs a strategy for national mobilisation — a mobilisation of the positive and creative input of all sections of society.

Sun 29/4/89.

FOCUS ON SOUTH AFRICA



This is the last in a six-part series by DR DON BECK and GRAHAM LINSCOTT, analysing South Africa in politico-psychological terms. Dr Beck is a psychologist and director of the National Values Centre, Denton, Texas.

People need the assurance that there will be a place for them in the new order.

The first step in such a mobilisation should be to identify goals which override the specific interests of all groupings.

These are generally neutral in ideological terms, but could be of great material importance. Some could be in response to natural hazard (drought-relief measures, for example), while others could be more "pro-active" (promotion of the informal business sector, promotion of small agriculture, promotion of tourism).

The important thing is that people should be drawn together in co-operation. This provides the basis for further negotiation and compromise on more difficult issues.

Leaders of all groups should be careful to moderate their rhetoric and stop trafficking in racial and ethnic stereotypes.

The Government should also trigger growth of the moderate centre of the political spectrum, drawing off support from either side. This could be done by announcing the swift phasing-out of what remains of discriminatory legislation, the stepping-up of education, health and social programmes for the disadvantaged and the adoption of a Bill of Rights.

But the Government also needs to spell out clearly the vision of an attainable future. Utopian visions are unhelpful.

If people are able to visualise what is coming tomorrow, it is likely to be preferable to today's difficulties, even if it does not measure up to what the ideologues have promised.

This applies to blacks just as much as to whites.

The spelling-out of a such a vision would require bold and imaginative leadership and such a break from existing ideology that it would probably cause a wholesale reshuffling of party and group allegiances. But this would be all to the good because the follow-through would require the broadest possible mobilisation of groups and resources.

Finally, an expansive, evolutionary model for change would have to be developed, and this would require summit meetings of the leaders of all groupings in the country, First World and Third World.

There has been talk of a Great Indaba, and it is welcome, but it would be a mistake to call a once-off national convention to decide on a constitution which would be difficult to alter as needs altered. It would be even worse if such a constitution were based on racial categories.

South Africa is a lot more complex than that. Millions of whites, blacks and Asians are in the First World mindset. Millions more blacks are gearing their way towards it.

Unique problem

But they are not there yet. South Africa needs some sort of transitional formula which will protect the wealth-producing First World component from being swamped by the Third World component — at the same time providing for Third World needs and providing every opportunity for Third Worlders to enter the First World.

It is a unique problem which demands unique solutions.

It would be pointless to attempt to impose a First World constitution. It simply would not work because South Africa is not a purely First World society. It would eventually be transformed into a Third World constitution (as has happened right across Africa).

Overflowing crowds come to cheer the DP

Star 29/4/89 304A

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party is packing in enthusiastic, overflowing crowds wherever their meetings are held.

All indications are that the widely publicised problems of triple leadership, and the admission of certain MPs, are being overshadowed by a huge and enthusiastic public response to the launching of the new party.

This has been shown by the exceptionally large crowds drawn to public meetings addressed in various parts of the country by the party's joint leaders, Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

At meetings where they appeared on the same platform, halls have been packed by crowds exceeding 1 000, regarded as highly unusual for political meetings not held in the heat of an election campaign.

In Maritzburg this week 1 200 people were in attendance, and in Port Elizabeth 1 400 people streamed to the Feather Market Hall to listen to the DP leaders.

In Cape Town, a delighted Dr de Beer told newsmen: "The public response is quite tremendous. There is great enthusiasm."

But back in the trenches there are important issues the party must decide on. Two are whether to choose a single leader before the general election and when to hold the next congress.

Sources in the hierarchy said this week they expected solutions that would defuse the present controversies.

At Monday's meeting of the party's national board the most immediate problem will be that of the proposed membership of Mr Jan van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, and three MPs of the House of Representatives — Mr Charles Redcliffe, Mr Cecil Kippen and Mr Archie Poole.

The board's decision at its last meeting on April 15 to turn down membership applications from MPs — in the face of a caucus decision in their favour — resulted in a flood of angry complaints.

Subsequently, after a meeting of the three joint leaders, it was announced that

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

the membership question would be considered again at the board's next meeting on May 1.

In the meantime there has been speculation that a compromise solution was being worked out in tough talks between the party and the MPs whose membership applications were initially turned down on the diplomatic grounds of "the imminent dissolution of Parliament".

Some critics of the board's decision maintained that the party, with its non-racial approach, should not withhold membership from anyone.

Others argued that the admission of the three House of Representatives MPs could harm the DP's relations with the ruling Labour Party.

The Labour Party's deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, was quoted as saying that any Democratic Party-sponsored opposition to his party would be regarded as "open political warfare".

'Ganging up'

There were also critics who said the admission of Mr van Eck would harm the DP's good relations with Inkatha after his criticism that the black movement was "undemocratic".

Some ex-PFP members of the DP claimed that members of the other components of the new party were "ganging up" against the former PFP component.

High-level DP sources said this week the controversy was not as big as some critics and commentators had made it out to be.

Although there were some sharp differences of opinion in the party, the clashes should be seen as part of the process of unifying the different components.

One source said it was apparently not yet realised by some people that the launching of the DP represented "an entirely new political ball-game".

The party was introducing a new perspective in South African politics and a new political culture. It was embarking on "alliance politics" which was also practised with great success in Britain and other countries in Europe.

The new politics brought together different elements, sometimes with different shades of opinion. It provided much more scope for "agreeing to differ" than traditional South African party politics.

Another source said the membership issue was really quite simple, and not as divisive as it seemed.

A simple question that should be put to all applicants for membership was: Do you accept the policies and principles of the party? If the answer was "yes", the appli cant should be accepted.

Similarly, all members could be expected to abide by the party's democratic procedures for nominating election candidates.

With such guidelines, there would be no problem to decide about the membership of Mr van Eck and the other MPs who had applied, the source argued.

However, if the party should turn down their applications on any other grounds, there would be a danger that they would lose interest in the DP and go their own way, perhaps as independents. This would harm the party's image and could jeopardise its efforts to broaden its political base.

On the issue of a single leader, a high-level DP source said this was not regarded as a big headache.

There was a strong feeling in the party that the leadership issue should not be forced at a time when different elements in the party were still in the process of adapting to one another.

A hasty decision on a single leader could cause more problems than it solved.

It is argued that the three joint leaders have performed exceptionally well and have succeeded in drawing an enthusiastic public response from supporters of all three main elements of the DP.

There even seems no compelling reason at this stage, therefore, why they should not fight an election as a triumvirate, said the source.

Star 29/4/89 304A

First shots in the 'lollypop' election

CAPE TOWN — Opposition politicians have begun to describe the upcoming general election, expected in September, as a "lollypop" election.

Reacting to Cabinet approval of R750 wristwatches for 30-year Public Service veterans, the Democratic Party's spokeman on the Public Service, Mr Jan van Gend, said: "This is obviously one of the first salvoes in the line of election lollies."

About 12 000 officials will receive Swiss watches.

Government has also approved a cash-for-leave scheme which will cost

POLITICAL STAFF

taxpayers millions.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on finance, Mr Harry Schwarz, said yesterday that he found it "absolutely amazing" that this suddenly came out of the blue.

"There is no objection to people being rewarded for long service," Mr Schwarz noted. He objected, however, to the suddeness of it and that it was happening on such a vast scale.

He would take it up with the parliamentary Public Service Committee.



Mrs Helen Suzman

Govt praise for veteran Suzman

Political Staff

VETERAN civil liberties campaigner Mrs Helen Suzman, DP MP for Houghton, received praised yesterday from an unlikely source — the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

"She has kept us on our toes in a manner that has set a very fine example to all of us," Mr Coetsee said at the end of the debate on his vote.

Mrs Suzman, South Africa's longest-serving MP, has clashed with successive ministers of justice throughout her 26-year parliamentary career.

However, early this week she said Mr Coetsee was one of the best ministers of justice since the NP came to power, adding: "Not that that is such a great compliment."

Yesterday, Mr Coetsee returned the compliment, saying Mrs Suzman had over the last two years talked about justice in a way that was unheard of previously.

"I couldn't but help feeling like a prize fighter shaking hands before the fight," he said.

Chinese ban on Chinese in Boksburg

BOKSBURG. — Boksburg's intricate puzzle of petty apartheid achieved new convolutions last night when the Conservative Party-controlled town council decided that Chinese people would not be allowed to enter a certain restaurant in the town — a Chinese restaurant.

The CP took control of the council in last year's October municipal elections.

The Golden Lake restaurant, near Boksburg Lake, serves Chinese food and is presently owned by Mrs W G Ho, whose lease expires on May 31.

The town council's contract with the new owner, Mrs S Y Yip, stipulates that only white customers will be allowed to enter the premises.

The motion was passed at the council's monthly meeting last night by 10 votes to seven, with three National Party councillors and one CP councillor absent.

Mrs Yip's children have, however, been given permission to eat at the restaurant.

Boksburg's council also became the first town council to decide to accord CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht honorary citizenship.

This was despite strong opposition from National Party members, whose leader Mr Chris Smith pointed out that it had always been the policy of their council that honorary citizenship be accorded only to state presidents.

Mr Smith said Mr Treurnicht would never be of the same calibre as a state president, even though the CP regarded him as the next president of the Republic.

The leader of the CP in the town council, Mr T J Fourie, said Mr Treurnicht had had the courage of his convictions, had pushed to one side his position as minister to fight for the preservation of the white man, and in so doing had been spurned by his own people. — Sapa



Picture: DANA le ROUX, Weekend Argus

Mr Faan Naude, left, administrator of the Ikapa Town Council, Mr Wynand Geldenhuys, of the provincial administration's community services department, and executive members of the Masincedane Residents' Association Mr Zenzile Memani, Mr Victor Mbaku and Mr Kenneth Tsamana examine plans to upgrade KTC.

Ikapa squatters to get water and electricity

w/t argus 29/4/89

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Weekend Argus Reporter

IKAPA Town Council has been given R8-million by the Western Cape Regional Services Council to provide serviced sites in the KTC squatter camp area.

At a meeting yesterday attended by the Masincedane Residents' Association and about 45 KTC residents, Mr Faan Naude, administrator of the Ikapa Town Council, said about 2 440 sites would be established when the project was completed in September 1992.

"The project is to be completed in phases and serviced sites will become available continuously during the course of the project," he said.

The greatest determining factor would be the availability of funds and the community would be consulted "continuously" on all aspects of the project, said Mr Naude.

The project, approved by the Ikapa Town Council and the RSC, was open to tenders yesterday and work is scheduled to begin by September.

Asked by Mr Gladstone Ntamo, chairman of the association's education committee, what would happen when the area flooded in winter, Mr Naude said the town council was willing to help.

Mr Ntamo also wanted to know what would be done to upgrade schools and whether church sites would be made available. He was told that these questions would be answered later.

Mr Ntamo said residents wanted to build their own houses.

"Is the town council going to stick to the agreement we had and build only roads, supply water, electricity and other basic facilities?" he asked.

"Houses are very expensive and the people would not be able to afford R42 000."

After the meeting he said he was unhappy that upgrading of the area, which extends from Terminus Road to NY7, would take "so long".

A formula for SA

WHAT if the world wearied of both the South African government and the African National Congress and the United States and the Soviet Union jointly brokered a United Nations Resolution 435-type solution? Would South Africans want that kind of forced settlement or would they rather control their destiny?

If they should choose the latter, how can it be done so that the entire society benefits? What do we really want for our children and grandchildren?

What thinkng process can change South Africa? Who are the wizards who can form the modern-day equivalent of Britain's Royal Society — an institution that was formed for the very purpose of creating a cultural think tank.

The system of thought that can best handle South Africa's complexity is within the Integrative Evolutionary approach. This creative alternative is unique in that it rejects ideologies, political power games and even negotiated horse trading in order to design a strategy for a state of flow.

IS it desirable that the ANC should horse trade a rugby series against New Zealand in return for the release of Nelson Mandela? What will happen when the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Pan Africanist Congress seek common ground? Will the free marketeers or the socialists ever give in to the absolute demands of the other?

A different approach is needed. South Africa must simultaneously manage two different critical set-points.

The first is where the country has to somehow control the explosive shifts from tribal order, through power empire and into some form of right way ideology (as evidenced by the nation-building initiative described for some time now by Aggrey Klaaste, Editor of The Sowetan).

While many blacks have already moved into the more Westernised, materialistic world view, and would see any kind of black national movement as a regression, millions of others need the discipline and purpose such a movement would bring.

But how can this force of nation-building avoid activating the Afrikaner or English-speaking nationalisms which would be threatened by its appearance and strength?

The second critical set-point is where the First World component has to be taken through meritocracy, world trade, technological advancement and structures of pragmatic decision-making.

HOW does South Africa find a model that can regulate these set-points so that both First World and Third World sectors remain healthy, vibrant and dynamic?

Before attempting to draw up a constitutional blueprint, South Africa needs a strategy for national mobilisation — a mobilisation of the positive and creative input of all sections of society.

People need the assurance that there will be a place for them in the new order; that their needs, wishes and anxieties will be taken into account, their contribution will be sought. They need to know there will be a future for themselves and their children.

The first step in such a mobilisation should be to identify superordinate goals which over-arch the specific interests of all groupings.

These are generally neutral in ideological terms but could be of great material importance. Some could be in response to natural hazard (drought relief measures, anti-flooding precautions, anti-locust measures) while others could be more pro-active (promotion of the informal business sector, promotion of small agriculture, promotion of tourism).

The important thing is that people should be drawn together in a co-operative mode. This provides the basis for further negotiation and compromise on more difficult issues.

LEADERS of all groups should be careful to moderate their rhetoric and stop trafficking in racial and ethnic stereotypes.

There is no such thing any longer as an Afrikaner speaking only to Afrikaners or a Zulu speaking only to Zulus. Their words are heard across the entire country and they can have a decisive impact on whether national mobilisation will be for consensus or whether it will be polarised into antagonistic camps.

The government should also trigger growth of the moderate centre of the political spectrum, drawing off support from either side. This could be done by announcing the swift phasing out of what remains of discriminatory legislation, stepped up education, health and social programmes for the disadvantaged and the adoption of a Bill of Rights.

But the government also needs to clearly spell out the vision of an attainable future. Utopian visions are unhelpful. Individuals on both sides of the spectrum would prefer today's difficulties to an altogether uncertain tomorrow. But if they are able to clearly visualise what is coming tomorrow, it is likely to be preferable to today's difficulties, even if it does not measure up to what the ideologues have promised. This applies to blacks just as much as to whites.

The spelling out of a such a vision would require bold and imaginative leadership and such a break from existing ideology that it would probably cause a wholesale reshuffling of party and group allegiances. But this would be all to the good because the follow-through would require the broadest possible mobilisation of groups and resources.

Finally, an expansive, evolutionary model for change would have to be developed, and this would require summitry meetings of the leaders of all groupings in the country, First World and Third World, and a thorough shaking-out of what is needed.

THERE has been talk of a Great Indaba, and it is welcome, but it would be a mistake to call a once-off national convention to decide on a constitution which would be difficult to alter as needs altered. It would be even worse if such a constitution were based on racial categories.

South Africa is a lot more complex than that. Millions of whites, blacks and Asians are in the First World mindset. Millions more blacks are ratcheting their way towards it.

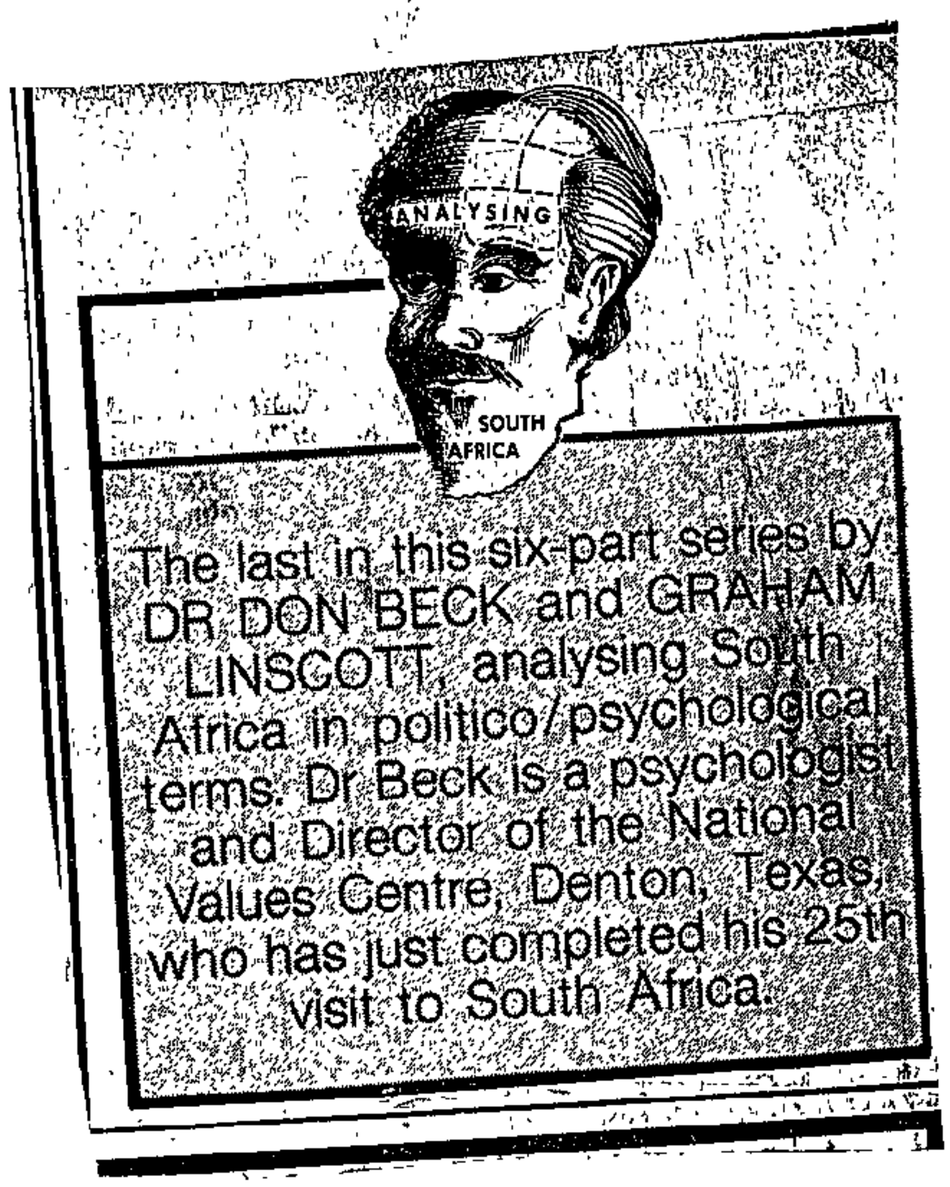
But they are not there yet. South Africa needs some sort of transitional formula which will protect the wealth-producing First World component from being swamped by the Third World component — at the same time providing for Third World needs and providing every opportunity for Third Worlders to enter the First World.

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OPPOSITION READY TO ATTACK NATS ON HOT ISSUES

304A

W/C ARGUS 29/4/89

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

POLITICAL parties are stepping up their preparations for an election battle to be fought on a variety of hot issues.

With the general election date still not announced but expected to be in September, opposition parties have launched intensive voter registration drives and are gearing up for election campaigns.

Meanwhile some of the major issues on which the parties are to go to the polls are beginning to emerge.

For the Democratic Party the issues will include corruption in and around government, economic problems and "creeping poverty", the continuing state of emergency, and the government's failure to remove apartheid and to get constitutional negotiations with black leaders off the ground.

"Impoverishment"

The Conservative Party will challenge the government on the issue of "white impoverishment", failure to stop racial integration, the handling of the Namibian independence negotiations, and the government's policy for power-sharing.

The National Party has indicated that security will again be a major issue on which it will focus attacks on the Democratic Party for being "soft" on security. The NP's attacks on the CP will focus on the CP's partition policy and on the negative effect of attempts to turn the apartheid clock back in CP-controlled towns like Boksburg.

Indications are that the CP will exploit the Namibian crisis with attacks on the government for "selling out" the whites in the territory.

Convoy of cars

A rightwing protest campaign is to be launched from Namibia this weekend with a huge convoy of cars and vehicles heading for Parliament in Cape Town.

Both the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party have already launched intensive campaigns to canvass voters and to urge them to get their names on the voters' rolls.

The DP's national dirtector of political organisation, Mr Neil Ross, said there was still no official indication when voters' rolls would close, but the party was conducting a countrywide registration drive to get voters to register as soon as possible.

Party workers were going from door to door to canvass voters and registration cards were also being dropped in letter-boxes in all the main centres.

Information tables

At the same time voter information tables were being set up regularly. In the Peninsula alone, between 30 and 40 such tables were set up each Saturday.

Meanwhile the DP's three joint leaders, Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, have been addressing a series of meetings in all the main centres and in country towns to introduce the new party to the electorate.

Mr Ross said these meetings would continue till the end of May, after which election campaign meetings were expected to begin.

At meetings held so far there had been a flood of applications for membership of the party.

Mr Ross said that within the first three weeks since the official launching of the party at its first congress earlier this month the party had recruited more than 4 000 new members. Indications were that many thousands more new members would join the party between now and June.

The Conservative Party is setting its machinery for the nomination of election candidates in motion today. Nomination meetings are being held in all the constituencies to be contested by the CP.

Meanwhile the CP has already launched a voter registration drive which is to continue till the end of May. The party has also instructed its constituency organisations to open election offices as soon as possible.

The CP's national secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said the party intended to put up candidates in 120 or more constituencies.

The Herstigte Nasionale Party has announced that it will again enter the election, but it seems unlikely that the CP will be interested in negotiating an election agreement with the HNP.

This means that the HNP may challenge CP candidates in some constituencies — a move which could split the rightwing vote and hamper the CP in its fight against NP candidates, especially in closely contested seats.

The National Party is actively preparing to meet the challenge facing it from the right and the left.

Vulnerable

The NP is vulnerable in many seats, especially in the Transvaal, where many of its seats were won with small majorities in the 1987 general election.

At least 12 Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and "own affairs" Ministers who hold their seats with precarious majorities face tough election fights to retain them.

They include Mr Chris Heunis, with a majority of only 39 votes in Helderberg, and Mr Eli Louw whose 1 849-vote majority in Namaqualand is also regarded as shaky.

Mr Danie Steyn, who holds Wonderboom with a majority of only 599 votes, this week announced his retirement from politics after 36 years of active involvement in the National Party.

NP leader Mr F W de Klerk holds his Vereeniging seat with a shaky 1 524-vote majority, but there is a possibility that he may not have to stand for election if his expected succession to the State Presidency is ensured.

Precarious

Other prominent Nationalists holding their seats with precarious majorities include: Dr Gerrit Viljoen (2 346 in Vanderbijlpark), Deputy Ministers Sam de Beer (1 723 in Geduld), George Bartlett (1 884 in Amanzimtoti), Dr Org Marais (2 650 in Waterkloof), Leon Wessels (55 in Krugersdorp), Dr M H Veldman (816 in Rustenburg), "own affairs" Ministers Amie Venter (1 852 in Klerksdorp) and Piet Badenhorst (1 296 in Oudtshoorn), and the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Louis le Grange (558 in Potchefstroom).

The Lydenberg seat, vacated by former Manpower Minister Mr P T C du Plessis, was won in the last election with a slender NP majority of only 143 votes and is now in danger of being captured by the CP.

Nationalist MP Mr Lucas van Vuuren, who holds the Hercules seat with a majority of only 861, confirmed this week that he will not be available for re-election.

There has also been speculation that more Cabinet Ministers and MPs may not stand for re-election. Names mentioned include Mr Chris Heunis, Mr Greyling Wentzel and the Nationalist MP for Alberton, Mr Chris Ligthelm, who holds his seat with a majority of 1 946 votes.

DP face thorny issues

THE Democratic Party leadership faces some crucial decisions that could affect the party's impact as a united opposition in the election.

On Monday, its national board will again consider the thorny issue of whether Mr Jan van Eck and other MPs should be admitted as members.

Other controversial issues awaiting early decisions include the timing of the party's next congress and whether the party should choose a single leader before the election.



Mr Jan van Eck

by FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff

Party sources said this week they expected ways would be found to reach solutions that would defuse the present controversies around these issues.

Meanwhile, indications are that the initial problems are being overshadowed by a huge and enthusiastic public response to the launching of the party.

Enthusiasm

This has been shown by exceptionally large crowds drawn to public meetings addressed by the party's joint leaders, Dr Zac de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan.

At meetings where they appeared on the same platform, halls have been packed by crowds of well over 1 000, which is unusual for political meetings not held at the height of an election campaign.

In Maritzburg this week 1 200 people attended and in Port Elizabeth 1 400 people packed the Feather Market Hall.

In Cape Town, Dr de Beer said: "The public response is tremendous. There is great enthusiasm."

At Monday's meeting of the party's national board the most immediate problem will be the proposed membership of Mr van Eck, independent MP for Claremont, and three MPs of the House of Representatives — Mr Charles Redcliffe, Mr Cecil Kippen and Mr Archie Poole.

On April 15, the board turned down their membership applications — contrary to a caucus decision — drawing a flood of complaints and causing severe tensions in the party. Subsequently, after a meeting of the three leaders, it was announced that the membership question would be considered again at the board's meeting on May 1.

In the meantime, there has been speculation that a compromise solution was being worked out in tough talks between the party and the MPs whose membership applications were turned down on the grounds of "the imminent dissolution of Parliament".

Warfare

Some critics maintained that the party, with its nonracial approach, should not withhold membership from anyone. Others said the admission of House of Representatives MPs could harm the DP's relations with the Labour Party.

The Labour Party's deputy leader, Mr Miley Richards, was quoted as saying that Democratic Party-sponsored opposition to his party would be seen as "open political warfare".

There were also critics who said the admission of Mr van Eck would harm the DP's relations with Inkatha following his criticism that the black movement was "undemocratic".

Some ex-PFP members claimed that members of the other components of the new party were "ganging up" against the former PFP component.

DP sources said this week the controversy was not as big as some had made it out to be. Although there were some sharp differences of opinion, the clashes should be seen as part of the process of unifying the different components.

One source said it was apparently not yet realised by some people that the launching of the DP represented "an entirely new political ballgame".

The party was introducing a new perspective in South African politics and a new political culture. It was embarking on "alliance politics" which was also practised with great success in Britain and other countries in Europe.

The new politics brought together different elements, sometimes with different shades of opinion. It provided much more scope for "agreeing to differ" than traditional South African party politics.

At the same time it provided a broader political base to make the party a strong force with all its elements working for a larger common cause — a non-racial democracy.

Another source said the membership issue was really quite simple and not as divisive as it seemed.

A simple question that should be put to all applicants for membership was: Do you accept the policies and principles of the party? If the answer was "yes", the applicant should be accepted.

Similarly, all members could be expected to abide by the party's democratic procedures for nominating election candidates.

With such guidelines, there would be no problem to decide about the membership of Mr van Eck and the other MPs.

However, if the party should turn down their applications on any other grounds, there would be a danger that they would lose interes the DP and go their own v perhaps as independents. ' would harm the party's age and could jeopardise efforts to broaden its polit base.

On the issue of a sin leader, a high-level source said this was not a problem. The party had cided at its launching c gress that a decision on would be taken at a congr to be held within six mon of the launch.

That congress could be h before or after the elect and it would still not bound to change the pres leadership structure.



Mr Archie Poole

Hands across the Limpopo

w/l ARGUS 29/4/89 (30(A

Women meet in peace and hope

by DR ANITA WORRALL

ALMOST from the first moment we arrived in Harare I knew that I was an eyewitness to history.

It was when the bright-eyed young woman with a big smile walked into the lift and said: "Hi, I'm from the ANC."

I took a deep breath in almost disbelief. It took me a while to overcome the basic mistrust built in me by years of separation.

We 55 women from South Africa had travelled together to attend a conference of "Women in the struggle for peace" at the invitation of Idasa.

There were women from the professions, academics, housewives, activists and representatives of a number of organisations.

They came from different political persuasions, Afrikaans and English-speakers. Our hosts were the Women's League of the ZANU (PF).

Reconciliation

The Zimbabwe women wanted to share with us their years of agony and bitterness and the reconciliation that followed.

For some time I have felt that we need to look at Zimbabwe and what happened before it led to bloodshed. Can we not learn from their mistakes?

Analysis after analysis suggested the same conclusion. What had led to the disaster had been a lack of communication between the black and the white communities.

There had been little or no attempt to bridge the cultural gap. Tearfully they declared: "Learn to know each other, discover each other."

MP Mrs Dawn Taunton gave her message: "If before you end your day you can say 'today I spoke to at least six people who are not the same as me,' you will sleep better."

Senator Amina Hughes, our gracious and charming chairwoman, recalled how she, a coloured person, had joined the almost inter-racial movement started at Cold Comfort Farm "because it broke the mistrust.

"I realised that the whites in that movement suffered the same anxieties, the same pain, and that made it easier for me."

New era

Mrs Sally Mugabe, wife of the President, opened the conference. She looked back with regret and wished that they, too, had had the opportunity to communicate and to discuss matters of common concern.

It was with hope for the future and the belief, shared by our Zimbabwe hosts, in a great and prosperous new era in South Africa, that we met the women in exile.

Gertrude Shope, head of the women's section of the ANC, reminded us that it was the first time that South African women had sat down together in this way. We met as compatriots and as women with so much at stake.

The young women, relaxed, confident, and very well-informed, came from varied walks of life. All of them are homesick and eager to return home, to a more just society.

For two days we discussed issues of common interest. We tried to seek out the truth on both sides of the conflict.

It wasn't easy. It was easier to explore differences and to seek to bridge the divide between us.

Healers

Women are good at this. Our approach is different to that of men. We are more emotional. We are the child-bearers and we must be the healers.

Many issues were explored. The feeling was expressed that in South Africa blacks have the opportunity to know whites but that whites still make little attempt to know their fellow blacks.

We started by identifying the common ground, which we agreed to be the abolition of apartheid.

Some of us thought that we should identify the common enemies — one of which is mistrust.

We thought that hope and fear were both built into the South African situation — blacks fear the present, whites fear the future.

Blacks have hope in the future, but then so do many whites. We are all concerned for the future of our children.

In many ways it was agreed that unity is built in action and that through action mistrust can be overcome. Change will come in South Africa through altered beliefs and attitudes.

Change itself can only come through negotiation. Women have major roles to play in the process that leads up to negotiation.

They bear the major task of socialising the young. They can teach their children to be builders not destroyers.

Women also have a major role in the process of reconstruction. This is not new to South Africa.

The Afrikaanse Vroue Federasie has had an enormous influence on the miracle of Afrikaner development.

The meeting provided us with a rare opportunity to break down stereotypes and to learn about each others point of view. We left with the distinct feeling that this was the first of many such meetings to follow.

'Constitution hinders shared value system'

By CONNIE MOLUSI

SOUTH Africa needs a shared value system, but the country's constitution does not promote this, says John Kane-Berman, executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

Kane-Berman said this when testifying before the Social Affairs Committee of the President's Council, which is investigating strategies for promoting positive relations in South Africa with regard to cultural and other common ground in the different value systems.

"The single most important force creating common ground and a common value system is the economy, but racially discriminatory laws hinders it.

"The institute believes that common ground should be promoted on such issues as freedom of speech, association, multiparty democracy and the rule of law, However, the very constitution of the country makes this immensely difficult because it imposes 'own affairs'."

Kane-Berman suggested that strategies to promote positive relations between different races necessitated:

- The repeal of discriminatory laws;
- Negotiation of a new constitution; and
- Reduction of material inequalities;

The continued enforcement of segregation in government schools also hindered the development of a shared value system.

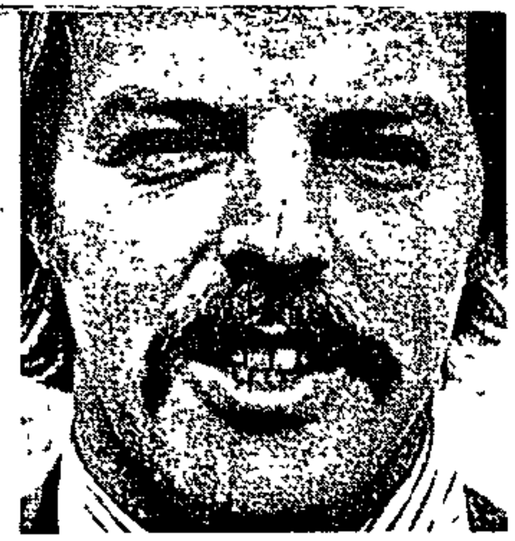
"All the children now entering school will be part of an almost completely integrated economy by the year 2 000. Yet these children are not being adequately equipped for that economy, because they are kept apart," he said.

Kane-Berman said the institute was aware that racism was not unique to South Africa, but statutory discrimination remained the country's major problem. This included Section 52 of the constitution, which confines the parliamentary franchise to people classified as white, coloured or Indian.

Widespread black rejection of the constitution had been repeatedly voiced but ignored. This was one of the reasons why violence had broken out in September 1984, when the new constitution came into operation, he said.

Wynand Malan faces shock election challenge from top diplomat Babb

BATTLE OF WHIZZKIDS





SQUARING UP: Two of the rising stars of South African public life, Glenn Babb, left, and Wynand Malan, who are set to fight it out in Randburg

30/4/89 Star

30/4/89

By DRIES van HEERDEN

ONE of South Africa's star diplomats, Mr Glenn Babb, is expected to enter politics — to fight Democratic Party co-leader Wynand Malan in Randburg.

The contest — with the polished, go-getting Mr Babb carrying the National Party banner against one of the opposition's strongmen — will be one of the toughest in the forthcoming general election.

It will pit two high-profile, charismatic candidates against one another.

Mr Babb, educated at St John's College, Stellenbosch University and Oxford, is a trained lawyer, a seasoned diplomat and an effective orator. He is a member of one of Johannesburg's pioneer English-speaking families.

Mr Malan, also a lawyer, was educated at Pretoria University and has long been among the most polished of parliamentarians. As a Nationalist and later in opposition he has projected a modern, verligte image.

Both men can lay claim to extensive contacts in Africa — Mr Malan as a frequent communicator with ANC leaders in Lusaka, and Mr Babb as the diplomat who spearheaded his department's increasingly successful forays into the continent.

Wrest

As deputy director-general of Foreign Affairs he has been Minister Pik Botha's point man in African capitals. He is known to have achieved phenomenal success in gaining access — often privately — to many of the continent's leaders.

It was confirmed yesterday that Mr Babb, 45, is the front-runner for nomination by the NP in its bid to wrest Randburg back from Mr Malan, who took it with a



ENGELA THE BOLD BOUNCES INTO TV SPOTLIGHT

GOOD evening, here is the news ... and it's being read by a Cape beauty with talent and brains who has charged her way on to TV. Engela Veitch, 25, will be reading the news for the first time at 6pm on Tuesday.

And according to her boss, Riaan Cruywagen, she will be the youngest newsreader in SABC TV's history.

By DOUGLAS GORDON
TV Correspondent

Engela got the coveted anchorgirl position after phoning Cruywagen out of the blue.

It's no Cinderella story. Engela took a drama degree to break into broadcasting.

Arms affair: Reprisals in store for SA?

By DRIES van HEERDEN, JEREMY BROOKS and IAN HOBBS

SOUTH AFRICA can expect more diplomatic reprisals in the wake of the botched attempt by an official to allegedly procure British-made Blowpipe missiles from Ulster protestant militants.

After the expulsion of three SA diplomats from France on Friday, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is under increasing pressure to take similar steps.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe has lodged a formal complaint

However, Mrs Thatcher is expected to suspend judgment pending the outcome of the internal SA investigation announced by Foreign Minister Pik Botha last week and the actions taken by the Government in the light of it.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday the inquiry had not been completed and he would deal with the matter as soon a

spearheaded his department's increasingly successful forays into the continent.

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It was confirmed yesterday that Mr Babb, 45, is the front-runner for nomination by the NP in its bid to wrest Randburg back from Mr Malan, who took it with a 2 600 majority in 1987.

The chairman of the NP in Randburg, Mr Dawie de Beer, confirmed yesterday that Mr Babb's name was on a short-list of candidates. A final choice would be made this week.

Other NP sources in the constituency said his nomination was "a foregone conclusion". They said Mr Babb had already been approached by the local NP committee and had "sounded interested."

Mr Babb was away for the long weekend and could not be reached yesterday.

Mr Malan said: "I don't know Mr Babb well, but I do know he's a very able diplomat. It would be a pity if the NP wasted such a man in Randburg — they should have picked a safe seat for him.

"It's strange that the NP isn't able to come up with a local candidate. Perhaps the other possible runners are unwilling to risk their careers in a seat they know they cannot win."

Record

Mr Babb, who lives in Parktown, rose rapidly through the ranks of the Department of Foreign Affairs. He is much in demand as a public speaker and is known to be an energetic organiser.

After service in various foreign capitals, including Paris, he was Ambassador to Canada, where he leapt to prominence by highlighting the pathetic conditions under which American Indians were forced to live.

Later, as deputy director-general, he was responsible for many of the Government's diplomatic successes last year and the ministerial visits to Zaire, Malawi, Angola and Mozambique.

He will be up against a redoubtable opponent in Mr Malan.

Mr Malan first became National Party MP for Randburg in 1977 and has since retained his seat with increasing majorities. Early in 1987 he broke with the NP citing irreconcilable differences on policy with Mr P W Botha's Government.

He stood as an independent in 1987, polling a record 8 240 votes to beat his NP opponent, Mr Olaus van Zyl, by 2 647 votes.

After the election he formed the National Democratic Movement which last month merged with the PFP and Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party to form the Democratic Party.

Mr Babb's candidature is

□ To Page 2

iness Times

By DRIES van HEERDEN, JEREMY BROOKS and IAN HOBBS

SOUTH AFRICA can expect more diplomatic reprisals in the wake of the botched attempt by an official to allegedly procure British-made Blowpipe missiles from Ulster protestant militants.

After the expulsion of three SA diplomats from France on Friday, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher is under increasing pressure to take similar steps.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe has lodged a formal complaint over the alleged activities of an SA official with diplomatic status in Paris, Mr Daniel Storm.

Mr Storm, 37, who is believed to be an Armscor employee, was arrested in Paris last week with members of the para-military Ulster Defence Association.

However, Mrs Thatcher is expected to suspend judgment pending the outcome of the internal SA investigation announced by Foreign Minister Pik Botha last week and the actions taken by the Government in the light of it.

Defence Minister Magnus Malan said yesterday the inquiry had not been completed and he would deal with the matter as soon as possible.

On Tuesday, Mrs Thatcher will be quizzed in the House of Commons by Ulster MP

□ To Page 2

How DP can become a real force

IF we assume that the Democratic Party is undertaking the honourable and difficult task of becoming an effective force in Parliament by winning votes and seats, what are the things it should do and avoid doing?

Briefly, it should become a party of enlightened self-interest rather than a party of guilt; it should be as realistic about the motives of those who do not yet have the vote as about those who already have it; it should be determined to represent its constituency and not to hand over whatever power it may gain; it should stand for the evolution of parliamentary democracy against its curtailment now or in the future; and it should demonstrate competence by subordinating individual whim to the collective party will.

What does all of this mean?

Guilty

Firstly, enlightened self-interest versus guilt. A party does not win votes by making the electorate feel guilty, however much they may deserve it.

The voters will squirm and go away as fast as they can to vote for someone who takes them seriously. Of course we're a rotten lot, but maybe we can do better with leaders who believe in our virtues.

Voters (you and I) have to be told that we can and ought to work to win, but that it's better to play fair and let others work to win as well. People understand the glory of winning fairly in competitive games. They hate cheats. Fair play and open competition raises the standard for everyone.

That's what is known as enlightened self-interest and that's what people understand. Guilt is for everyone, not only for us. So the party must fight for political decency, not for admission of guilt.

Peter du Preez

of the University of Cape Town, proposes five points for the Democratic Party's programme

It's a strong reflex, though. Take an example: Peter Soal calls the electrified fence on South African borders a "Berlin Wall". This puts us on a par with East Germany. But wait! Their fence is to keep their citizens in. Ours is to keep people out. The analogy fails, but it turns voters off the party.

Secondly, there must be realism about those who do not yet have the vote as well as those who have it. There are two kinds of bad judgment. One is to idealise people and the other is to vilify them. Those who don't have the vote are, by and large, the same mixture of good and bad as those who do have it

The job of those in Parliament is to persuade the mixed bunch they are appealing to, to play fair. If they cannot do that, how do they suppose they can persuade those who are still outside Parliament?

If it is hopeless trying to persuade the white electorate to be reasonable (and it is very hard work!), why should it not be hopeless trying to persuade a future black electorate? Do electorates anywhere fill one with confidence? Is utopia around the corner? Don't idealise the liberation movement simply because it is not yet in power.

Respect

The voters won't fall for it. They are probably ready to believe that the black electorate is as reasonable as they are and they want to know what the rules of the game will be.

Thirdly, a vote for the Democratic Party might be seen in some quarters as a vote for the ANC — however incorrectly. The party must show clearly that it intends to represent the interests of its constituency and that it will stick by that constituency.

It is not in the business of handing over power to anyone, but of designing the rules so that it will continue to play for its constituency.

Fourthly, the party should identify its constituency as those who are interested in reform rather than revolution. This means fighting for the right of all South Africans to participate in the parliamentary game.

It means the evolution of policy and is much more difficult than uttering liberation cries. It means respecting those who respect democracy and showing respect for democracy by respecting the voter. Big issues, yes. But also the everyday issues.

As Mr Kenneth Minogue said a while ago, the real achievement of democracy is a non-servile people. So, when you judge a movement, don't judge it by its slogans but by the way it deals with those who dissent.

The voters must be made to believe that their representatives respect their right to dissent and regard them as the sort of people who want debate, love debate, and encourage debate.

But if the party shows the least deference to those — on any side — who stifle debate, it will be recognised as false and hypocritical.

Finally, the party must show that it is a serious competitor. People will continue to vote for the NP in spite of its incompetence as long as all the other parties are even more incompetent. And all the other parties will continue to be more incompetent unless they can get the following together. They must take seriously both security and reform.

SUNDAY TIMES ESSAY COMPETITION

THE closing date for submissions to the Sunday Times Essay Competition is two weeks away. The winner will receive R1 000.

The context for the competition is provided by Alan Paton's words: "Being loyal to the country is to love it, serve it and want to make it more just to all of its people. But to be blind to the faults of society is a false kind of loyalty."

The topic can be any non-fiction subject of contemporary relevance to South Africa.

Entries must be original, previously unpublished, less than 1 500 words and printed double-spaced on A4 paper.

The Sunday Times will do the judging and the winner will be announced at the same time as the Sunday Times Alan Paton Prize for literature. The successful essay will be published in the Sunday Times.

The closing date for submissions is May 15 1989 and entries should be sent to. The Sunday Times Essay Competition, PO Box 1090, Johannesburg 2000.

People's power and the options for SA

Frances Kendall and Leon Louw

explain the effectiveness of the Swiss democracy

SOUTH AFRICANS may have been confused when, on the morning after the State President's budget vote on April 17, they read the following newspaper headlines: "Federation not key for SA, says PW" and "SA can learn from Swiss canton system — PW".

President Botha was reporting on the findings of the Rautenbach Commission which was appointed to investigate the Swiss and Belgian constitutions, presumably because both are multi-ethnic countries with long histories of internal conflict.

In essence, the president said that although it was an over-simplification to say federalism was the solution *per se* for South Africa's problems, nonetheless there was much to be learnt from countries with federal systems, in particular Switzerland.

The apparent contradictions in the two papers arose because one chose to emphasise the former part of his message, the other the latter.

Mr Botha praised the Swiss for their devolution of power, which allows diversity to be expressed at local (cantonal and community) levels.

He observed that the Swiss system ensured that the people were consulted in decision-making, and that no single canton, political party, population group or leader could dominate. He also praised the Swiss tendency to solve their problems themselves, rather than turning to the state.

From all this we have much to learn, he said. The problem was that the canton system did not tell us how "components in constituent states with heterogenous populations should be brought together to eliminate group domination".

Mr Botha's problem with Switzerland lies in the fact that it is a geographic federation which makes no specific allowance for "group rights", which he considers necessary for South Africa.

But Switzerland's great strength is that it has succeeded in solving the problem of group domination without resorting to a special class of group rights over and above those which are a corollary of individual rights.

Almost all heterogeneous countries experience inter-group conflict and many have tried to resolve ethnic differences through "group rights" — that is, by awarding certain rights and privileges on the basis of religion, language or other considerations.

Conflict

But wherever attempts of this nature have been made — whether in Belgium, India, Nigeria, Lebanon or Malaysia — they have increased inter-group conflict instead of reducing it.

This is because, in the words of Dr Eschel Rhoodie (a keen advocate of group rights who nonetheless has reservations about their efficacy), "Group rights recognition is by its nature divisive. The giving of special rights and privileges to an enclave of the larger society emphasises differences and fosters discrimination."

Contrary to popular opinion, the Swiss constitution did not develop over hundreds of years. It was drawn up only in 1848 (in the aftermath of a brief but bloody civil war which threatened to blow the Swiss confederation apart) and was based on the American constitution with added Swiss features.

The unique features added by the Swiss derived from the tradition of direct democracy enjoyed at that time by a handful of the oldest mountain cantons.

This tradition of giving people the right to become directly involved in government decisions was extended at the federal level to the entire country by the constitution of 1848, making Switzerland the most democratic country in the world — and the only one in which the people are truly sovereign.

Since that time all federal legislation has been subject to either a compulsory or an optional referendum. If the central government wants to change the constitution (which happens on average once a year), a compulsory referendum must be held and the amendment can be adopted only if it wins support from the majority of the people and the cantons.

The "referendum threat" ensures that the Swiss executive doesn't even attempt to introduce new legislation without lobbying all the interest groups — labour, business, political, consumers, church and so on — which have sufficient support to launch a referendum

This is the reason why the Swiss federal government has passed only 1 400 acts in the last 150 years. (South Africa, for instance, has introduced more than 5 000 acts in half that time.)

The referendum is not restricted to federal government activities but applies at the cantonal and community levels as well.

It ensures that the people are involved in the decisions that affect them. It is impossible, for example, for any level of government to introduce taxes without persuading the people that the benefits they bring are worth the costs they impose.

Most decisions are made at the local level. People are free to separate or mix through choice and no single group is able to impose its values on others — so conflict doesn't arise.

This used to be the case in the United States, as Mrs Jeanne Kirkpatrick observed: "One of the secrets of stability in our constitutional order was that many of the deepest moral controversies were removed from national politics and left to be settled in communities of shared values."

But in the US more and more powers have been transferred from the people and the states to Congress and, without recourse to the referendum, Americans have been powerless to prevent the process of centralisation.

Future

In Switzerland the referendum is the people's veto. It enables them to ensure that the politicians remain answerable to them and are never placed in positions where they can abuse their power. The Swiss don't need group rights because they have genuine people's power.

Spokesmen for the Department of Constitutional Planning and Development have stated that the Government will not present South Africa with a constitutional blueprint because our future must be decided by negotiation.

Most South Africans agree that this should be the case, but in our view it is nonetheless essential that the people begin to consider their options now.

If we don't, we will have forfeited our chance of winning a genuine, participatory democracy in which we are sovereign. We will have only ourselves to blame when the politicians decide to divide and rule.

☐ *This article is based on ideas developed in detail in Let the People Govern, due to be published early in June.*

P871/21. SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

S A L D R U
SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS
U.C.T.

THE WHITE RIGHTWING MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: BEFORE AND AFTER THE MAY 1987 WHITE GENERAL ELECTION

BY

SIMON BEKKER

AND

JANIS GROBBELAAR

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FOOTNOTES

1. The term 'rightwing' will be used in this chapter though the relevant political parties ard other organisations are more accurately described by the term 'ultraright'.

2. There is also significant support in constituencies in Northern Natal and the North-Western Cape.

3. This comparison favours the NP since it contested all 76 Transvaal seats whereas the rightwing parties contested 68. In the OFS, on the other hand, both the NP and the CP contested each seat.

4. Many splits and tensions within the volk accompanied the emergence of the NP as torch-bearer of Afrikaner nationalism.

5. Though the PACT government of 1924 included the National Party of the time, this government was not dominated by Afrikaner nationalist sentiments.

6. The term 'black' is used to include members of the African, Indian and 'coloured' communities.

7. Election pamphlet, CP Transvaal Information Service, n.d. Authors' translation from the Afrikaans.

8. Another reason proposed by Marais for this demand was the proportion of votes cast for the HNP in 1981 - a proportion substantially greater than in the 1977 election.

9. 'Die Kinders van Israel' and 'Die Afrikaanse Reformistiese Kerk' are two examples.

10. The Movement of Afrikaner Opposition.

11. In 1987, the school committee ruled that a African scholar could not participate in an athletics meeting to be held at Menlo Park High School.

THE WHITE RIGHTWING MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA: BEFORE AND AFTER THE MAY 1987 WHITE GENERAL ELECTION*

Simon Bekker and Janis Grobbelaar
Department of Sociology, University of South Africa.

Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa today is anything but a spent political force. That it has been deeply changed as a movement during the last decade is self-evident but the ideas which nurtured its growth, the strategies forged to give it momentum, and the traditions evolved during its development have all persisted, refined and adapted though they now are by contemporary organisations under new circumstances. These organisations and their members will be called, in this chapter, the white rightwing(1) movement.

The ruling National Party (NP) which has been the self-proclaimed torch-bearer of Afrikaner nationalism for the past seventy years, is being displaced by political parties that represent this movement. This process is not complete but the results of the May election indicate the significant degree to which such transformation and displacement has proceeded.

The chapter concentrates on party politics within the context of the white rightwing movement. It begins by focusing on the election results and their significance. Thereafter, key issues in the launch and development of the Afrikaner nationalist movement will be analysed. Subsequently, the break-away from the NP of two political parties, the first in the sixties and the second in the eighties, will be discussed and explained on the basis that these break-aways represent phases in the displacement process. In conclusion, the white rightwing movement will be identified and its contemporary ideology and organisational structure will be outlined.

1. THE TWO RIGHTWING PARTIES AND THE 1987 WHITE ELECTION

Two of the five political parties that competed in the May national election were rightwing: the Conservative Party (CP) and the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP). Despite numerous attempts at forming an election alliance between the two, these failed - an event accompanied by substantial anti-rightwing media coverage - and the two parties, on election day, stood against

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* to appear as a chapter in The election (House of Assembly) 1987. (Owen/Burgess, forthcoming). Copyright is vested with the Human Sciences Research Council.

one another in a number of constituencies as well as against their primary rival, the National Party. The CP fielded candidates in 126 of the 166 parliamentary constituencies whereas the HNP stood in 86. In all but nine of these 86 seats, candidates of the two rightwing parties campaigned against each other. Simultaneously, rightwing candidates took on the NP in 135 of the 164 constituencies which the NP contested.

The results of the election are well-known: the NP (with a total of 123) won a resounding majority of seats and the CP enough (22) to become the official opposition, the first time since 1948 that this role has fallen to a party to the right of the government. The HNP failed to gain a single seat. Measured in terms of the proportion of total votes cast, the NP received a shade over half the votes (52,45%), the CP a little more than a quarter (26,37%), whilst the HNP was unable to muster more than three percent (3,14%). As a result, it is generally accepted that the HNP can no longer claim to remain a political force in its own right.

The combined proportions of CP and HNP support underscore the significant gains the rightwing movement has attained since 1981, the date of the previous white national election. At that time, the HNP was the only rightwing party in existence and it received less than one sixth of votes cast (14,4%) and failed to gain a parliamentary seat. In 1987, combined rightwing support amounted to almost 30%, indicating a significant increase. The seats won by the CP do not, in fact, reflect the full extent of rightwing support. The reasons are two-fold. First, the constitutional 'winner-takes-all' electoral system obscures the substantial minority vote won by the rightwing in many constituencies. Secondly, the split of the rightwing vote - between the CP and the HNP - cost the rightwing seats in eight constituencies where their combined support was greater than that of the NP, but neither CP nor HNP candidates, in their own right, could match the votes cast for the NP.

Since the May election, a number of political commentators (Du Preez, 1987; Schrire, 1987) have argued that the CP essentially draws its support from the Transvaal and, in particular, from rural regions of this province. From this, the further conclusion is sometimes drawn that this base defines the limits of support (and, hence, of parliamentary seats) to which the CP (and, by extension, the combined rightwing) can aspire in the near future. However, while it is true that all 22 of the CP seats are in the Transvaal and that 16 of them can be classified as rural constituencies, it is of interest to test these claims more closely.

Of the present 166 constituencies across the country, 62 have been analysed and classified and the results are summarised in

The complex organisational infrastructure constituted by these five dimensions - the two political parties, the cultural organisations, the churches, the AWB, and the diverse local voluntary associations - form the new base on which the white rightwing movement is re-building Afrikaner nationalism. The two crucial elements of the movement's ideology are those of racial exclusivity and concomitant geographic partition. Its strategy seems to be to recruit more members through cooption of as many of the older Afrikaner nationalist organisations as possible, coupled with the creation of new institutions in competition with those it considers recalcitrant.

This strategy has brought the rightwing - from local to national level - into direct conflict with the NP and most of the organisations that remain loyal to its cause. The present dispute within the NGK between support for the government's reformist ideology and for the rightwing's <u>behoudende</u> view provides a case in point. Such struggles are far from over; and the process of the displacement of the NP by the CP as the torch-bearer of Afrikaner nationalism is far from concluded. That the process is well in motion is, on the other hand, incontrovertible.

At least two important questions remain. The first refers to the spatial distribution of rightwing support, which - at present - is found chiefly in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. There are, however, indications of support in the Eastern Cape, Northern Natal and the North Western Cape as well. The reason why support for the rightwing remains yet limited in the Western Cape - the birthplace of the National Party - is still unclear, as is the question whether support may well develop there in future years.

The second question refers to the likelihood of increased support for the rightwing from among those conservative-oriented whites who presently support the ruling party. This question is best discussed in the context of the wide-spread material and symbolic benefits which white South Africans, especially Afrikaners have received - directly or indirectly - from the state since 1948. Given the visible and substantial diminution of these material benefits over the past five years, the most important factor which will influence further support for the white rightwing is the capacity of the NP - through the government - to restore its past record of patronage. Put differently, it would seem that the rightwing will gain support to the extent that conservative whites continue to experience a drop in their material standards of living.

A further factor limiting potential HNP support was the economic advance of the Afrikaners in the 1970s. During this decade, Afrikaners were enjoying the fruits of rapid economic development and resultant upward mobility into the ranks of the middle classes. Such economic advance, moreover, was clearly perceived as the reward for continued loyalty and allegiance to the ruling party, as well as membership in the many Afrikaner socio-cultural and economic organisations. There was little reason or incentive for defection to the HNP.

Failling perhaps to grasp the significance of these new social forces, the HNP persisted in adopting the slogans of a by-gone era. It would seem that the party failed fully to understand the changed material and structural conditions of the country: especially the new materialism and middle-class norm current in Afrikanerdom. HNP rhetoric was rooted in images of the thirties and the forties. It had a working class flavour that was unattractive to the newly fashionable and respectable Afrikaner middle class. It also reminded them of an era during which they had not enjoyed political dominance (see, for example, Marais 1983). As a result, HNP membership was largely restricted to the remnants of the white working class and to groups of farmers: the groups from which the NP - as the political vehicle of Afrikaner nationalism - had traditionally drawn its support. During the seventies, in short, the HNP developed a 'loser' and 'lower class' stigma that left it, its leaders and its message with little support among an upwardly mobile white Afrikaner volk. This, in turn, fatally undermined its chances at the polls. No member of the party was elected to parliament in the 1970s.

2.2 The CP

As the country entered the 1980s, the fortunes of the NP were also being tested. Black(6) resistance to Grand Apartheid had been rising since 1976; the government's homeland policy was proving to be a costly economic failure; and the economic prognosis for the country as a whole turned gloomy. By 1983, standards of living were dropping for everyone - including the party faithful. Three consequences were soon visible.

First, the NP gradually centralised its process of decision-making. In the sixties, when Afrikaner nationalism was at its organisational peak, the institutional base through which it flourished offered a loyal Afrikaner a viable opportunity to participate in policy formulation. This was not so only as regards cultural and economic matters but also - through party branches and provincial congresses - as regards political matters of national importance. In the 1980s, however, the NP, under the leadership of P.W. Botha and the "Cape" faction (of influential

cabinet ministers from that Province), rapidly centralised decision-making in the party. Substantial power, moreover, was transferred to technocrats and 'securocrats': civil servants and military personnel in the new state structures. As a result, NP congresses lost influence and prestige, and both the esprit de corps and promises of rewards associated with grass-roots party organisation were substantially eroded. The NP was seen to be losing its democratic mass base Kleynhans, 1984; Pretorius, 1987).

From 1976, the South African state and the NP faced an increasingly hostile attack on its policy of apartheid from abroad as well as from within. Inside the country, the United Democratic Front (formed in the early eighties) and the Azanian People's Organisation (formed in the late seventies) as well as the emergent trade union movement began to coordinate opposition and counter-action to the government's ideology, policy, and proposed reforms. With its fundamental ideology under siege, the NP gradually shifted ground to more convenient, and less ideologically consistent, policy positions: trade unions were recognised for workers of all races; separate, elected local governments were created for each of the four (statutory) racial communities in urban areas; and the government acknowledged the permanence of Africans in 'white' South Africa, outside the homelands. These pragmatic policy shifts increased pressure on the government and the ruling party for further change.

In the third place, the government increasingly had to turn its attention to security. Military, police, and security organisations proliferated in the mid-1980s, and their operation became more visible to the public in both white and black communities. Two states of emergency were declared: the second nation-wide and still in force in the closing months of 1987.

It was in response to these changed circumstances that the CP was formed in 1982. Under the leadership of Andries Treurnicht, a former minister of religion and Afrikaans newspaper editor, 17 NP members of parliament broke from the party and the government. The reason given for the break was the proposed introduction by the government of the tri-cameral parliament in which representation in separate chambers was accorded to Indian and 'coloured' South Africans. This policy shift went too far for the behoudende group in the NP: especially as the principle of white (and essentially Afrikaner) exclusivity in the political domain had been centrally compromised. At a deeper level, this compromise, it was believed, would have a profoundly negative effect on Afrikaner interests and the very survival of the volk as a minority group within the country.

A further factor limiting potential HNP support was the economic advance of the Afrikaners in the 1970s. During this decade, Afrikaners were enjoying the fruits of rapid economic development and resultant upward mobility into the ranks of the middle classes. Such economic advance, moreover, was clearly perceived as the reward for continued loyalty and allegiance to the ruling party, as well as membership in the many Afrikaner socio-cultural and economic organisations. There was little reason or incentive for defection to the HNP.

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the north one hundred years before. This intense and absorbing celebration was organised under the auspices of the Afrikaans Language and Cultural Association (ATKV), by Henning Klopper, a former railway clerk, later Speaker in the House of Assembly, and founder member of the influential and secretive Afrikaner Broederbond ('Association of Brothers') (Ossewa Gedenkboek 1940; Keyter et al. 1940).

The Afrikaner organisations that grew out of this process of ethnic mobilisation were used by the NP - after a period of substantial intra-ethnic strife during the Second World War - to recruit voters for the party and the cause. The 1948 election victory can be explained in large part by the influence thus attained over the thinking of Afrikaners. This influence was strengthened by the emerging NP apartheid policy. Based as it was on the segregationist principles of earlier South African governments, this policy also refined and extended to the constitutional sphere the nationalist principle of white Afrikaner exclusivity. Organisational strategy and political policy complemented each other.

After 1948, the governing party encouraged the further entrenchment of these organisations in Afrikaner life and built upon them to create a virtually monolithic institutional basis on which exclusivist Afrikaner nationalism grew and flourished. Moreover, Afrikaner nationalist ideology and its expression in apartheid policy were further developed and strengthened by the NP - especially under the leadership of H F Verwoerd (Prime Minister and party leader until 1966). Accordingly, by the 1960s, the party had succeeded in establishing the predominant political position of the Afrikaner in the country. Hegemony had been realised.

2.1 The HNP

Strains and tensions within the volk had, however, persisted and new ones emerged during this period of consolidation. In 1969, these led to the first formal split (since 1948) in the ranks of the NP when four sitting NP members of parliament left the party and formed the Herstigte Nasionale Party (Schoeman 1973, 1974; Serfontein 1970).

In the language of the time, the split came about as a result of disagreements on how 'outward-looking' and 'enlightened' (verlig) the policy of the NP should become. Those who left the party to form the HNP argued that tried and tested government policy should be continued and that the government itself should remain more 'conservative' and 'inward-looking' (verkramp). The debate revolved, at a deeper level, around strategies aimed at sustaining the material interests and, ultimately, the survival of the

> Partition is the only key to a stable and peaceful future for all the nations of Southern Africa. Partition is the Conservative (Party) policy which will ensure that the Afrikaner people together with those English-speakers who wish to associate themselves with the Afrikaners - clearly separated from other nations - will have a fatherland in which they form the majority and where they will be ruled by their people alone.(7)

Underpinning this message of partition as the only acceptable political solution for South Africa is the organisational strategy that the CP - together with other rightwing organisations - has developed over the last five years. This strategy of ethnic mobilisation which was used by the NP with significant success in earlier years, would seem to entail in its contemporary form either the cooption of existing Afrikaner nationalist organisations (such as the South African Bureau of Race Relations (SABRA)) or the establishment of new organisations parallel to, and in competition with, older bodies which remain loyal to the government and the NP.

The establishment of the Afrikaner Volkswag in 1983 by dissident members of the Afrikaner Broederbond is a case in point. This organisation was established to cater for the needs of behoudende Afrikaners who believed they could no longer remain members of either the Broederbond or the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Organisations (FAK). The Volkswag plans, during 1988, to call for and organise a third 'trek', to symbolise and celebrate the original Great Trek and its 150th anniversary (Patriot, 1987). The Volkswag hopes hereby to arouse and engage the nationalist sentiments of Afrikaners in the same way as was done in 1938 by the ATKV.

The leaders of the Volkswag, Professor Carel Boshoff and his wife Anna, are, significantly, the son-in-law and daughter of H F Verwoerd. Verwoerd's widow is an active member of the CP, and one of the former Prime Minister's sons, Hendrik jr., is the general secretary of the Orange Worker's Union (Die Vereniging van Oranjewerkers), an organisation calling for immediate and radical partition between white and black in the country. These recent rightwing organisations can thus claim both descent from the Afrikaner nationalist clan of the fifties and the sixties and integrity as the new torch-bearer of the Nationalist tradition.

The growth of new or coopted rightwing organisations is also evident at local level. Thus school boards, local town councils, and other civic organisations in white Afrikaner residential areas find themselves riven with split loyalties and tensions. The rightwing is employing the identical mobilisatory tactics which brought the NP to power in the forties and fifties. Its

preliminary success in so doing may be judged by the results of the May election.

2.3 The triumph of the CP over the HNP

The inability of the two rightwing parties contesting the 1987 election to come to some agreement before the polling day baffled many commentators and provided ready ammunition for the NP in its election campaign. The election results reflect the emergence of the CP as the indisputable party-political representative of the rightwing movement despite the sacrifice of a significant number of 'combined' rightwing seats. It is important to review the reasons for this CP triumph before turning to its significance within the wider rightwing movement.

There was little difference between the two parties in the policies broadcast by each to the voters. Essentially, both parties approached the election in the context of "Armageddon". The Afrikaner volk would be destroyed if P W Botha was not stopped. Partition was the only policy that would re-establish order in the country, adequately protect the interests of whites, and regain the economic prosperity of earlier decades. Both parties emphasized the drop in white standards of living and implied that these were directly linked to increased levels of state spending on the new constitution and on black development:

> (The) (w)hite standard of living decreased by 12% from August 1976 to July 1985. White revenue will decrease by 21,4% from 1986 to the year 2000. During the 5 year period July 1981 to March 1986 our salary increments lagged behind by 18,9% compared to those of Blacks. (Theron: 1)

Given this coincidence of views, it is evident that major policy issues were not the cause of the failure to reach an election pact before the May election.

This failure is all the more surprising given the fact that the two parties - since 1982 - had entered into a number of pacts and agreements in the context of impending by-elections. One such pact, made in 1985, resulted in the HNP obtaining its first-ever seat in Parliament, through the victory in Sasolburg of one of its founder members. Throughout the five years prior to the May election, however, Jaap Marais - the leader of the HNP - had steadfastly rejected amalgamation with the CP and demanded the allocation of 50% of winnable seats to his party. Notwithstanding the unequal parliamentary representation of the two parties before the election (1 HNP seat to 17 CP seats), Marais nevertheless justified this demand by calling for 'blood-money': the HNP had recognised the 'wrong turn' taken by the NP 13 years before

- both politicians and others - of the Afrikaner Nationalist movement. The NP victory, in fact, is best understood in the light of the on-going process of mobilisation of white Afrikaners which had been gathering momentum for many years prior to the 1948 election.

This process of 'ethnic mobilisation' (Adam & Giliomee, 1979) was launched during the second decade of this century, and expanded yet further during the thirties and forties. Through it, increasing numbers of white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans were mobilised around a set of loosely linked, informal voluntary associations. The pattern of mobilisation was exclusivist - restricted to the emergent volk - and Afrikaans-speaking ministers of religion, teachers, and academics were in the forefront of the process (Moodie, 1975; Van Zyl Slabbert, 1975).

The 'poor white' problem of the thirties, aggravated by the trek from the farms to the cities, raised a number of urgent welfare problems. This gave further impetus to the process of mobilisation, especially since Afrikaner leaders perceived the 'poor whites' as potential recruits for the new organisations formed to combat these welfare problems. The welfare and allied institutions thus developed came to form a crucial element in the growing network of interlinking Afrikaner voluntary organisations.

This network revolved around the Afrikaner churches, which took a leading role in the process of mobilisation and thereby contributed to the legitimation and institutionalisation of the concept of white Afrikaner exclusivity (Stals 1978, 1986). The development of Afrikaner hegemony owes much to this legitimation founded on religious beliefs.

This organisational strategy coupled with the mobilisation of Afrikaner capital from within their own ranks (O'Meara, 1983), successfully prevented the formation of a large Afrikaner urban working class - a class-conscious proletariat - during the thirties and the forties. It thus placed the Afrikaner on the road to middle class respectability, increased wealth, and political dominance across the country.

The welfare organisations were formed by men like William Nicol, a minister of religion in the Dutch Reformed Church. Workers organisations and later trade unions were either formed or transformed by men like Albert Hertzog, son of a South African Prime Minister, a cabinet minister in the governments of Verwoerd and Vorster, and later the first leader of the break-away HNP in 1969. A very successful and widely publicised procession - the oxwagon memorial trek (Die Ossewagedenktrek) - was organised in 1938 to commemorate the voortrekkers' Great Trek from the Cape to

This analysis reveals two interesting features. First, though the combined rightwing strength lies significantly in rural areas, an important urban support base is found in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) metropolitan region (including the Vaal Triangle-Sasolburg area). In the second place, the provincial strength of the movement is not confined to the Transvaal but is significant within the Orange Free State.(2) This second factor can be confirmed by analysing the total votes cast in these two provinces in the May election. The NP obtained 48% of total Transvaal votes cast whilst the combined rightwing achieved 38%.(3) In the Orange Free State, the NP obtained 56% and the rightwing 42%.

It would seem, thus, that supporters of the rightwing movement hail from the two northern provinces and tend - if not rural residents - to be drawn from the middle and lower echelons of the white civil service (Adam, 1987). They are also overwhelmingly Afrikaans-speaking. There is clear evidence of the trend of Afrikaans voters switching from the NP (which over 80% supported in the 1970s (Schlemmer, 1987:9,10)) to the rightwing political parties. In the view of two experienced commentators, close to one half of Afrikaner voters supported the CP and HNP in the 1987 election (Pakendorf, 1987; Terreblanche, 1987).

In short, there is evidence that the white rightwing movement, in 1987, is supported by three white voters out of ten; that it is predominantly an Afrikaner and northern movement; and that it has a substantial foothold in the PWV. The CP, moreover, has become the primary political vehicle for the expression of the movement's interests.

2. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WHITE RIGHTWING MOVEMENT

Neither the HNP nor the CP can be fully understood as separate and discrete phenomena. They form part of a wider social movement, commonly termed the "white rightwing". This movement, and the ideology that underpins it, can, in turn, only be fully understood in the wider historical context of South African politics, especially white Afrikaner politics. The rise and growth of Afrikaner nationalism over the past fifty years is the key process in this context.

The National Party - at that time the major political vehicle for the expression of Afrikaner nationalism(4) - (in alliance with the Afrikaner Party) won a surprise victory in the national election of 1948. It thus became, for the first time(5), the governing party and has remained so ever since. Though this victory has been explained in terms of structural factors favouring a change of government during and following the Second World War, the result came, nevertheless, as a surprise to the leaders

the CP and - throughout the period - had had to bear alone the torch of Afrikaner nationalism under severely trying circumstances(8). The HNP, he argued, had remained 'right' (reg) during the period when CP members were still serving in Vorster's dishonoured cabinet and caucus.

The CP, fearing continuing horse-trading by the smaller and weaker party over seats and candidates, opted to go it alone in the May election. Its vastly superior performance at the polls can be explained on organisational and strategic grounds, as well as by its more modern and respected image in the eyes of middle class Afrikaners.

The CP organisational network was both wider in scope, and denser in linkages with other voluntary organisations, than that of the HNP. The CP included members of parliament representing both rural as well as urban seats and thereby maintained strong links into rural areas whilst the HNP, based in Pretoria, was largely restricted - in its organisational thrust - to the P.W.V. As a result, the CP succeeded in broadcasting its image both more broadly and more successfully.

3. THE WHITE RIGHTWING.

The rightwing movement encompasses five dimensions - historically interwoven and institutionally linked but nevertheless distinct. Together, they define the new organisational parameters of the Afrikaner nationalist movement.

First, there are the two political parties - the CP and the HNP - which participated in the May election called by the ruling party and thereby accepted 'the rules of the game' as spelled out in the constitution. Of these two, the CP has emerged as the undisputed party political leader.

Secondly, there are a range of Afrikaner organisations which provide intellectual direction for the activities and policies of the rightwing movement. Primary among such organisations are SABRA, the Afrikaner Volkswag, and the Orange Worker's Union. These fulfil a dual role. First, they are instrumental in re-evaluating the policy of Grand Apartheid through a sustained debate on the meaning and substance of radical partition. Within this context, substantial agreement is emerging over the need to establish a smaller geographic entity which will remain white and in which white South Africans will continue to enjoy exclusive power and rights. Secondly, they strive to promote cooperation between the diverse rightwing groups by calling for unity of action and purpose.

Thirdly, there are a number of religious organisations which support the spirit of the rightwing movement. The Hervormde Kerk, one of the three main protestant Afrikaner churches, has clearly and publicly opted for racial exclusivity within its membership. The Durch Reform Church (NGK), on the other hand - having established a Commission of Inquiry into the theological foundations of apartheid - has recently published an official document entitled Church and Society (Kerk en Samelewing) in which it has publicly questioned this ideology. This, in turn, resulted in the formation of a rightwing group within that church which called itself the Objectors (Die Beswaardes). A separate church was formed in 1987 by a number of Objectors while others have remained and formed a conservative group (bond) within the NGK. In addition, there are numerous small religious movements(9) which unequivocally endorse the ideology of white racial exclusivity. These religious organisations not only provide spiritual security to rightwing whites during the present challenging and changing circumstances in South Africa but also lend moral support to the rightwing ideology.

In the fourth place, there is the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging(10) (A.W.B.), a militant extra-parliamentary organisation, which has been highly visible over the past few years. Led by a charismatic orator, Eugene Terre'Blanche, the organisation has clashed with governmental ministers at public meetings on a number of occasions. Propelled by the urgency of the NP threat, it also made sustained attempts - albeit unsuccessful - to mediate between the CP and the HNP in the run-up to the May election. Romantic, racist and sensational as it is, the military rhetoric of Terre'Blanche has had widespread appeal for Afrikaners in both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The A.W.B. could thus well provide the rightwing movement with both the vehicle and the opportunity for extra-constitutional political action should such a path be chosen.

The fifth dimension draws together a wide range of civic associations and voluntary bodies which play an active role in the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking white communities of most South African cities and towns. These include town councils, agricultural co-operatives, white trade-unions, and school committees. A series of earnest and often grim battles for control over these organisations has been waged over the past five years. The on-going controversy surrounding the school committee of Menlo Park, a high school in an affluent Afrikaans suburb of Pretoria, may be taken as an illustration of this battle(11). Though difficult to quantify at present, it seems that supporters of the rightwing are gaining ground in this regard in both the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

Table 1. The results show that these 62 constituencies may be viewed as within reasonable reach of the white rightwing.

22 of these seats are those held by the CP and are classified as 'wins'; eight showed - by combining CP with HNP support - a majority of rightwing votes (though the seats are held by the NP) and are therefore classified as 'combined wins'; and 30 produced a combined rightwing vote in the 40 to 50 percent range and are therefore classified as 'possible wins'. Each of the constituencies has been classified by province and placed on an urban-rural continium. A constituency is deemed to be 'mixed' if a substantial part falls within a large urban or metropolitan area.

TABLE 1

WHERE RIGHTWING SUPPORT LIES

		URBAN	MIXED	RURAL	TOTAL
TVL	win	4	2	16	22
	combined win	3	1	2	6
	possible win	13	2	2	17
		20	5	20	45
	(total TVL seats = 76)				
OFS	win	0	0	0	0
	combined win	1	0	1	2
	possible win	0	1	9	10
		1	1	10	12
	(total OFS seats = 14)				
NATAL	win	0	0	0	0
	combined win	0	0	0	0
	possible win	0	1	0	1
		0	1	0	1
	(total NATAL seats = 20)				
CAPE	win	0	0	0	0
	combined win	0	0	0	0
	possible win	1	0	3	4
		1	0	3	4
	(total CAPE seats = 56)				
	TOTAL (166)	22	7	33	62