S.A GOVT. & POLITICS

1989

AUG.

1st August 1989. 304A

Black Presid

Says former Johannesburg editor

LONDON - South Africa is heading into what may be a prolonged transition - and Mr F W de Klerk's presidency is likely to be followed by a president who is black, Allister Sparks wrote in the *Observer* yesterday.

Sparks is a former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*.

Sowetan Foreign Service

"What De Klerk must decide is whether to accept that a non-racial majority system is inevitable and that the National Party government must start negotiating the terms with the mass-based movements like the ANC and the UDF.

"Or whether to continue the old strategy of representing such movements while co-opting compliant blacks into separate political structures that enable the whites to retain control.

"Choosing the first will present De Klerk with the enormously difficult task of carrying his conservative white constituency with him, choosing the second . . . will lead South Africa into another cycle of conflict.

Sparks believes De Klerk has little time to put off the decision.

There are, says Sparks, no more redundant items to be disposed of from the apartheid cupboard, "only those last big jars - the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and so on - and De Klerk knows that if he touches any of them the system will begin to crumble.

304 A Star 1/8/89.



Dr Denis Worrall . . . concerned about MDM campaign.

Apartheid no longer policy of NP, Minister tells meeting

STANDERTON — Fighting for apartheid was a lost cause, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, told about 250 people at an election meeting in Standerton last night.

"This is the viewpoint of the National Party . . . and I believe in it too. Apartheid is no longer the policy of the NP," he said.

Mr Vlok said it was a lost cause to fight for communism. The NP would "go for the moderates" in trying to reach a political solution that was acceptable to the majority of reasonable people.

Radicals would, as they had in the past five years, do everything in their power to stop this process taking place, Mr Vlok said.

"They know if blacks are given the vote then they (radicals) will have nothing more to fight with us about.

"They have used violence to try to torpedo all the National Party Government's attempts at reform."

He said the NP needed a mandate from the electorate to work out a new constitutional dispensation with moderate and reasonble people.

It wouldn't be easy because the Government would have to negotiate with people who "feel wronged by events of the past", and who were now "making extreme demands".

However, this course was better than the one of confrontation offered by the Conservative Party. On the other hand the solution offered by the Democratic Party would lead to the South African Communist Party's Freedom Charter becoming the constitution, he said.

Although the Standerton seat in Parliament is held by the CP, not a single heckler was present.

(Report by Ken Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

The speech that could not be made

An extract from the speech which Dr ZACH DE BEER, co-leader of the Democratic Party, would have delivered at the University of the Witwatersrand yesterday had the meeting not been disrupted.

"THE party I represent stands for universal adult suffrage within a negotiated constitution. It stands for open schools, hospitals and other public amenities. It stands for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, the separate Amenities Act and the Population Registration Act.

DEMOCRACY

"It stands for the abolition of the tricameral parliament, in favour of one single central parliament for all South Africans, with a federal structure providing similar non-racial parliaments at State or provincial level. It is on that basis that I seek support here.

" I know there is a view amongst certain members of the university that it is better not to participate in elections for the tricameral parliament. Indeed in 1987, when there was an election for the white parliament only, it was boycotted by certain democratic citizens at Wits and elsewhere.

"It is likely that boycott was decisive in the loss of the Hillbrow constituency by the PFP to the Nationalists — ironically, to my young namesake Leon de Beer, who went to jail for electoral fraud.



Dr Zach de Beer

"Whenever a thoroughly undesirable institution such as the tricameral parliament comes into existence, the question whether to boycott or to participate arises. In 1984, the PFP members of parliament had to consider whether to continue as such or not.

"The decision was to continue, and in my judgement at least, that decision has been vindicated by events. I've no doubt that these members have been effective in fighting apartheid.

Limited

"Today, as I understand matters, the MDM is angry with the DP about two things. The first is that we are participating — albeit it on a limited scale — in the House of Delegates election.

"Well, this was a difficult decision, but at the end of the day the fact was that a lot of good members of our party wanted to participate, and there was no justification for the party leadership forbidding them to do so — anyhow not if we were going to participate on the widest possible scale in the House of Assembly.

"The second reason for anger is that I am alleged to have expressed some sympathy with Mr Vlok's attacks on the MDM.

Deplore

"I certainly did nothing of the kind. What I did say was that I would always deplore the use of violence as a political weapon by anyone. Now I think I am right in saying that the MDM has denied that its plans any violence — so what I said cannot be interpreted as criticism of the organisation.

"For the record, let me repeat that I believe that all hospitals should be open to patients of all races.

"I associate myself firmly with my colleague Wynand Malan, who was quoted by Saturday's "Citizen" as saying: 'The DP recognises the right of the Mass Democratic Movement to protest against the injustices under which the majority of our people suffer. Such protest is justified because the protesters don't have the right to vote, nor is there presently an initiative to open negotiations towards bringing this about.'

Fears

"I should like to use this occasion to appeal to all in this country who believe in democracy and freedom to help one another, to work together for peaceful change as soon as it can be achieved.

"I am sure that the National Party will try during the election period to create the impression that there is disruption and violence, so that they can play upon resulting fears. We all of us, including the MDM — could meet this contrived hysteria with a calm and resolute insistence upon the introduction of democratic vlaues."

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

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SABC 'less biased' on poll

Staff Reporter

SABC-TV election coverage is showing signs of becoming more even-handed, according to a co-leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, a Conservative Party spokesman and a range of university media experts.

The politicians and academics emphasised, though, that the change was not yet strong enough to be welcomed unconditionally.

Dr De Beer, who recently had been "on the receiving end of some tough but fair questions from the SABC's Mr Johan Pretorius", said last week that the corporation was definitely becoming more impartial.

"I've had no problems with any of my own interviews. The SABC seems to be less supportive of the government than before.

"But it's important that we keep a very close eye on this."

The CP's chief information officer, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said the party was "excited" about "this new direction".

"There have been definite signs of change over the past couple of weeks — we'll all be watching closely."

Rhodes University media analyst Professor Gavin Stewart believed a different attitude to coverage was apparent "at some levels, but not overall".

"A greater effort is apparently being made to allow speakers to explain themselves." Prof Stewart speculated that a more professional attitude among TV journalists might be responsible for the new approach.

"However, bias is in the nature of a government-controlled broadcasting corporation," he noted. It was possible that cabinet ministers would alter the type of coverage at short notice.

UCT's Dr Eve Bertelsen had got "a fleeting impression that they've at least started off with an attempt to get a proper balance in the election slot".

Dr Bertelsen said it had to be remembered that the election coverage was part of a whole news package. "In the rest of the news, the SABC is still far from impartial."

Unisa broadcasting researcher Mr Henry Gouws thought a "very gradual, but very tenuous", change was under way. "It's obviously not all-encompassing."

A "sceptical" Rand Afrikaans University communications lecturer Mr Kobus Scholtz believed the SABC might be altering its coverage, but "it's a bit early to say".

In the view of SABC news director Mr Karel van der Merwe, the corporation had "always been fair".

The difference in the coverage of this election, said Mr Van der Merwe, lay in the emphasis on a debate format rather than simply reporting on meetings and statements.

"In the final analysis, the object is to inform the voters."

(Report by M Fried, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Need to keep a 'close eye on this'

Eglin promises bigger, better-paid police force

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party would ensure that the police were used to protect the citizens of the country, not to do the political chores of an apartheid government, the DP candidate in Sea Point, Mr Colin Eglin, said last night.

The DP would tackle the issue of crime and the police force would be doubled — and it would be better paid, better trained and better disciplined.

"At the same time, and equally important, the DP will tackle the issues of unemployment, bad housing, poor education and disrupted community life which lie at the root of the high crime rate in our country today," he said at a meeting in Camps Bay.

"The DP is committed to getting the economy growing again — and with this more jobs, more earnings, more revenue from which to provide for the important social services."

It was also committed to reducing inflation, by eliminating apartheid wastefulness, improving government efficiency, containing government spending, improving productivity and saving millions of rand on defence as South Africa's international situation normalised.

Speaking at the same meeting, Ms Michelle Guttler, the DP candidate in Tygervallei, said the government should stop treating the electorate like children by entertaining them with fairy tales.

"The National Party is soft on security because they have failed to offer real security to South Africans," she said.

(Report by B Strook, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



Ms Michelle Guttler

UDF is 'entirely racialistic' — NP

Political Correspondent

THE United Democratic Front was being "entirely racialistic" about the elections, the deputy Minister of Transport, Mr Myburgh Streicher, said last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Kuils River, Mr Streicher said: "The UDF's demands are entirely racialistic because they will support white Democratic Party candidates in the pure white House provided the DP stabs its coloured and Indian members in the back."

He then added: "It now appears the DP has obeyed the demands of the UDF and the ANC — this is a very serious charge against the DP."

If the DP was being supported by the ANC and the UDF in the white House of Assembly "we want to know whether it is true".

Mr Streicher said it had been reported from the United States that the ANC was going to launch a large-scale resistance campaign aimed at making the emergency regulations unenforceable and that the UDF would co-ordinate this.

It was also reported from England last year that the ANC wanted to mobilise their supporters against black candidates in the (municipal) elections.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

...udents won't ...t Zach speak

Cape Times 1/8/89

304A





...ted meeting at Wits RIGHT. Dr De Beer after the disruption.

Wits ... the nazi generals of the past. They are no different from people like Klaus Barbie," he said.

Sapa reports that Dr Slabbert said the disruption was "symptomatic of the absurdity of holding an election for the minority".

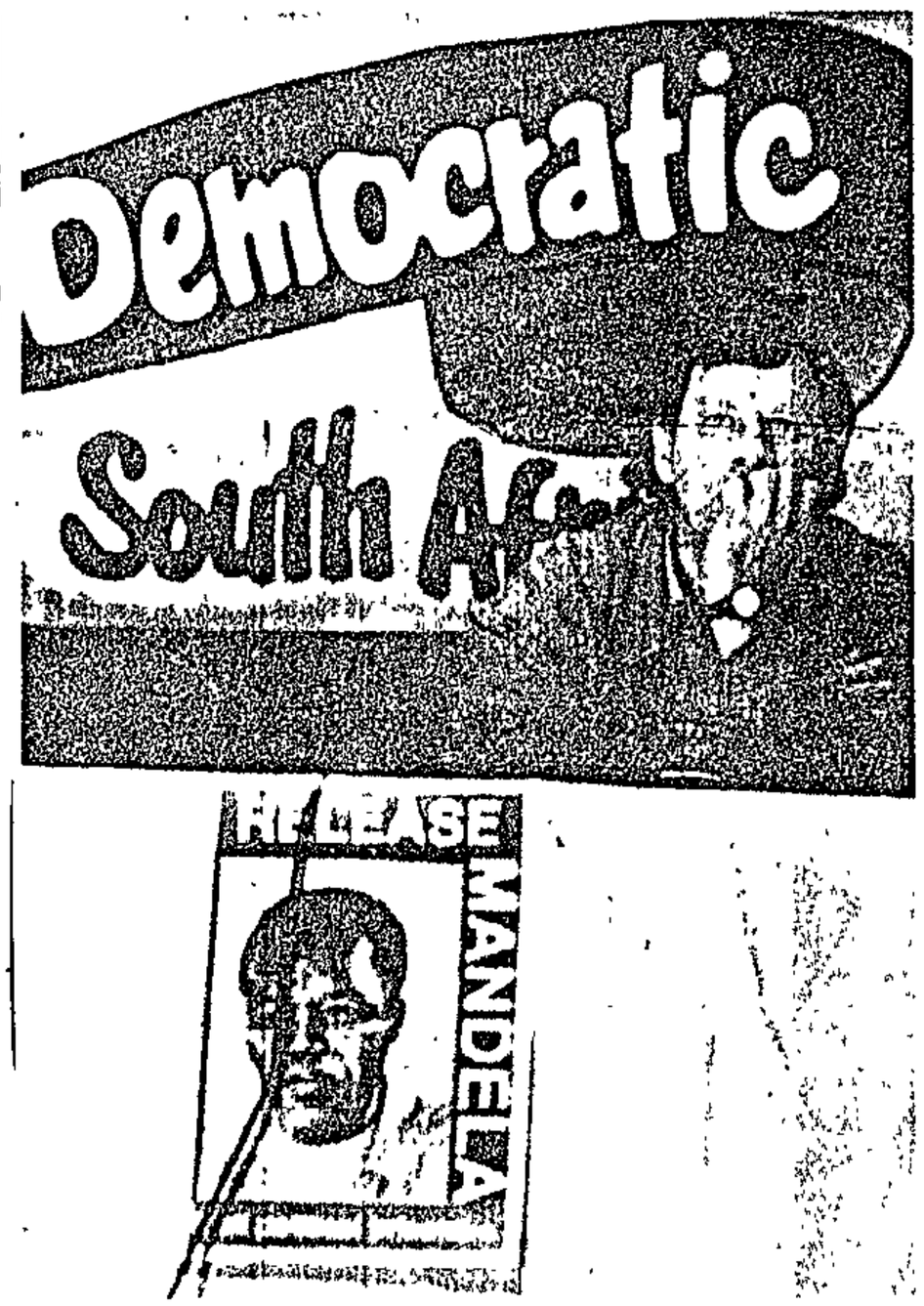
However, he added: "Even under the most repressive circumstances opportunity for debate and discussion should be used.

"It would be foolish for people to under-estimate the depth of frustration and anger among those in the extra-parliamentary arena who have had their meetings and organisations banned and their peaceful gatherings disrupted."

Dr De Beer planned to call on all South Africans who believed in democracy and freedom to work together for peaceful change as soon as possible.

According to his prepared speech, Dr De Beer would have told students that everyone, including the Mass Democratic Movement, should calmly and resolutely insist on the introduction of democratic values to counter the contrived hysteria caused by NP pre-election attempts to create the impression of a climate of violence and disruption and play upon resultant fears.

(Report by S Ngcobo and M Robertson, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg).



NO CHANCE TO SPEAK . . . Dr Van Zyl Slabbert waits his turn to speak at the Transvaal Indian Congress on Sunday. Yesterday the meeting he and Dr Zach de Beer were to address at Wits was disrupted. Picture REUTER

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 100 chanting students yesterday disrupted a Wits University debate because they objected to Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer being allowed to speak on campus.

They said they would stop any MP from speaking at Wits and called on the DP to leave Parliament and join the ANC

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert of Idasa and Mr Steven Friedman of the Institute of Race Relations were also due to speak at Wits.

The meeting was called off and the speakers were whisked away by the university authorities

The principal of Wits, Dr Robert Charlton, said the disruption was a gross violation of the university's most cherished values He said disciplinary action would be taken against the students

A spokesman for the Black Students' Interim Committee (BSIC) said they knew the consequences of disrupting the meeting and were prepared to face them. They would regard any action taken against them as akin to sentences handed down by "apartheid" courts.

Before the debate was due to start, the 100 black students, part of the audience of 1 000, began chanting ANC slogans and singing songs in praise of Umkhonto we Sizwe

SRC president Ms Bettina von Lieres tried to address the meeting, but was also ignored Security officials tried to force the students out of the hall

BSIC co-ordinator Mr Nepo Kekana then began speaking to initial jeers from white students

"The battle lines have been drawn No National Party nor Democratic Party leaders will make speeches here for as long as we are on this campus. What you are seeing today is just the beginning," he said

He said those who accused the BSIC of violating the freedom of speech on campus should remember that the ANC and other student and community organisations were banned and that leaders like ANC president Mr Oliver Tambo and Mr Joe Slovo were in exile and could not come back and speak on Wits campus

He said Parliament represented nazism and that the DP was no different.

"The DP represents nazism Their leadership is no different from

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DP to talk security with Vlok

Political Staff

AGAINST a background of mounting anger against the extra-parliamentary Mass Democratic Movement, the Democratic Party announced last night that it was sending a delegation to discuss security issues with the government.

The four-man team will include two former defence force generals.

Co-leader Dr Denis Worrall told a meeting for candidates in Maritzburg that the party's team to see the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, would be led by Mr Dawid de Villiers, chairman of the DP's national board, and would include Mr Tian van der Merwe, MP for Green Point, General Bob Rogers, former chief of the air force and DP candidate in Walmer, and General Wally Black, DP candidate in South Coast.

Dr Worrall described the MDM's intervention in the election as "most regrettable" and expressed serious concern about recent bomb attacks.

"We refer to bomb blasts which have gone off in hospital car parks when no people have been around and other similar non-strategic places," he said.

The only purpose was to frighten whites, he said.

"The DP believes this is a matter which, in the interests of all voters, it should take up with Mr Vlok," he said.

And in Camps Bay another senior DP candidate, Mr Tony Leon, last night hit out at the MDM, describing its anti-election defiance campaign as a "self-indulgent" move which would play into the hands of the National Party.

Many organisations under the MDM umbrella had been quite happy to co-operate with the DP and its predecessors in achieving certain practical goals, such as asking for DP assistance with projects such as the Open Cities cam-

To page 2

From page 1

DP to Vlok

paign and for the victims of the Group Areas Act.

"It is time that the message went out that co-operation is a two-way street," he said.

In Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb of the NP challenged his DP rival, Mr Wynand Malan, to "cut himself loose from the MDM now".

The threat of violent disruption of hospitals, schooling and civic facilities hung over society, Mr Babb said.

● While the planned protest tomorrow against segregated hospitals is apparently going ahead, spokesmen for anti-apartheid organisations which make up the MDM yesterday said they were unaware of any decision to call on white supporters to boycott the election, as reported on Sunday.

The MDM is an alliance of anti-apartheid organisations, constituting the UDF and Cosatu as the core, and any call for a boycott would reflect both organisation's decisions, the spokesmen said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town, and O Pollak, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban).

SABC 'less biased

Cape Times 1/8/89

Need to keep a 'close eye on this'

Staff Reporter

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Cape Times 1/8/89 (304)

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(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).



Ms Michelle Guttler

CE

SUPREME COURT ROLL

THIRD DIVISION
Court No. 6

Rule nisi

S S C v E Abrahams; A v R M Batt and another — Interdict.

W T Curran v D I Oliphant and 2 others — Review.

F v E Rojan — Interdict.

Default judgment

[illegible] Bnk v L

A L v M F Legg — Opposed rule 43.

FOURTH DIVISION
Civil trials

First National Bank of SA Ltd v A Elhin (special roll).

The Bank of Lisbon and South Africa Ltd v Ornelas Fishing Co and 2 others — Written agreement.

D Anschutz v Neil Allen — Agree-

RADIO

SOUTH AFRICA

5.00 Get Going. 5.30 News. 5.35 Calling All Farmers. 6.00 Radio Today: 6.01 News. 6.06 This New Day: Past W Ludewig. 6.55 Weather. 7.00 News, Comment. 7.25 Topsport. 7.45 Special Report. 8.00 News. 8.35 Landmarks. 8.45 Faro's Daughter. 9.00 Open House. 10.00 Talking of Nature. 10.30 Devotion: the Rev B Hughes-Gibbs. 10.45 Congratulations. 11.00 News Headlines. 11.05 Woman's World. 11.45 Novel Reading: A Pelican at Blandings. 12.00 Promenade Concert. 1.00 News. 1.15 Weather, Business, Market Trends. 1.30 Second House. 2.15 A Key of Wolves. 2.30 And the Angels Sing. 3.00 Sixty Plus. 3.30 Short Story Repeat. 3.45 Soundbox. 4.00 News Headlines. 4.05 The PM Show. 5.00 Update news headlines. Special Report repeat

Curtis



1st August 1989



Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

Businessmen must join forces who demand talks

30 4A

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

The director of Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, yesterday called on Nafcoc to become part of a team that will negotiate a peaceful settlement in South Africa.

Speaking at the 25th conference of Nafcoc in Sun City, he said Black business people have a responsibility to join forces that clamour for negotiations. He believed that the government should unban political organisations and people, release political prisoners and detainees, abolish apartheid and negotiate a settlement.

"It is vital that black people should become part of the democratic South Africa in the future," he said, adding: "That process should come about through negotiations. We must build a new nation."

The international and local communities did not accept white domination over other race groups. "We need to change," he said.

Answering a question from a delegate, he said it was unlikely that homelands would be willing to become part of the new South Africa. However, he said, it would depend on where they would get their revenue. Some of the homeland leaders had indicated they would become part of the new South Africa.

DP decision a gross insult, says TIC

By Jovial Rantao

The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) has condemned the Democratic Party for participating in the House of Delegates election by fielding nine candidates.

In a statement to The Star, the TIC said the DP's decision was a "gross insult to the Indian community which totally rejected the tricameral parliament".

"The Congress believes that the DP is doing the dirty work of the National Party in imposing an unacceptable constitution on the Indian community. This makes the DP no different from other collaborationist parties like Rajbansi's NPP or Reddy's Solidarity," the statement said.

By participating in the House of Delegates, the DP would be helping the Nats to achieve their objective in the Indian community.

VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) — of which the TIC is a member — would campaign vigorously against the DP as well as other candidates in the House of Delegates to ensure a massive rejection of the tricameral parliament, the statement said.

Black communities throughout the country were angered by the position of the DP with regard to its participation in the tricameral system, it said.

The TIC also dismissed "with the contempt it deserves" Mr Tony Leon's statement in a speech delivered in Cape Town.

In his speech, the DP candidate for Houghton attacked the MDM for its reported call for whites to boycott the elections. Mr Leon said all that a stayaway by enlightened white South Africans would achieve would be to rob the DP of certain marginal seats.

Report by J Rantao, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

3044

'MDM campaign a message from blacks'

Apartheid built in to Nat plan – DP

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party's five-year plan was dangerous because in-built apartheid would perpetuate group conflict, Professor Sampie TerreBlanche told a Democratic Party meeting last night.

Adressing 300 people in Claremont, he said it was impossible for the Government to provide political solutions to the economic problems because it remained bound up with apartheid. White domination remained on its hidden agenda.

While the Government accused the Democratic Party of being soft on security, group apartheid was in fact the basic cause of conflict in South Africa.

In the past 15 years South Africans had on average become 14 percent poorer.

Out of a total labour force of 13 million, five million could not get work in the formal sector.

The DP was convinced that it would be able to rebuild the seriously damaged economy.

Ms Dene Smuts, the DP candidate in Groote Schuur, said opinion polls had shown that the tide that had been running since 1948 could at last be turning.

People who had reservations about voting in the present system should consider whether they wanted to break the Nationalists or not.

She also referred to the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign. She said many observers believed it could influence the DP's chances at the polls.

The MDM, by means of passive resistance, was repeating the basic message that black South Africans belonged to the body politic.

"One can only recognise the legitimacy of the message and hope that discipline will prevail, that provocation will not take place, that the agenda will be controlled and that the timing will not prove to be unfortunate.'

Mr Jan van Eck, MP for Claremont, said that when people pointed fingers at the MDM as a result of meetings being broken up, the fingers should be pointed at the Government "which has through its repressive legislation created the climate of intolerance that causes the kind of action".

"Instead of spending all our time on criticising certain actions, although nobody can condone violence, we should rather address the fundamental causes of the violence and other protest actions and remove these."

The Government's racial policies had brought South Africa to the brink of civil war.

The Government's drastic censorship had resulted in a poorly informed and dangerously misinformed public, specifically the white electorate, he added.

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

Beat of law and order drum has spell on whites

DR ALEX BORAINE, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa and **DR WELI MAZAMISA**, lecturer in religion at the University of Cape Town (below), write in the Idasa publication on white fears and black aspirations.

In any political analysis of the South African situation, there is a juxtaposition of white fear and black aspirations and anger.

Let it be said immediately that what often takes the form of expressed fear by some whites is simply an excuse for greed, the maintenance of the status quo and the holding on to white privilege.

This attitude must be exposed for what it is and must be challenged as strongly as possible.

However, there can be no doubt that many whites have genuine fears which cannot be ignored and must be respected. The causes of these deep-seated fears are legion.

They include ignorance of their black countrymen and here apartheid has succeeded in its rigid policy of separation. Whites and blacks for the most part live in different worlds and isolation breeds ignorance and ignorance brings with it fear.

Secondly, it should be admitted openly that the independence trail in Africa has often been accompanied by economic chaos and infrastructure breakdown. While there are many reasons for this, it is perceived by the majority of whites in South Africa that when blacks enter the corridors of power, it brings with it dire consequences.

Thirdly, many whites are consumed with guilt and believe that if blacks share power, they will use his leverage to wreak revenge for past injustices. The propaganda machine of the State has become highly sophisticated and through its electronic media as well as the majority of newspapers, the myth is propagated that any desertion from the National Party will bring disastrous consequences, especially for whites.

Many whites worry about the lowering of standards particularly in the fields of health services and education. The fact that blacks have had inferior health services and pathetic education facilities for so long escapes most of us.

In particular, it is our experience that many quite decent and fair-minded whites are concerned about their personal safety, if there should be a settlement in South Africa bringing about the end of white minority control. In our workshops and seminars, when whites are freed to talk openly and freely, they use phrases like: "Will I be able to walk on the streets safely? Will I still be able to keep my own home, my own job?"

Real fears

It simply does not help to condemn these fears out of hand because tragically they are very real for the people concerned. We have to take these fears seriously and try to deal with them.

If we accept that we cannot ignore these fears, how can we address this central problem? It is a problem which is filled with urgency because unless we do this, the majority of whites will cling to their prejudices, to their fears and to the established order which they see as unworkable and even undesirable, but which gives them a measure of protection.

The loud beating of the drum of law and order has whites in its spell.

One way of trying to deal honestly and seriously with this phenomenon is to expose the basic ignorance which feeds fear. We have tried to do this by encouraging and enabling whites to move into black townships so that they can experience for themselves something of the conditions under which the vast majority of South Africans live.

We have tried also to break down stereotypes and myths so as to provide a climate of trust where whites, with blacks, can discuss and acknowledge these fears.

In all our workshops, our seminars and our conferences, in large gatherings and small, people have been encouraged to express these fears so that we can look at them together and build up the beginnings of a common commitment to a new South Africa free from fear. We have been enormously encouraged by the changing attitudes of so many of those who have participated in these events, whether they have been inside or outside of the country.

One overwhelming conviction is that you cannot deal with white fea in a vacuum, but that you can dea effectively with these fears whe whites and blacks meet together.



Dr Alex Boraine . . . "many whites have genuine fears".

It would appear that white leadership on its own cannot convince whites that their fears are largely without foundation; but when they meet their black counterparts and listen to something of their aspirations, their anger and their readiness to include all South Africans who are committed to non-racialism and a future democracy, then the miracle can and does take place.

Anger is the soul of the black people

It is customary for an oppressed and repressed people to show signs of docile acceptance of an incipient political and cultural totalitarianism.

As a rule, one would have expected the black people of South Africa to have been docile after so many years of colonial rule, and especially after so many years of apartheid.

Being docile is not only being tractable and compliant to another's will, or having a total inability to react against the pressure of autocratic authority, it also means being immature and being unable to be angry.

On the contrary, black people in this country are resisting the unhealthy condition of docile acceptance of the status quo. Anger, fanned by aspirations of freedom, characterises the soul of the people.

Human life

When black children die, and their parents suffer because meaning has been sapped from their existence, how can anyone remain docile and not be angry? Human life is at stake.

In such circumstances, resistance becomes an expression of hope, not hope that "reform" and "reconciliation" will change the structure of oppression, but hope in the resurrection of the humanity of black people.

The self-affirmation of the existence of black people as persons with certain innate rights — to say "no" and "yes" in spite of the consequences — becomes a powerful statement of hope.

In order to understand the anger and aspirations of black people in South Africa, it is necessary to define South African society as a society based on a system of apartheid sustained by a large State bureaucracy that is engaged in a programme of social engineering which impinges on the lives of black people.

On the economic front, black anger is fanned by white seizure of 85 percent of the land that includes all the mineral wealth and industry. It is no small wonder that the income of Africans, who formed more than 70 percent of the population in 1980, was only 29 percent of all personal income. According to apartheid's ground plan, the essential feature was to control black labour through subtle restrictive mechanisms and the deportation of large numbers of black people to areas designated as homelands.

As a result, more than 3 500 000 people were moved from urban areas between 1960 and 1982. All this could happen because the monopoly of political, economic and military power is in white hands.

Besides the exclusion of black people from the economic wealth and political institutions that determine the running of this country, blacks do not enjoy the same quality of education as whites.

Reasons given for compulsory school attendance not yet being introduced for black people are, inter alia, the shortage of facilities and cultural and socio-economic factors.

Universities

This has an impact on university education. University attendance per 1 000 of population is: whites about 29,5 and Africans about 4,4. This means that whites are being over-educated at the expense of blacks. If one bears in mind the fact that the economy of this country is carried by black shoulders, then any sensible person can understand why blacks are angry about financing the education of whites.

It is common to speak about "white fear" in this country without taking into account that the flip side of white fear is "black fear"! Black fear is based on things like the "national security ideology" and "total strategy".



Dr Weli Mazamisa . . . "blacks have not lost the urge to be free".

These are frightening operations since they override some of the more superficial aspects of apartheid.

The national security ideology is the "absolute idea" that intends to dragoon its opponents into docility. It is propagated by systematic indoctrination of a hubris-filled white electorate, and aims at subordinating black economic, social and political aspirations to minority interest.

Moreover, the philosophy of "national security" and "total strategy" is to militarise the white society and to criminalise the black society.

The impact of this militarisation of the white society is felt by black communities when teargas canisters are fired into black homes without provocation.

The essence of criminalising black people is to ignore black humanity and black dignity. It is walking on the food of black people with dirty shoes.

However, in spite of the experience of having been abused and exploited, black people have not lost the urge to be free in a free society. To the extent that they are conscious of being agents of freedom, will they be more in a position to improve their lot.

What will happen in the future to this country economically and politically will be determined in large measure by the input of black people in the process of creating a free and just and democratic society.

2-8-89 STAR

Commonplace

It is commonplace to say that the initiative of creating an alternative society is in black hands. Nevertheless, this development must not be looked at in a negative way; it does not imply that white people have no contribution to make. Some white people and organisations are already making useful contributions towards the creation of an alternative society.

If blacks demonstrate a common desire to take the initiative in deciding and determining the future of this country, then it can only benefit the entire population. This desire must mean more than sheer nostalgia. It must mean the birth of a new creativity covering all the significant sectors of our existence.

Black initiative to free South Africa of apartheid must be understood as expressing a new kind of responsibility; a mature responsibility which is inclusive, not exclusive, and rises above ideological differences.

Workers 'have right to protest against elections'



Mr Bobby Godsell ... Anglo-American industrial relations director.

By Mike Siluma, Labour Reporter

A prominent industrial relations expert, Mr Bobby Godsell, cautioned the Government yesterday against suppressing peaceful anti-election protests.

Addressing an SA-German Chamber of Commerce and Industry luncheon in Johannesburg, the Anglo-American industrial relations and public affairs director referred to the "enormous responsibility" of unions in particular to ensure that the protests remained peaceful.

Mr Godsell said businessmen had to "observe a deep distortion" where everyone but blacks would be allowed to vote.

"It is expected that this would evoke anger and frustration (on the part of blacks) ... There is a challenge to employers and the State to demonstrate that peaceful protest is possible in South Africa, and for black South Africans.

"Protesting peacefully is a basic right in a democratic society and has basic obligations. The State has to think carefully before banning meetings," he said.

PROGRESS

"The challenge to unions is to make peaceful protest peaceful. It should not be an exercise in confrontation and polarisation."

Mr Godsell expressed the hope that talks between the SA Employers' Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Seccola), of which he is chairman, and black unions on changes to South African labour law would lead to progress.

He said South Africa was now "formally and irreversibly on the march towards a non-racial democratic future".

"I believe the current talks will begin to show positive results in the weeks ahead on at least some of the issues," said Mr Godsell, adding that it was in the interests of Saccola, the unions and the Government that the parties devised labour legislation accepted by all three parties.

Cape Times 2/8/89 (3041)

Election '89

CP out of debate over UDF speakers

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party has withdrawn from a debate on the book "Let the People Govern" by Frances Kendall and Louis Louw because UDF speakers will be sharing the platform.

The debate, which will launch the sequel to Louw and Kendall's first book, "The Solution", is to take place in Port Elizabeth tomorrow.

In addition to two East Cape community leaders, Mr Gugile Nkwinthi and Mr Stone Sizani, other political figures who will be taking part are:

● Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse,

● Co-leader of the Democratic Party Dr Denis Worrall and

● Mr Glenn Babb, National Party candidate in Randburg and former deputy director of Foreign Affairs.

Originally the CP's candidate in Kuruman and former MP, Mr Jan Hoon, was to have participated in the debate, but he withdrew on Monday without stating that the CP was opposed to joining the debate.

Following Mr Hoon's decision to withdraw, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was asked to participate but was unable to do so. Professor Fanie Jacobs, MP for Losberg, was then approached.

He said he would clear participation with the CP leadership.

Yesterday, Prof Jacobs said that the CP's policy was that it would not be prepared to appear on the same platform as anyone from the UDF. He added that the decision had been taken despite the fact that the two black civil leaders were local leaders.

(Report by Patrick Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth).

Tensions certain, says DP's Smuts

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THERE would "necessarily" be times when tensions emerged between the Democratic Party and political groupings outside Parliament, the DP candidate in Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, said last night.

Speaking at the first election meeting in Cape Town, Ms Smuts said: "The time will come when we can argue out the implementation of shared goals around a negotiation table.

"But before that time comes, there will of necessity be occasions when our strategies differ."

Ms Smuts said she agreed with fellow DP spokesmen that hospitals were an "unhappy target" when it came to defiance campaigns by the Mass Democratic Movement.

However, the DP should continue to recognise rights even when others did not "in this tumultuous interim period".

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



Mr Colin Eglin

Challenge to NP on pledge of loyalty

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has challenged the National Party to get a pledge of loyalty from its candidates that they will not defect to the Conservative Party after the election, particularly if there is a "hung" Parliament.

The DP candidate in Sea Point, Mr Colin Eglin, said he believed about 20 NP MPs would defect to the CP rather than work with the DP.

And the DP leader in the Johannesburg City Council and the party's candidate in Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, said certain NP candidates would find themselves in a comfortable home in the CP.

Mr Leon said at a meeting in Camps Bay: "I believe it is incumbent on the NP to ensure that each of its candidates give a pledge of allegiance to the NP that they will not, under any

Protests: Police 'at the ready'

POLICE have prepared detailed plans to cope with any outbreak of violence today when the so-called mass democratic movement's (MDM) defiance campaign gets underway, Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok said last night.

Speaking after he had addressed NP officials in Krugersdorp, Mr Vlok said police were prepared to adopt a wait-and-see attitude to the planned acts of defiance today.

"But if they try to get thousands of people to hospitals we will have to intervene to protect people. Plans to protect the public against any possible outbreak of violence are in place," he said.

Police action, Mr Vlok said, would depend on what the MDM did: "I can say unequivocally the MDM has nothing to fear if it stays in the bounds of the law and does not disturb public order".

"However, I want to assure them I will not allow them to undermine public order in a subtle or so-called peaceful manner which ultimately triggers large scale violence."

Sanctimonious utterings on the part of MDM leaders would not prevent him doing what was necessary to protect public safety and maintain order.

Hospitals were yesterday preparing for the planned defiance campaign. Eight hospitals throughout the country have been targetted.

An MDM spokesman, Mr Cas Coovadia, said yesterday the eight were Durban's Addington Hospital, Grey's in Maritzburg, Dundee Hospital, Port Shepstone Hospital, the Johannesburg Hospital, Paardekraal Hospital in Krugersdorp Vereeniging Hospital and H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria.

The J G Strydom Hospital would be left alone for the time being, Mr Coovadia said.

Natal local government MEC Mr Peter Miller said the NPA was well prepared for the protest campaign.

A Johannesburg Hospital spokesman said a directive issued by TPA Director General Andre Cornelissen last week would be observed.

This stated that no person would be allowed to enter a TPA hospital or health institution today without the permission of an authorised officer.

Anyone who tried to enter hospitals without permission could be fined R2 000 or jailed for up to two years.

The spokesman refused to say whether black patients requiring treatment would be admitted.

TPA assistant director Mr Jan Loubser said the targetted hospitals would continue to observe the ongoing policy that any emergency case would be treated regardless of race.

Mr Coovadia said not more than 50 sick people would seek treatment at the whites only hospitals. Other people would be present at the hospitals to protest against segregation. A protest would also be staged outside Wits medical school.

Report by Mike Robertson and Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg and Chris Jenkins, 27 Chancery Lane, Maritzburg

Emergency 'a threat' to elections

Political Correspondent

FREE and fair elections could not take place in South Africa while a myriad of security laws and the state of emergency were in force, the MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Claremont Civic Centre, Mr Van Eck said that in order to meet UN Resolution 435's demand for free and fair elections in Namibia, the SA government's representative, Mr Louis Pienaar, had scrapped all repressive security legislation in the territory.

Laws repealed included the Internal Security Act and the Public Safety Act.

In SA on the other hand, the government had not only retained all these laws, or others that had the same purpose

Wits meeting was 'to ensure free debate'

Own Correspondent

UCT rules to protect speakers

the CP.

Mr Leon said at a meeting in Camps Bay: "I believe it is incumbent on the NP to ensure that each of its candidates give a pledge of allegiance to the NP that they will not, under any circumstances defect to the CP.

"I think it is extremely unlikely that the NP leadership will be able to secure this from all 164 of their candidates."

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Heckling out

JOHANNESBURG. — Strict action taken by university authorities against the "hecklers" who prevented the DP's Dr Zach de Beer from speaking at Wits University on Monday should be welcomed, Houghton DP candidate Mr Tony Leon said last night.

(News by Edyth Bulbring, 11, Diagonal Street, Johannesburg).

Wits meeting was 'to ensure free debate'

Own Correspondent

THE meeting disrupted at Wits University on Monday was organised in accordance with a document drawn up jointly by administration and student representatives to ensure fair debate on campus, vice-chancellor and principal Mr Robert Charlton said yesterday.

But the three-page document, released by the university on May 27 last year, yesterday appeared to be inadequate because it was recognised neither by the Black Students' Interim Committee (BSIC) nor its banned predecessor, the Black Student Society (BSS).

But Mr Charlton said that when students registered at the university they in effect undertook to abide by the rules and regulations of Wits. He added that disciplinary action at Wits followed the principle of due process and could take a couple of weeks.

Meanwhile DP co-leader, Mr Zach de Beer, yesterday dismissed accusations that he or the DP were nazis as "even by student standards so far-fetched it is difficult to take it seriously".

Wits SRC executive said in a statement yesterday that the disruption of the meeting was "a most inappropriate course of action to demonstrate dissatisfaction with the meeting".

UCT rules to protect speakers

Staff Reporter

NEW UCT rules should ensure that speakers invited to address campus meetings do not face the disruption that stopped Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer from speaking at Wits on Monday, according to the UCT administration and student leaders.

The UCT senate last month approved rules which give guest speakers the right to a platform after students have been informed of the coming speaker and been allowed to lodge protests.

Such protests would be considered by a committee chaired by the vice-chancellor or his nominee, and only "in very exceptional cases" would a person be prevented from speaking, according to the rules.

Students would then be bound by a decision,

(Report by Malcolm Fried, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Laws repealed included the Internal Security Act and the Public Safety Act.

In SA on the other hand, the government had not only retained all these laws, or others that had the same purpose, but had reimposed the state of emergency as well, he said.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

SA's poverty: NP blamed

Political Correspondent

THE National Party had brought South Africa to the "brink of economic ruin" and could offer "nothing more than creeping poverty," the MP for Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said yesterday.

Mr Kent Durr told a meeting in Somerset West this week that if the DP's campaign promises were only "half-fulfilled", state expenditure would be increased by R20 billion.

Mr Andrew responded yesterday: "The Democratic Party will restore confidence in SA and its economy."

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Still no follow-up to NP adverts

Election '89 Footnotes

By BARRY STREEK

MORE THAN three years ago, Mr Colin Eglin recalled at the DP meeting in Camps Bay on Monday night, President P W Botha told South Africans in nationwide advertisements, paid for by the taxpayer, that "no South African would be excluded from full political rights".

But, said Mr Eglin, nothing had happened since then.

The NP was conducting "one of the weirdest campaigns seen in many years" and the thrust of it was: 'We admit we have failed. We know we have messed things up but give us another chance'.

****

THE DP in Sea Point says the only issue in the Atlantic coast seat is whether the NP candidate, Mrs Adrienne Koch, is able to retain her deposit.

The DP canvassing figures put the NP support at this stage at 13% of the voters, well short of the 20% necessary for the NP to save its deposit.

****

DR Denis Worrall may have moved to Berea in Natal but the voters of Helderberg appear to have become accustomed to expensive and glitzy election campaigns.

The NP's Dr Francois Jacobsz launched his campaign in Somerset West with a state-of-the-art "video fashion" display.

Tonight's meeting:
Swellendam: The CP MP for Potgietersrus, Mr Schalk Pienaar, will speak in support of the CP candidate in Swellendam.

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MDM action 'a reality'

Political Staff

THE type of action envisaged by the mass democratic movement (MDM) was going to be a local reality until a new constitution was negotiated with all South Africans, the DP candidate in Paarl, Mr Graham Retief, said yesterday.

Mr Retief said the NP's chief information officer, Mr Con Botha, had re-endorsed in Netwerk on Monday night the NP's belief that adequate political representation was afforded through the present tricameral system.

Mr Retief commented: "The DP's view is that all parties must be included in talks to develop a climate of peaceful negotiation."

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

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'Basic right violated'

By THEMBA MOLEFE

FREEDOM of speech has become a focal point of debate at the University of the Witwatersrand following the disruption of a meeting because of the presence of Democratic Party leader and parliamentary candidate Dr Zach de Beer this week as the white election campaign gained momentum.

The Wits Debating Union (WDU), which organised the ill-fated meeting on Monday, and the university's Students Representative Council (SRC) yesterday issued statements to clarify their stances following the debacle.

The WDU yesterday said at a Press conference that the disruption indisputably violated the basic human right to exercise freedom of speech as outlined in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights and has challenged the Black Students Interim Committee (BSIC) to a public debate on the issue.

The WDU had to close the lunch-time meeting after a group of about 100 students sang and chanted pro-African National Congress slogans when De Beer, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa, and journalist Mr Steven Friedman were to speak on the relevance of parliamentary politics.

The WDU said MDM member Mr Cassim Saloojee had been invited but later withdrew in line with the MDM's resolution not to appear on public platforms with the DP pending policy clarification.

(Report by Themba Molefe of 61 Commando Road, Industria.)

3048(P) Star 3/8/89

Attacks on ailing economy anger Pik

CP, DP 'are using cheap propaganda'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, last night accused the Conservative Party and Democratic Party of using "cheap political propaganda" by their constant attacks on the National Party's economic track record, but conceded that he and the Government were deeply concerned about the country's economic decline.

Mr Botha addressed about 200 people in Crosby, in the NP-held Langlaagte constituency.

During question time Mr Botha became embroiled in heated arguments with a few CP supporters who peppered him with questions on Government spending, group and free-settlement areas, black political rights and negotiations with the African National Congress.

At one stage, Mr Botha called Mr Roelf Meyer, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, to the rostrum to answer allegations from the floor that he had deceived residents by promising Mayfair would not become a free-settlement area.

Mr Meyer threatened to lay a charge of defamation against Mr Johan van Wyk, the CP leader in Mayfair, who made the allegations.

In his address, Mr Botha dismissed the white opposition parties' election manifestoes as false promises to the voters.

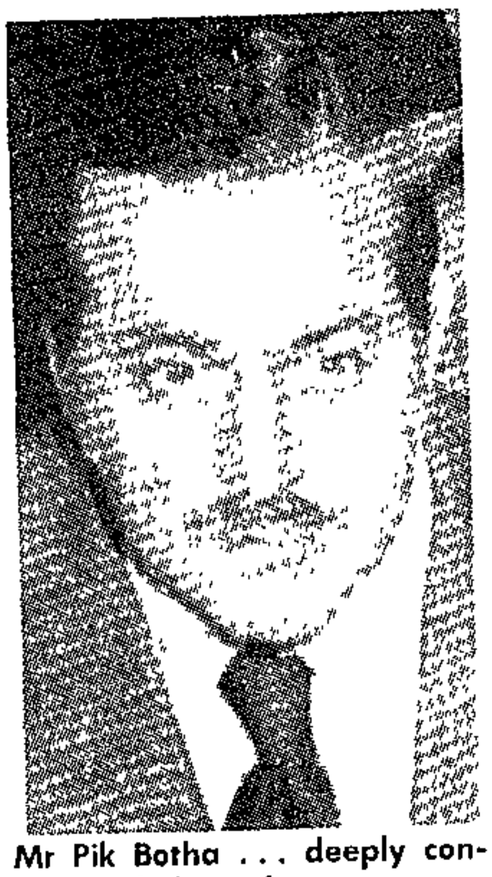
Slating the DP's economic proposals, he said: "The trouble with the DP is that they have peaked too soon. They have given us ample time to analyse the ridiculous nonsense they're dishing out to the voters."

Mr Botha said the DP was "already being controlled" by the Mass Democratic Movement, which had clearly demonstrated its rejection of the party by disrupting a meeting this week at which DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer was to speak.

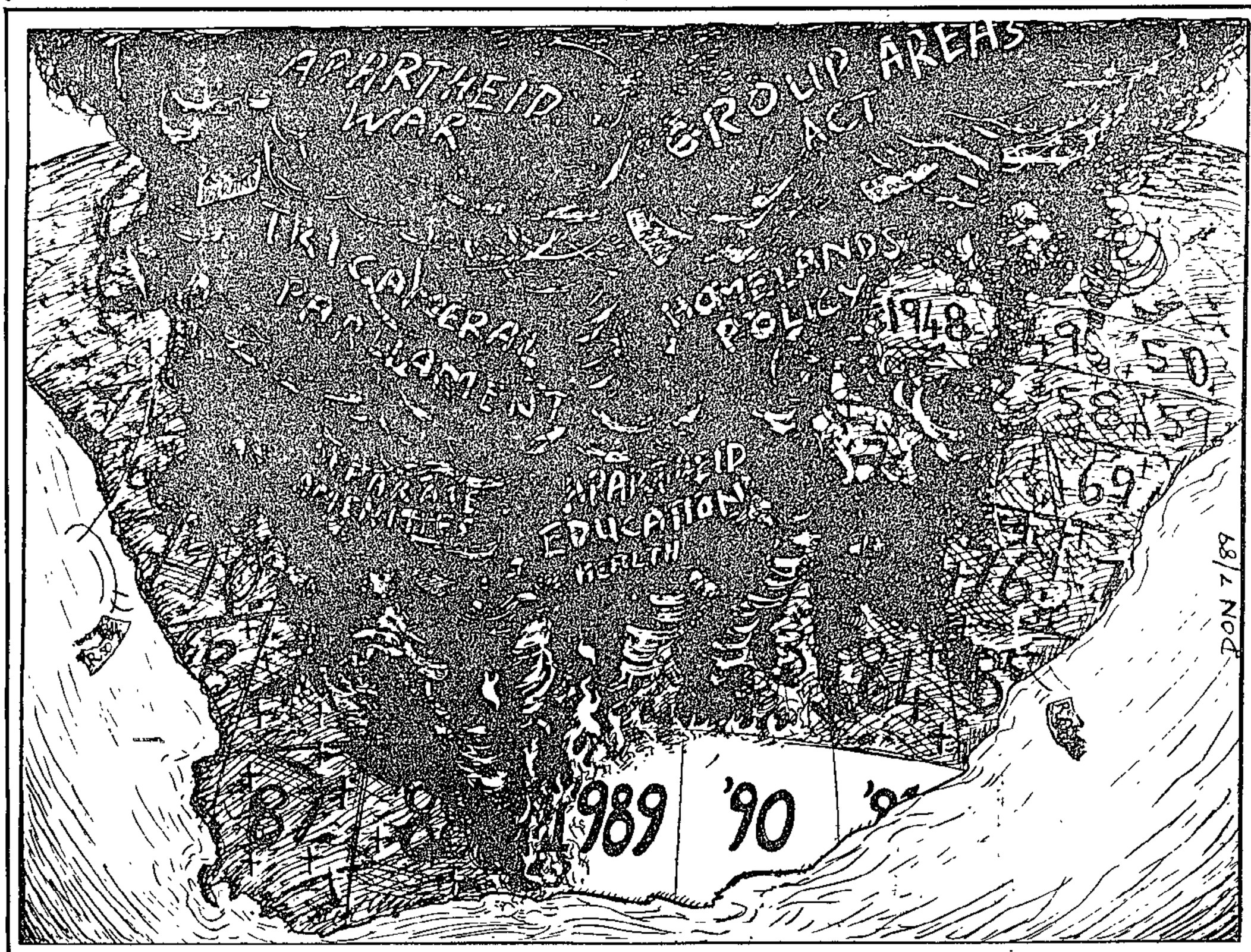
Mr Botha accused the DP of being naive in its pro-negotiations stance on the ANC.

● Sharing the platform were all the NP's parliamentary candidates for constituencies in the Johannesburg region. Notably absent was Mr Sam Bloomberg, MP for Bezuidenhout.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)



Mr Pik Botha . . . deeply concerned about the economy.



The hidden billions wasted by apartheid

To a large extent, South Africa's economic crisis is the result of 41 years of an apartheid system, which has impoverished the country. But even if apartheid is removed tomorrow, its legacy will be with us for decades. GEOFF EVERINGHAM reports:

ECONOMIC issues are clearly going to become a major issue in the September general election for a minority government.

For the past few years, the South African economy has been in a state of stagflation — a situation of stagnant growth and high inflation.

To a large extent, this is the result of 41 years of an apartheid system, which has impoverished the country.

The costs of apartheid can be divided into three categories, direct costs, indirect costs and social costs.

Defence

Direct costs are those that can be measured reasonably accurately as they relate to direct expenditure on maintaining the apartheid system.

For example, of a current budget of R65 billion, R13,2 billion is spent on police and the defence force (mainly the defence force).

This represents 20 percent of the budget and was an increase of 22,4 percent on the previous budget, which was overspent by R776 million.

It represents roughly R350 for every man, woman and child in South Africa.

While all countries maintain a police and defence force, clearly a large portion of South African expenditure is involved in maintaining the status quo.

There can be little doubt that in a post-apartheid society governed by the consent of all the people, this expenditure could be cut substantially.

Throughout the budget of state expenditure, there are other areas where apartheid imposes costs.

For example, the segregated health and welfare system, which includes 18 departments, and the 14 segregated education departments lead to unnecessary duplication of resources.

This situation is highlighted in the health service in Johannesburg, with Baragwanath Hospital grossly overcrowded while wards are closed in the white General Hospital.

Similarly, in education there is a surplus of white classrooms and teachers, which are not being used because of apartheid laws.

Then there is the expenditure on the TBVC countries (financed through Foreign Affairs) and the self-governing states (through Co-operation and Development), some of which goes to desirable projects for job creation and the like, and some of which has been squandered on grandiose projects, such as the "international" airport in Bisho.

The tricameral system itself is wasteful in terms of the number of parliaments, although the actual expenditure is a fairly small proportion of the budget.

Secondly, there are the indirect costs of apartheid which are not as easily measured.

It is clear that the effects of sanctions, lack of foreign capital and lack of business confidence have all contributed to a rate of economic growth below that of which the country is capable.

South Africa has been the victim of social engineering on a grand scale, based on political rather than economic considerations.

For example, it has been estimated that from 1960 to 1983 no less than 3,5 million people have been subjected to forced removals.

Whether this is done by the South African government or, as has recently been the case at Leeuwfontein, by a homeland government, does not reduce the immorality and cost of this apartheid planning.

Possibly as serious is the imbalance of expenditure on education. The results of this policy have therefore been to place large numbers of South Africans with few skills far from their workplace.

Poverty

Perhaps the best summary of the cost of apartheid in the broad sense is to be found in the recent publication *"Uprooting Poverty"* by Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele.

This brings together a wealth of research conducted for the second Carnegie enquiry into poverty which was drawn together in a conference in 1984.

Finally, it need hardly be said that apartheid has brought with it enormous social costs, starting with the indignity endured by blacks at the receiving end of the system.

The costs of removing people from District Six, for example, can be measured in rand terms, but the costs in terms of the destruction of a community and the social impoverishment which follows can never be measured.

The tragedy of our situation is that even if apartheid is removed tomorrow, the legacy of 41 years of misdirected planning and wasted expenditure will be with us for decades.

(Professor Everingham is head of the Department of Accounting at the University of Cape Town.)

Row over govt's emergency letter

CM-Times 3/8/89 (Sowt)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A STORM has erupted over a letter written by the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, on official notepaper to 5 000 "leading South Africans" outlining the government's reasons for reimposing the state of emergency.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on information, Mr Peter Soal, yesterday accused the government of using the taxpayers' money to promote the National Party in the election.

"This is a typical NP tactic with the lines between government and party becoming thoroughly blurred.

"They think the public's money is their personal fiefdom.

"The government has become so corrupt that they don't know the difference between morality and plundering the public's money," Mr Soal said.

Cape Town attorney Mr Henk Rubidge, who received the letter, said it was patently Nationalist propaganda.

"Dr Van der Merwe's credibility after his showing on TV on Tuesday night and this drivel is an all-time low."

Mr Rubidge said he strongly objected to paying for the letter and added: "A government that can't govern without a state of emergency for three years, can't govern at all."

However, the head of the Bureau for Information, Mr Dave Steward, said the letter was "entirely within the bureau's function of informing the public of important policy developments and had nothing to do with the election campaign.

"Indeed, neither the letter, nor the accompanying brochure, make any reference to the National Party or the election."

The letter was sent to 5 000 leading South Africans to inform them of the circumstances surrounding the declaration of the state of emergency.

Mr Steward said the intention was that the letter should have been sent as soon as possible after the declaration of the state of emergency on June 9.

Delays in the production of brochure and other administrative problems led to the delay in the distribution of the letter.

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

DP decides against lawsuit

CMC Tribune 3/8/89 (30(A)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Democratic Party decided yesterday not to take court action against the nomination of Natal MEC Mr Tino Volker against DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall in Berea.

DP communications director Mr James Selfe said the reason for not going to court was conflicting legal opinion by two counsel on whether or not Mr Volker had been duly nominated in terms of Section 41 of the Electoral Act.

There were immediate calls for Mr Volker, an appointed MEC, to resign his job if he intended standing.

(Report by O Pollok, 12 Devonshire Place, Durban).

CP, DP say they're winning Nat votes

The 'lie factor' is high in politics of the platteland

By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

TITTERS rippled through the hall in Piketberg this week when Democratic Party candidate, farmer and former Nat Mr Attie Engelbrecht got to the bottom line of the DP's constitutional policy ... "one-man-one-vote".

ELECTION

Not that the audience was hostile. From appearances, most of the 130 who braved a cold, wet and windy Swartland night to see the DP incarnate were pleased with what they saw and heard.

But, by all accounts, simply being in the presence of a man espousing such egalitarian sentiments is bracing. At the worst, it's a risk. And, it seems, much the same goes for those who have found a new political home in the Conservative Party.

Deviations

The Nationalist fastness of the rural West Coast is apparently intolerant of such deviations from the traditional patronage of the governing party.

Divining the politics of the platteland is a murky affair. The lie factor is high.

The big news in the Swartland Monitor this week is the expulsion of a matric boy from the Swartland High School for his part — along with two young women, both ex-pupils — in daubing "free Mandela" and other reportedly unprintable expressions on a wall of one of the school buildings.

When a 52-year-old member of the community, a Nationalist and farmer whose father served in the ranks of the Ossewa Brandwag, stands up on a platform to represent a party which says Mandela's release is the very least of a number of vital steps South Africa must take soon, expulsion is not an option.

Exclusion is, however.

Attie Engelbrecht laughs when he tells how businessmen have pleaded with him not to pull up outside their shops.

"They say they couldn't afford it. They beg me to phone them rather."

A bank manager in Moorreesburg was shocked recently to find DP workers tying a poster to a poll outside his bank.

"He rushed out and begged us to move it," Mr Engelbrecht said.

Mr Engelbrecht — whose campaign manager, former CP-member Mr Hennie Strauss was obliged to say the prayer at the meeting because neither the dominee, nor the mayor nor his deputy was prepared to do the honours — believed many people were afraid to attend his meeting for fear of being singled out as defectors.

Piketberg is, after all, the seat of the Cape leader of the NP, Cabinet Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

"People are afraid of being seen with me, but this is not a spook party ... we are ordinary people," Mr Engelbrecht said.

DP posters vie for attention with those of the Conservative Party in the streets of Piketberg.

The CP office in the town is hardly visible from the road, tucked away as it is behind another building, but the talk among party workers is bold.

"We are going to take this seat ... there are so many Nats coming over to us," one said.

Again, however, the lie factor is a big issue.

'Sheltering'

Mr J W Bell, a member of the CP's Cape executive and an overseer of the campaign in Piketberg, believes the NP is "sheltering" a large group of people who have already decided to vote DP or CP, but "don't have the guts to stand up and say so".

"You see, it takes a lot of courage in this part of the world to come out against the NP.

"Just the other day a man came in and handed us a cheque for R500. But he wouldn't give his name and left hurriedly. That shows you what's happening," he said.

The emerald valleys of the district are misleadingly placid, both the CP and DP suggest.

The farming community, traditionally considered to be immovably Nationalist, is in ferment over declining profits and escalating costs.

The wheat price, the cost of tractors and the maintenance of foreign markets for apples are what is really bugging them down on the farm, the opposition say.

Among the busiest places in Malmesburgy and Piketberg in these uncertain days are the National Party offices.

The NP is not anticipating losing either seat, but it is clearly making sure the possibility does not arise.

If the NP faithful are not afraid of saying publicly who they are, party workers are wary of putting their names to anything that might be construed as an interpretation of policy.

One of the women in the Malmesbury office offered a synoptic view: "We believe in giving everybody the same opportunities and freedoms, but nobody deserves to be given anything they have not worked for and earned. Because then they don't appreciate it."

She added: "The DP is promising heaven ... but where is the money coming from? If they came to power they could provide only what the money allows."

Heaven or haven, both the DP and CP in the country say they are garnering more Nat votes than they had thought possible.

The question that is tantalising party workers in all three camps in the platteland is just how big the lie factor really is.

The answer will be evident a month from now.

Everybody's claiming their opponents will be horribly surprised, but until then there is no way of being certain who is right.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

'Wits action was justified'

THE Black Students Interim Committee, which disrupted Dr Zach de Beer's meeting at Wits, said the action was in line with the position of the MDM which regarded Parliament as illegitimate because it excludes the majority of South Africans.

Committee spokesman Mr Lloyd Mogotsi said the Democratic Party had been "very insensitive" to the position of the MDM with regard to the tri-cameral Parliament by fielding candidates in the House of Delegates.

"This is a confrontational approach and we cannot tolerate it."

He said the BSIC had talks with the Wits Debating Union, who organised the meeting, and a compromise was reached not to bring De Beer to campus because "this was a thorny issue among black students".

Mogotsi said his committee viewed proposed disciplinary action against them as "a political trial".

The Azanian Students Movement said it applauded the stance taken by black students at the university.

Publicity secretary Mr Sipho Masoko said: "The realisation that Parliament has no future for blacks has to be supplemented by active campaigns not only to discredit the other inferior *non-white* houses, but to render functionless even the white House of Assembly itself."

(Report by M Mfoloe and T Molefe, both of 61 Commando Road, Industria.)

3044A Emerald 4/8/89

CP MANIFESTO

The pipe-dreamers

The only thing that actually boggles the mind more than the Conservative Party (CP)'s election manifesto is the fact that tens of thousands of whites will vote on September 6 for its patently unworkable policies.

Why CP leaders believe they can succeed with Verwoerdian ideas that have failed the National Party (NP) consistently for 40 years is not stated in the document.

Instead it sets out a frightening action plan to once again strip black South Africans of the limited rights they have won through years of struggle against unworkable apartheid laws.

In terms of its "Mandate for Freedom with Justice," the CP aims, among other things, to:

☐ Strip blacks, coloureds and Indians of citizenship by assigning them to ethnic homelands;

☐ Reintroduce and enforce influx control and, by implication, send nearly all "urban blacks" to the homelands;

☐ Abolish trade union rights for blacks, coloureds and Indians and deny them political rights in "white" SA; and

☐ Introduce ethnically based labour preference areas, apparently to prevent migration of "non-whites" in search of work.

The CP sees physical partition as the answer to constitutional problems and claims similar policies have been applied successfully in other parts of the world.

The party commits itself to assisting "black" homelands to develop to the point where they can accommodate as many people as possible so that only a minimal number of blacks will remain in "white" SA. The *forced* removal of blacks will be avoided by "negotiation," planning and job creation.

Blacks, coloureds and Indians in "white" SA will effectively be foreigners. The "governments" in their respective homelands will be responsible for their well-being.

On the economic front, the manifesto commits the CP to fiscal and monetary discipline, the curbing of State spending (which makes one wonder where the funds will come from to develop the homelands to the point where they can accommodate millions of "urban blacks"), the rooting out of corruption, the abolition of the "socialist" division of welfare between blacks and whites and the promotion of productivity and individual enterprise.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht denied during a public meeting in Pretoria that his policies will lead to a "bloodbath" in SA. ■

Kobie's months of secret Mandela meetings

3044

Wwaie 10/8/89.

By HENNIE SERFONTEIN

NELSON MANDELA, the imprisoned leader of the banned African National Congress, has been involved in "serious dialogue" with senior members of the government for almost three years.

The discussions, which date back to 1986, involved more than a dozen lengthy meetings with a "team of four" top government representatives led by Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee.

There were also a number of other individual discussions with key figures from the government camp, I have been told by well-informed diplomatic sources.

It is reliably understood that the government's four-man "team" tried in vain for 18 months to persuade Mandela that he, and the ANC, should abandon some of the cornerstones of their strategy. This was presented as a precondition for possible future negotiations with the ANC.

In several separate meetings the "team" sought to persuade Mandela to agree that the

●TO PAGE 2



Minister Kobie Coetsee: Sent in a four-man team to try persuade Mandela

P.T.O

NO, THERE WAS NEVER A CALL FOR A WHITE P



Four-man team visited

●From PAGE 1

ANC should abandon the following strategies:

- ●A one-man-one-vote unitary constitution
- ●Armed struggle
- ●Sanctions and disinvestment
- ●International isolation of Pretoria
- ●Mass mobilisation campaigns.

It took a number of lengthy discussions before the government "team" had reluctantly to accept that Mandela would under no circumstances abandon these views.

It is understood that in order to prevent the talks from ending in deadlock, or breaking down altogether, discussions then began on the issue of releasing Mandela's jailed ANC colleagues. This led to the release of Govan Mbeki at the end of 1987 and later, some PAC members.

However, because of the controversy surrounding Mbeki's release (involving a major press conference and excited crowds), the government felt forced to restrict him in order to avoid further international embarrassment.

This somehow soured subsequent, tough discussions between the government "team" and Mandela, with him pushing for the release of others, especially the 75-year-old Walter Sisulu.

The government "team" tried to establish ground rules with Mandela about how the Sisulu release should be handled, and wanted guarantees about "behaviour" as well as an undertaking that there would be no rallies or press conferences.

It is not known precisely what transpired, but it is almost certain that Mandela was not prepared to provide the government with such guarantees.

Earlier this year the government apparently agreed in discussions with Mandela to release Sisulu by May this year. The matter of his own release was also bound to have been discussed.

Significantly, this was not long before the De Klerk visit to Europe, and probably formed the basis of subsequent leaks from the Thatcher camp that Sisulu was to be released just before or after the September 6 election.

However, this time the State Security Council — fearing a repeat of the Mbeki release saga — intervened at the last minute and prevented the release.

It will now probably take place, along with those of some other ANC leaders, only in the aftermath of the elections.

This unexpected last-minute change in government plans on Sisulu apparently led to further tough talks between Mandela and the government "team" about what the latter really had in mind on possible negotiations with the ANC.

These apparently paved the way for the subsequent Botha/Mandela meeting, which took place at the insistence of jailed ANC veteran. He had requested it from the outset of the talks.

From the government's handling of the affair, it is obvious that it has no clear-cut strategy yet on how to deal with Mandela and the ANC.

This strengthens security establishment fears — stated in private — that Mandela has taken the initiative, and has in a sense gained the upper hand in the three-year "dialogue".

It is believed that Mandela presented Botha with a 13-page document setting out the reasons why he and the ANC were rejecting the government demand that they should abandon some of their key strategies as a precursor to negotiations.

This failure of the government to shift Mandela's position has apparently led to tension and disagreements between some government figures and senior security officials on the National Security Council.

Security elements are apparently seriously concerned about the course the discussions with Mandela have taken, and in particular his visit to Tuynhuys. They believe it is Mandela, and not the government, who has gained from the encounter — without making any basic concessions.

The alarm has been compounded by the fact that in his carefully-worded, brief statement, Mandela studiously avoided rejecting the "armed struggle", and insisted that real negotiations could only take place with the ANC itself — and not with him individually in prison.

It reaffirmed Mandela's standpoint that he is only involved in a "dialogue" with the government in preparation for possible eventual negotiations with the ANC.

The recent statement by National Party leader FW de Klerk claiming that the "ball was in the ANC's court" — as they had to commit themselves to a peaceful solution as Mandela had done — was thus obviously wrong and misleading, I am told.

The facts about the Mandela-government discussions over the past three years clearly contradict the recent statement.

The De Klerk speech is seen as an effort to cover up confusion and disagreements in government circles about the Botha/Mandela encounter and other talks. It is, in addition, another transparent attempt to drive a wedge between Mandela and the ANC.

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No boycott but don't back white elections, says MDM

It's quite clear, the MDM — and its white members — won't support candidates in the September elections. But the movement isn't calling for a boycott. By EDDIE KOCH

NO support. No boycott. That, briefly, is the way the "mass democratic movement" has responded to confusion surrounding its stance on white candidates contesting the elections on an anti-apartheid ticket.

Yesterday Murphy Morobe, representative for the coalition of resistance organisations, said the MDM would not participate in elections. Nor would it campaign for a white boycott.

The statement — which Morobe said was the official and final position of the anti-apartheid axis — sought to end a spate of contradictory press reports that had left sympathetic white voters confounded about what to do with their crosses on election day.

"Recent coverage of what is supposed to be the MDM's position on the elections has tended to suggest that the MDM has no clear position on these elections and particularly on our attitude to white voters," said Morobe.

"The MDM will not participate in these elections. This holds true for all those who are members of MDM organisations black or white ... Campaigning for a white boycott of the elections is not a critical issue at this stage. We are not campaigning for whites to boycott the elections, but are unambiguous on the obligations of white MDM members towards the whole movement."

While the MDM's position states clearly that resistance groups will not actively campaign against white candidates for the Democratic Party, Morobe stressed that candidates for the Indian and "coloured" houses could expect a "hostile reception" in their townships.

"The MDM can never sympathise with and unequivocally rejects their (the DP) fielding candidates in those communities where we have struck telling blows at this tricameral parliament," he said. "Their action in fielding those candidates has been interpreted as being calculated to give the tricameral parliament a new lease of life. This we cannot accept."

The MDM statement goes a long way to clearing up the muddled media signals that have been beamed at white voters over the past fortnight. It also brings the MDM into line with the position of the African National Congress, announced at the "Whites in a changing society" conference in Lusaka last month.

An ANC representative said: "We still regard the whole tricameral parliament as fundamentally illegitimate and therefore we won't call on whites to vote, but we also have no intention of mounting a boycott campaign among our white compatriots."

Morobe's official statement has been echoed, with varying degrees of emphasis, by other activists in the ranks of the MDM.

Faried Essack, co-ordinator of the Call of Islam, stressed in Cape Town yesterday that there had never been a call from the resistance coalition for a boycott of the elections.

"For us the elections are just a smokescreen. We are not interested in disrupting them. We are intent on disrupting the conspiracy of silence that has been created by the government," Essack said.

However the MDM policy appears to retain a crucial area of ambiguity for those whites who are sympathetic to the movement.

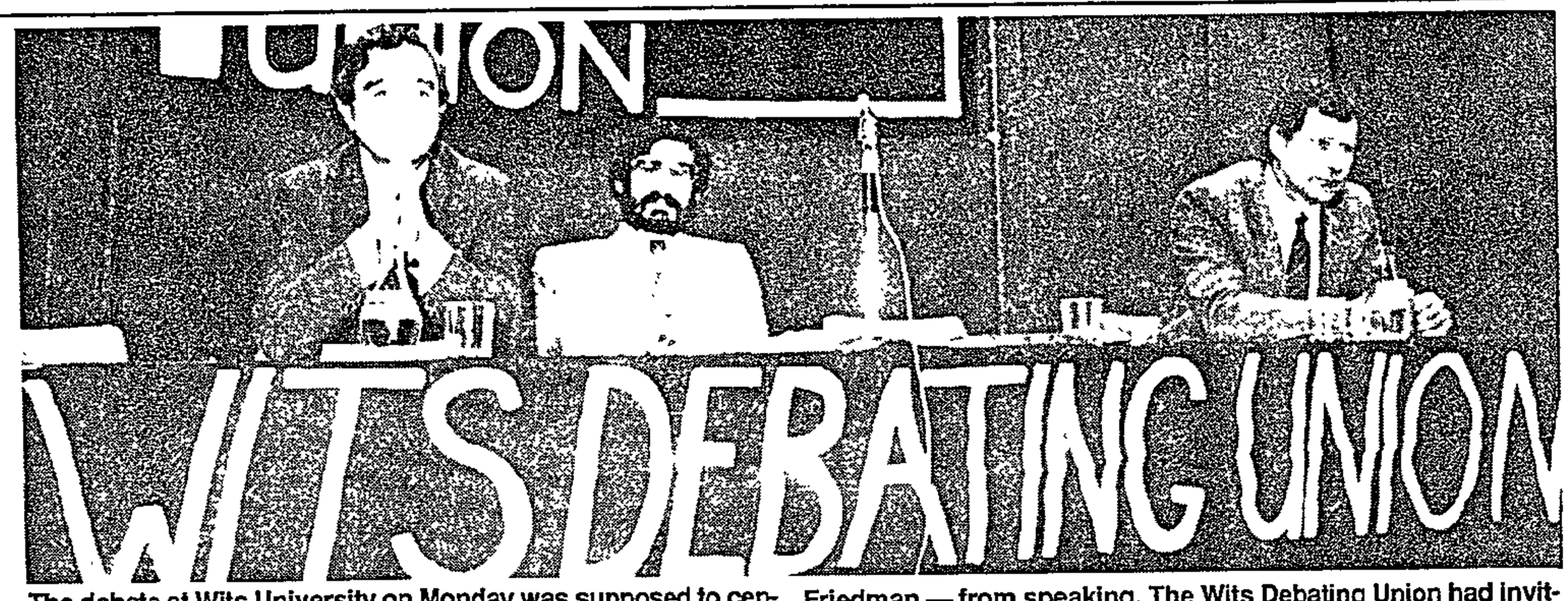
It makes a distinction between the white public-in-general, who will not be asked to boycott, and white members of the MDM, who are expected to abide by the coalition's policy of non-participation.

The MDM is a loose association of like-minded organisations.

Prominent members of the MDM told the *Weekly Mail* that its leading figures are due meet this weekend to discuss the question of white participation in the polls — and it is possible they will use the occasion to hone down the movement's policy.

Legal sources also report that some of the ANC veterans being held at Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town were disturbed by press reports that the movement had called for a white boycott of the poll and it is possible their sentiments will also be discussed at the weekend gathering.

Report by Eddie Koch, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg.



The debate at Wits University on Monday was supposed to centre on the question: "Parliamentary politics: Is it relevant?" when about 75 students from the Black Students Interim Committee indicated they thought the debate itself irrelevant by stamping, singing and *toyi-toying* to prevent the participants — Democratic Party co-leader Zach de Beer, Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert and Institute of Race Relations policy research manager Steven Friedman — from speaking. The Wits Debating Union had invited the MDM's Cas Saloojee, who withdrew because the DP was on the platform. The university recently published a code governing public meetings and says it will take disciplinary action against those who disrupted the meeting. The BSIC has called the threatened action "a political trial".

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

DAVIDSON & ASHERSON

Democratic dogma

Flamboyant former leader of the DP in the Johannesburg city council, Tony Leon, is a hard act to follow.

But, with his sights now set firmly on parliament, his successor, Ian Davidson, and DP chief whip Paul Asherson have given notice that they intend upholding Leon's tradition for fiery debate in the council chamber.



Ian Davidson

Both, like Leon, are ex-lawyers and both enjoy a verbal scrum.

On being elected "leader of the opposition" designate last week, Davidson — deceptively softly spoken — wasted no time in warning NP management committee chairman Jan Burger that the NP's days at the helm of Johannesburg's council are numbered.

Asherson has been making his contribution too. Over the past few weeks, he has diligently investigated allegations of mismanagement and corruption within the various municipal offices, asking relentless questions and demanding satisfactory answers.

Davidson (38), a director in a firm of stockbrokers, believes his caucus is talented, energetic and learned and will have no difficulty maintaining the momentum set by Leon.

Already he is looking beyond the realms of being consigned merely to council opposition. "Given the Linden by-election and public opinion polls, we have to start grooming ourselves to govern. But it's not a one-man show — the challenge is to run a good, tight ship" he says.

Though he stresses the DP's total opposition to the Group Areas Act and, by extension, the Free Settlement Areas Act (FSAA), he concedes, realistically, that the DP will have to use the FSAA as a mechanism for deracialising the city.

Clean and open administration are also at the top of his list. He believes the city must be run by its elected representatives — the city councillors. "There's too much power in the hands of the management committee — more precisely the management advisory committee." (See cover story.)

Davidson is particularly concerned that many important issues never make the agenda of management committee meetings. Rather, they are merely noted afterwards — as a fait accompli — in the minutes under "general."

He is keen to involve ratepayers and the business sector directly in the affairs of the city. "They have a great depth of talent and expertise, and could help finance the city." he suggests.

He also believes privatisation will benefit Johannesburg. The Rand Airport, transport department and marketplace, he notes, are all likely candidates.

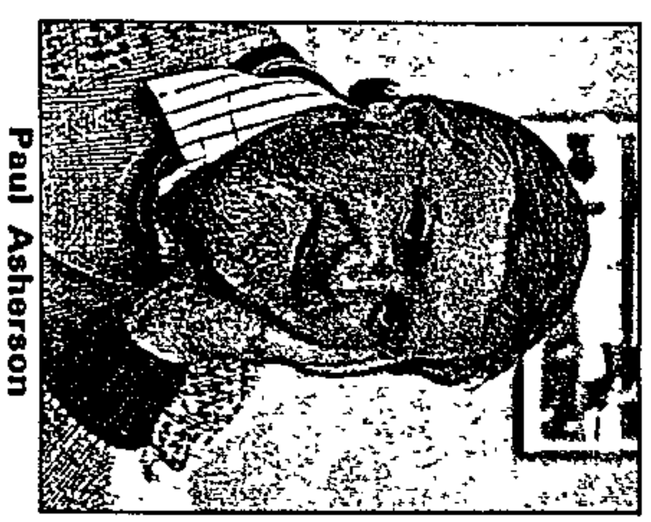
Losing the party's internal leadership battle to Davidson has not dampened Asherson's enthusiasm for the task at hand. Tall, bearded and blue-eyed, he's involved with the nitty-gritty — winning over disillusioned NP voters and tackling the problems of rapid urbanisation.

The day after being passed over for the party's leadership, Asherson (35) was on a rooftop in Hillbrow, listening to black residents complain about exhorbitant rentals and squalid conditions. The next day, the owners announced rentals would not be increased as originally planned. He is particularly concerned with "ruthless profiteering by landlords" and believes strict health standards must be enforced.

With equal vigour, he attacks corruption, declaring he intends "derailing the gravy train" running through the Johannesburg council.

Interestingly, he's concerned with making the city less of a "lonely place to live in." One way to start, he feels, would be to co-ordinate all major activities.

He looks forward to the day Johannesburg resembles a truly international city — perhaps even a model for the rest of SA.



Paul Asherson

Born in Durban, Asherson matriculated at Kearsney College and studied law at the University of Natal and Unisa. Before going to university, he worked on the railway as a stoker for a few months. "I needed the money," he explains. Today, he runs his own import-export company and owns a number of racehorses.

Asherson's hobbies are work and politics. He loves eating "anything fattening." His daughter, Keri, is six.

By contrast, Davidson is a health fanatic who works out at the gym daily. His favourite food is chicken — "any style, any time."

Both men became disenchanted with law early in their careers. Davidson was "bored to tears" while Asherson "got tired of being used and abused." They haven't stopped fighting though — only this time they represent the interests of Johannesburg ratepayers. ■

ISSY GOLDBERG — THE TIRELESS CAMPAIGNER

DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Riders on the storm

At first glance, a call by a section of the so-called Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) to boycott the coming general election may appear to be bad news for the Democratic Party (DP). But that is not necessarily so.

Faced with the task of rallying generally conservative, disillusioned Nats and supporters of the defunct New Republic Party, the DP may in fact gain short-term benefit from being seen to be at loggerheads with the MDM, rather than tucked up cosily in the same bed.

A souring of MDM-DP relations will also weaken the National Party's (NP) strategy of presenting the ANC-UDF-MDM alliance as a major threat to peace and prosperity and linking the alliance to the DP.

This latter point could be particularly significant, now that the NP is again relying heavily in its election campaign on *swart gevaar* and security and trying to label the DP as being "soft" on both because of its links with "extra-parliamentary" groups. The strategy could backfire if the DP is seen by white voters to be a victim of the MDM rather than an accomplice.

The scenes at Wits University this week when DP co-leader Zach de Beer was shouted down by radical students and denied an opportunity to speak at a public meeting will tend to confirm this view and may help the DP in conservative areas.

In his initial reaction to the boycott call, De Beer said it may cost the party some seats on September 6, just as a similar boycott action in 1987 may have cost the PFP seats. He says Hillbrow and Wynberg are good examples.

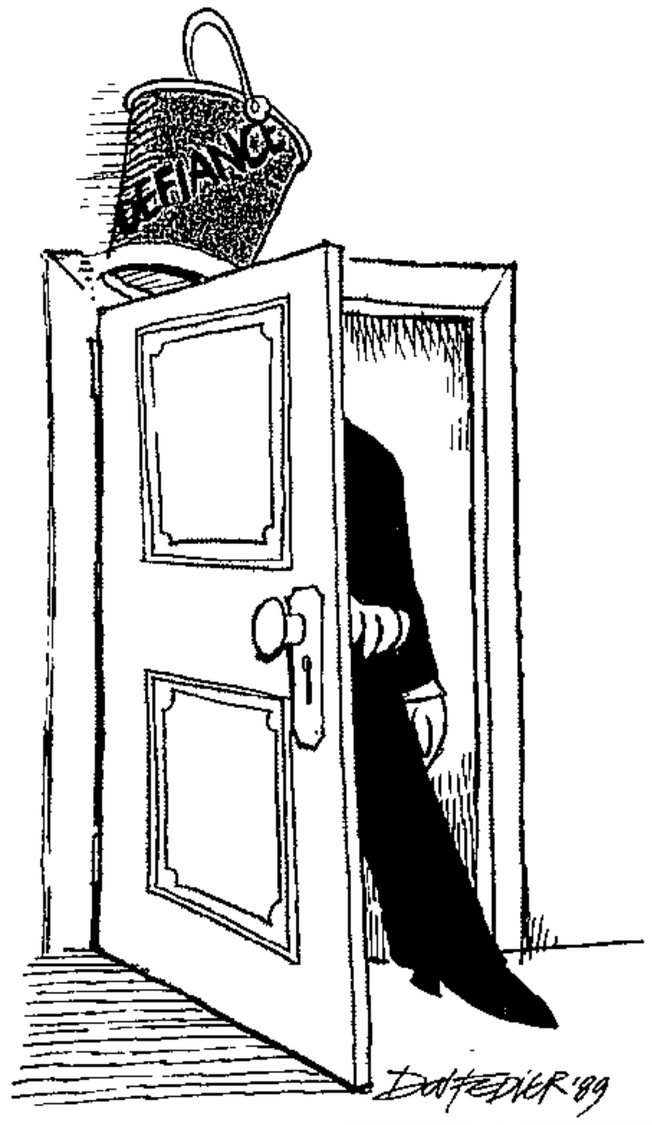
But, in other areas, the DP may pick up sympathy support from voters who would otherwise have abstained or voted Nat. Based on potential swings now forecast by election analysts, the party stands to gain 17 Nat seats if there is a 17% swing towards the DP. But only six of the seats are in areas that could be considered susceptible to a boycott call due to significant white student voter populations. They are Hillbrow, Wynberg, Albany, Stellenbosch and the two Maritzburg constituencies.

As the *FM* went to press it was not clear just how firm the MDM's boycott call was as far as elections to the (white) House of Assembly, specifically, are concerned. An MDM spokesman, Murphy Morobe, says the MDM is in general opposed to the tricameral parliament and, in particular, elections for the coloured and Indian chambers; but the Assembly, arguably, *is* a representative chamber for whites and is historically somewhat different to the other two chambers. "We won't go out of our way to encourage whites to participate. Where whites choose not to vote, we'd welcome that attitude, but won't necessarily encourage it," said Morobe.

Though a showdown had been brewing since the DP decided some time ago to contest nine of the 40 elected seats in the Indian House of Delegates (HoD), a boycott call only came at an Idasa seminar in Durban last weekend, when prominent MDM leader Jerry Coovadia said the MDM would put all its efforts into opposing the "fraudulent elections."

It seems Coovadia was particularly incensed by DP co-leader Denis Worrall's analysis that security is a key issue facing the electorate. But Coovadia was later quoted as saying no decision has been taken asking whites to boycott the election — which leaves a question mark over exactly what he meant when he announced the MDM's total opposition to the election. Spokesmen for some trade unions aligned with the MDM have denied that a formal boycott call has been agreed on. Coovadia was probably referring to the HoD elections only, which would be in line with MDM strategy.

The DP is taking the situation seriously. Co-leader Wynand Malan, regarded as having the best contacts with "extra-parliamentary" groups, declines to discuss the issue. But in a speech prepared for a public meeting in Maritzburg on Monday, Worrall said the MDM's "intervention" in the election is cause for concern.



"We think this is most regrettable given the fact that white public opinion has never been so open to change as it is now. A hung parliament in which no party has a majority is a very real possibility. This would mean a political realignment — the first since 1948 — which must be to the advantage of all South Africans."

Whether or not the DP could have prevented open confrontation with the MDM — if in fact that is what is happening — is open to argument. Five Freedoms Forum delegates, after talks with the ANC in Lusaka, came home with the impression that the ANC backed the DP's efforts to undermine Nat power in parliament and would not urge a white boycott of the election. A similar stance was expected from the MDM; and, indeed, Morobe's comments seem to support this line.

Yet it is the DP's decision to participate partially in the HoD election that seems to have upset the delicate balance.

The move has been condemned by both the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses. Their disapproval is expected to result in pathetically low polls in the HoD election on September 6.

It seems the DP misread its relationship with the MDM when it decided to field a limited number of HoD candidates, but none for the House of Representatives (HoR). There is now a perception that the party is more concerned about protecting its good working relationship with Allan Hendrickse's dominant Labour Party in the HoR, than maintaining amicable ties with the MDM.

The result is that some of the bridges Malan and others have built across to the MDM are tottering. But the damage is unlikely to be irretrievable. At the same time, internal party tensions have been raised by "I told you so" accusations from both pro- and anti-participation lobbies.

The pro-participationists argued that the party should not compromise principle for the sake of appeasing the MDM or the LP and urged participation in both the HoD and the HoR to the extent that finances and organisation allowed. But the "strategists" argued that a working relationship with both the MDM (and the LP to a lesser extent) was more important. In the end, a compromise was reached which saw agreement on limited participation in the HoD only. As it turns out, this has satisfied neither of the DP factions nor the MDM. At this stage, only the relationship with the LP remains intact — for what it is worth.

In the four weeks to polling day, the DP

will have to tread carefully to maintain whatever advantage it may have gained from the MDM's action — or to contain the damage if it is decided that damage has in fact been done. ■

MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

What's in a name?

A new appellation, the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM), has in recent weeks inserted itself into SA's political lexicon. The MDM was never officially launched; it doesn't appear to have a leader nor an address as such (which is why one Afrikaans newspaper recently complained there is no such organisation — it wasn't even listed in the telephone directory).

However, as most political observers correctly assume, MDM is basically just a new, not-yet-restricted name for the United Democratic Front (UDF) — the umbrella body of some 600 community, student, church, professional and other affiliate organisations which is restricted under the State of Emergency. Interestingly, Cosatu (always part of the UDF) seems to have a bigger influence in the MDM — even though Cosatu is restricted from engaging in "politics." MDM could quite easily have been BDM (Broad Democratic Movement), which was the label that had been used interchangeably until MDM became preferred.

The clearest exposition of what the MDM is was provided by UDF acting publicity secretary Murphy Morobe, in an address to the Transvaal Indian Congress's consultative conference last Sunday.



Morobe

According to Morobe: "The MDM is that political movement which unites the broad masses of the oppressed from all classes and strata, together with democratic whites, in action around a programme of securing the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority of the people.

"It is guided by the perspective of turning our country into a democratic, non-racial and united SA; is committed to the leadership of the working masses in the struggle for total liberation; accepts the African majority as the main force of struggle, and their liberation ... as the basis for building democracy in SA."

The MDM further "recognises the ANC as the vanguard in the national democratic struggle; has organised formations like UDF, Cosatu (which form a strategic alliance); has a mass approach to organisation (thus involving the masses actively, purposefully and consistently in their struggle); has or seeks to have accountable leadership; and engages in alliances and campaigns on the basis of unity in action and united mass action behind a common programme."

Morobe claims the MDM has grown "dramatically" over the past five years. The UDF and Cosatu as its "strategic core" have been welded into a fighting alliance, which is characterised by firm principles, a dynamic strategy and flexibility of tactics. The MDM also counts among its ranks the SA Youth Congress (Sayco), formed at the height of the second emergency; some churches; the Five Freedoms Forum; the Congress of SA Writers (Cosaw); and the SA Health Workers' Congress (Sahwco).

The main organisational task of the MDM today, he explained, is to "rebuild those of our structures that have been smashed, to consolidate those that emerged under the emergency and to strengthen those that have been weakened. This process cannot take place outside actual political campaigning creatively adapted to and shaped by present conditions." This task includes "overcoming the initial limitations imposed by segregation, different cultural backgrounds and ethnic peculiarities ... to bring about a truly non-racial political culture."

Also, "we must ensure that the constitutional guidelines (of the ANC) are thoroughly debated and understood by the masses of our people," said Morobe. He described the draft guidelines as "an important step in our struggle for a democratic constitution shaped and informed by the people themselves: it must reflect the specific needs of each community and the democratic interests of the people as a whole. Each community must make its input in the shaping of the democratic constitution. We must start building the future today ...

"Our primary task is to build a broad coalition of anti-apartheid forces on the basis of minimum demands and unity in action. This coalition must maximise unity against the regime, isolate it and provide a platform where the strategic core of the MDM, together with other forces for change, may determine both the terrain and terms of struggle."

Regarding the possibility of negotiations, Morobe said the MDM has a task to ensure that its people fully understand the political and economic factors which give rise to this question today. This must be done in a way that "clarifies our strategic approach." He advised spelling out a clear concept of negotiation, within the context of struggle, for transfer of power to the people; harmonising views; promoting the perspective of mass offensive and international isolation of the regime; pressurising the regime to create a climate conducive to negotiations that will include free political activity; and "ensuring that the mechanisms and parameters of this process are not imposed from outside."

After all is said and done, Morobe asserts, "there can only be two parties at the negotiating table — the leaders of the present minority government, the NP and those of the democratic majority led by the ANC." ■

CP MANIFESTO

The pipe-dreamers

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☐ Strip blacks, coloureds and Indians of citizenship by assigning them to ethnic homelands;

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☐ Introduce ethnically based labour preference areas, apparently to prevent migration of "non-whites" in search of work.

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CP leader Andries Treurnicht denied during a public meeting in Pretoria that his policies will lead to a "bloodbath" in SA. ■

SLUMS ACT

Revised for Jo'burg

Johannesburg's new slums regulations have been well received. The hard part will be implementing them.

AUGUST • 4 • 1989

Financial Mail

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

Ward politics

Speak the words "defiance campaign," and those with long political memories shudder. Not because the targets of such campaigns now and in the past — pass laws, segregated parks, whites-only hospitals — are sacred. They aren't. Rather, because in SA *any* kind of confrontation contains the potential for violence.

It's happened before — and there were real fears that it could happen this week as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) encouraged blacks who are ill to present themselves for treatment at white hospitals.

People wanted to know: is the movement really mass and democratic? The Nats' Randburg candidate Glenn Babb warned, perhaps with one eye on the election, that "the threat of violent disruption of hospitals, schooling and civic facilities hangs over society. The minister must do everything to ensure the safety of people."

The disruptions at Wits were not part of the campaign — but they seemed that way to many.

The MDM said the protests — for that is what they are — would be peaceful. We all hope so — and also that the police response should be measured. For a start, the people making their way to white hospitals have a point — the black hospitals are overcrowded (*Leaders* July 28) while the white ones have empty wards and equipment falling into disuse.

And it is, after all, the Nationalists themselves who have said that apartheid is a thing of the past. If they are serious, let them get on with the job — scrap segregated hospitals, schools and residential areas; let black nurses live where accommodation is available; let the market determine the apportionment of health services.

The last point is not merely rhetorical. The current crisis afflicting the health services is easily understood as one of apartheid being dead but declining to lie down — and easily solved, actually. Beneath that lies the worldwide problem of State health services and the medical and pharmaceutical professions' role in its solution.

One of the requirements taxpayers have of their society is that it must provide a minimum level of health care for all citizens — and, logically, with that goes the understanding that no one can expect total care from the cradle to the grave. White patients in SA realise that beyond a certain threshold the quantity and quality of care has to be paid for from private pockets. This, in one sense, is what privatisation means. In the end there can be no such thing as maximum and equal health care for all.

But this realisation lies ahead for those fighting right now to even get to see a doctor. They are urging the hospitals to be opened to all — and they are morally right. ■

Cont→

304A

Two more standing for Delegates

As a result of court cases, two names have been added to the official list of candidates for the House of Delegates for the September 6 election, while one candidate has been scrapped.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Charles Theron, said yesterday the names of Mr Sathasvan Jack Moodley (Ind) and Mr Abdool Rashied Ebrahim Rahmtoola (Pop) had been added to the three candidates already in the field in the Havenside constituency in Natal.

UNOPPOSED

Mr Siva-Ram Phillip (NFP) has been scrapped as a candidate for the Lenasia East seat.

The House of Representatives' seat of Heidedal in the Free State is unopposed, not being contested by two candidates as erroneously stated in the official lists.

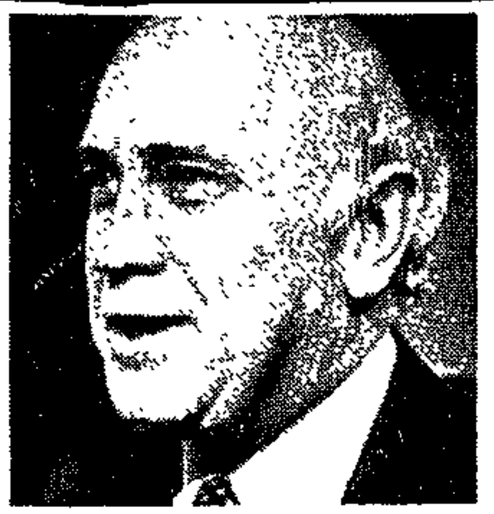
Although he knew of no further likely amendments to the lists at this stage, Mr Theron said such changes were still possible. — Sapa.

(Report by D van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson, J M Patten and J de Villiers, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

DP an 'opportunistic party not to be trusted'

De Klerk ensures blacks voting rights



Mr F W de Klerk ... intends creating a new South Africa.

Political Staff

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk said last night the key question in the election was how a dispensation that would be just to all could be established.

He was addressing about 1 200 people at a lively meeting in Parow Civic Centre.

The audience gave him several standing ovations, but he was constantly heckled by Democratic Party and Conservative Party supporters.

Mr de Klerk said the National Party's plan of action was a commitment to ensure voting rights for all black South Africans.

To say that there was no initiative to open negotiations towards voting rights for black South Africans was untrue.

In terms of its five-year plan the National Party intended creating a new South Africa in which every South African could live in safety, prosperity and dignity as an individual and within a group.

In the realisation that this could not be attained by the National Party acting unilaterally, strong emphasis was placed on the immediate need to make progress with the process of negotiation.

The present state of affairs could not continue indefinitely. Things would have to change drastically and speedily.

Attacking the DP, Mr de Klerk said it was an opportunistic party which could not be trusted. Its policy document "fell short on integrity".

Contrary to its promise, the DP policy must inevitably result in majority domination.

The party rejected the group concept and its education policy meant enforced integration.

The DP's economic promises were not worth the paper they were written on. "Their books just won't balance."

In the area of security the party flirted with dangerous elements which committed violence.

The CP was busy inciting "emotion politics" but its policies could not work

He rejected suggestions of a hung Parliament when asked whether the National Party would, in such an event, form a coalition with the DP or the CP.

He said his party was not thinking of a parliament in which it would not have a decisive majority.

If this did not happen there were a number of options, but the last one was a coalition with the DP or the CP.

Dealing with a questioner who said that problems about people of colour moving into the white group area where he lived had not been resolved, Mr de Klerk said this was a sensitive matter.

The Government did not want to kick people out of homes or to create crimes. This was why a group of civil servants, not "inspectors" as the DP had called them, had been appointed to try to resolve such problems through negotiation and dialogue.

Solutions such as helping people to find alternative accommodation could be tried.

Referring to South Africa's foreign relations Mr de Klerk told a questioner that an honourable way back to the international world could be found when South Aficans could prove that they could come to an understanding with each other.

He told another questioner that the Government felt that segregated State schools had to be maintained as they were an extension of the family and the community.

This was not a racist approach as there were many open schools which received full subsidies and the Govcernment was not opposed to there being more such private schools.

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

STAR 4-8-89

Hung parliament would speed up reform – DP

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Democratic Party has committed itself to co-operating with the National Party on a platform of rapid reform in the event of a hung parliament in which no party held the majority.

But it has demanded the National Party explain to the voters now whether it saw the Conservative Party as its future partner in a hung parliament.

The demand was made by DP co-leaders yesterday after Mr Kent Durr, Budget Minister in the House of Assembly, claimed a hung parliament would result in a slow-down of reform and turn to the right.

If the trend
dicating a hung parliament prove correct, the NP will be in the position of having to find support for the election of a new president — and it would only have a little over a month in which to do so.

In an interview DP co-leader, Dr Denis Worrall, said the DP was prepared to involve itself in an arrangement with the NP but added: "We could not support F W de Klerk where he stands at the moment."

Dr Worrall said the great advantage of a hung parliament



Mr Kent Durr, Minister of the Budget.

was that it should speed up the process of reform.

Although he said no strategy had yet been worked out by the DP in the event of a hung parliament, it was clear the NP would have to make a number of significant changes for co-operation to take place between the DP and NP.

The NP would have to relocate itself on the political spectrum to achieve a realignment of the spectrum.

"Everything we advocate now we believe the NP will come to accept in five or six years' time but this will be too late.

"The great advantage of a hung parliament will be to speed up the process."

Dr Worrall said the DP would only consider entering a coalition with the NP if "we are able to retain our political integrity".

DP co-leader, Mr Wynand Malan, said Mr Durr's statement could only mean that he foresaw the NP mnaking a deal with the CP while clearly it could also make a deal with the DP.

Mr Malan asked whether the new words coming from the NP election manifesto of new action were "just meaningless words".

"If a senior Minister like Mr Kent Durr can only see the CP as a future partner it must raise serious doubts about the political direction of the NP."

The NP had to say, when faced with a choice between the DP and CP, which it would choose.

"The answer will tell the electorate a great deal about the way the NP sees its own future and that of the country."

Veteran opposition politician Mr Harry Schwarz said in an interview that Mr Durr was behaving like a spoilt brat.

What he was in fact saying was that if he did not get all of the sweets, he would throw all of the sweets away.

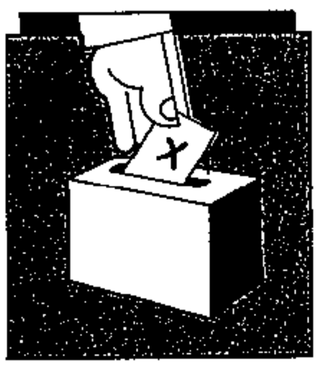
(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)



DP's Charlewood . . . fighting chance in Umbilo

ELECTION 304A

Shifting sands



An interesting electoral battle is shaping up in Natal. The National Party (NP) has 14 of the 20 seats, the Democratic Party (DP) five; the other constituency is up for grabs. Denis Worrall has made it clear that the DP is aiming at big gains from the NP in the province. His optimism is easily justified in three, possibly four seats.

The DP's best chance of gaining a Nat seat is Umhlanga, where it needs to increase support by only 3% (apart from any indirect help it may get from the CP, which did not stand last time). DP candidate Kobus Jordaan has made waves with his allegations that the sons of Nat MPs get favourable treatment during military service; but Nat incumbent Renier Schoeman is putting up an energetic defence of the seat.

The DP also have a realistic chance of regaining the two Maritzburg seats, which they were shocked to lose to the NP in 1987; they need a swing of around 5% in each. The PFP is said to have been complacent last time, wrongly assuming that it could count on the old NRP vote. The NP and the DP have offered four strong, experienced candidates. But the CP is fighting both seats and, though the HNP could only total 766 in Maritzburg in 1987, a few hundred right-wing votes could be vital.

It has also been assumed that the DP will win Mooi River, but it may not be easy. For a start, the constituency is huge, containing a much wider range of voters than the "Midlands gentry" class usually implied by its name. The old PFP polled only a third of the vote there in 1981 against the Nats and the NRP; in 1987, the combined Nat/CP vote was only 450 short of the NRP total. The CP is standing again, but it will not be surprising if the Nats pull it off.

Natal does not easily lend itself to electoral analysis based on the 1987 results — the PFP did not stand in certain important seats, because of the pact with the NRP.

Potch analyst Dirk Laurie has shown convincingly that 75% of former NRP voters voted Nat in 1987, in seats where their choice was NP or PFP (Umhlatuzana, Port Natal and Umlazi — now safe Nat seats). The question is this: how many of the NRP supporters who voted for the NRP *against* the Nats in 1987 (in Amanzimtoti, South Coast, Durban Point and Umbilo) will still vote against the ruling party if it means *supporting* the DP? Worrall evidently believes they will. Perhaps he is thinking of the support he might have garnered among Natal's *bloedsappe* for his Independent Party.

Although party affiliation is usually decisive in South African elections, personalities might just play a role in Natal. TV star Carole Charlewood must have a fighting chance in Umbilo, but retired SADF general Wally Black is probably the best dark horse for a DP gain in a safe Nat seat (South Coast, MP Aubrey Thompson).

Can the NP take any seats from the DP? Possible, but not likely. Greytown is vulnerable statistically, but Pierre Cronje is a formidable incumbent; Peter Gastrow may have to work to keep Durban Central. Worrall will take Berea; Pinetown and Durban North are also safe for the DP.

The NP will almost certainly win Klip River, Newcastle and Vryheid, but the DP candidate in Umfolozi might just draw enough votes to let the CP in.

If the opposition parties do reasonably well, the likely scoreboard for Natal is: NP — 10; DP — 9; CP — 1. ■

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Dawn. The family Mahlangu get up,



Squatter Elias Mahlangu and his 15-year-old son, Fezile, put saw to wood on the remnants of their Weiler's Farm shack

Ever moving, ever in trouble ... a week in the life of a squatter family

Weekly Mail

The story of the Mahlangu family is an all-too-typical one. The family has had many homes in the past 22 years, all iron shacks, and every time, just as they have settled down, they have been told to move on. Reporter **AUDREY BROWN** *spent a week living with the Mahlangus, a stay which ended in yet another eviction ...*

It was cold and clear outside at 4am on Monday when Elizabeth Mahlangu woke her sickly husband and three teenage children to get on with the task of destroying their home.

They had done this often in the last 20 years, but the anguish this time was as real as it had been on the first occasion on a farm south-east of Johannesburg.

I stayed with the Mahlangu family for a week, sharing their life — and their hopes that this would be their last move.

A light drizzle on the day before the move had all of us standing outside, looking at the sky and hoping that it would subside. We went to bed at 8pm, and at 4am the alarm went off. Soon after, BabuMahlangu, the father of the house and Fezile, the only son left at home started hammering at their home, shaking his tardy younger sister, Barbara, out of bed.

Their mother, Elizabeth Mahlangu, brewed some tea to keep her diabetic husband going, and started packing the kitchen goods. She wrapped her crockery, which was given to her as wedding presents, in newspaper and packed it into boxes. Her ornaments, mostly presents from her children, received the same loving attention.

The sadness of the moment was concealed by the hustle and bustle and lightened by the occasional bit of humour as the shack slowly disintegrated. Fezile discovered Barbara's love-letters and threatened to read them out loud. MaMahlangu berated her daughters for not cleaning the house properly when long-lost articles emerged from behind furniture.

And neighbours, woken by the hammerings, came to help. The roof soon came off, and the pile of rusted corrugated iron grew as the skeleton of the shack emerged.

All too soon, furrows in the hard-packed clay were all that remained of shack E79. The Transvaal Provincial Administration truck arrived and their belongings were haphazardly thrown onto the back. We left Weiler's Farm on the back of the truck, holding on our laps the precious crockery, ready to be arranged in another kitchen. These little things are what made all the shacks of the last 22 years home for the Mahlangus.

For they have not had a home since 1967, only a series of temporary dwellings in one squatter camp after another.

10-8-89

On their last night at "Majassan", as the residents have named Weiler's Farm — after one of the former owners, who always wore a coat — the Mahlangus told me of the moves they had made over the past 22 years.

Their trek started in 1967 when the authorities threw them off a small farm south-east of Johannesburg. An application for a house [illegible] swered.

Elizabeth and Elias Mahlangu took their five young children to a relative's home in Soweto, while they carried on searching for another home where they could all stay together.

Home turned out to be another squatter camp — Ruspark, east of Johannesburg — but the rest promised by the name was not granted to the family. Three months later, their shack was broken down.

"We would just be told that we could not stay, with no explanation. Then we would break up our home and move to another spot," said Elizabeth Mahlangu.

They moved to MaMahlangu's parental home in the Magaliesburg where they stayed for a year, and in 1977 they moved to Stinkwater in Bophuthatswana.

Conditions were so bad — the name of the settlement comes from the lack of water in the area — that people were forced to move. "We had to use the same water to wash everything in the house, and then we would throw a bit of ash in it to clean it before using it all over again," they said.

"When we got to Vlaklaagte No 1 in kwaNdebele we really thought it was to be our final resting place. We had moved there after hearing that a new camp was being opened. Someone took us there in a truck and left us in the middle of a bare veld. We made our homes from bricks that we made with our bare hands. We planted vegetables, and for the first time we felt we had a home."

Their newfound peace was shattered in 1986, when a vigilante group, Mbokodo (grinding-stone), started a campaign of nightly terror against the people at Vlaklaagte. Elizabeth Mahlangu and her family fell victim — one of her sons is still missing following a severe beating by the vigilantes.

They moved again this time, to stand E79 on Weiler's Farm 30km south of Johannesburg

Cont →

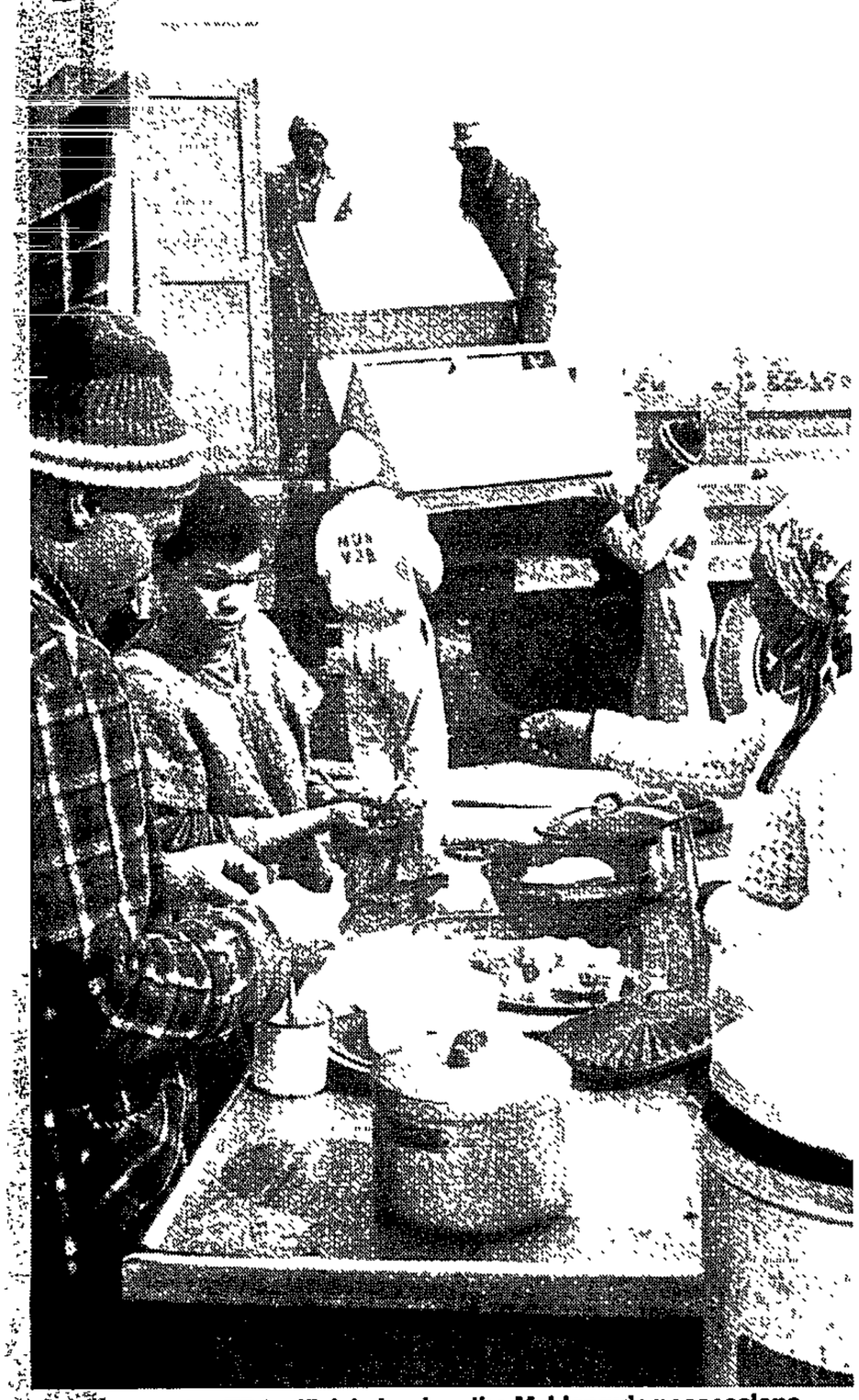


Last meal ... Weekly Mail reporter Audrey Brown shares bread with Elizabeth Mahlangu

Weiler's Farm has a typical Highveld setting — a plain covered with kakiebos surmounted by endless blue sky The area is being developed, with coloured and Indian housing projects dotting the landscape like pastel bouquets.

Situated in the shadow of the Grasmere Plaza toll-booth, Weiler's Farm and other nearby squatter settlements create an interesting contrast with the controlled expansion. The settlement,

get dressed, and smash the house down. Again.



Moving out ... TPA officials load up the Mahlangu's possessions

Pictures: ANNA ZIEMINSKI



Moving in ... Fezile Mahlangu and some neighbours carry the family goods into a temporary shelter

declared an emergency camp in 1987 after the community refused to be resettled, has the air of a rural village.

A long, tree-lined dirt road leads one into the camp, where pigs, chickens and children root around in large rubbish dumps. Huge blue-gum trees seal the impression of a rural village.

The Transvaal Provinicial Administration wants to resettle them at Orange Farm, a barren site 10km away, and many are taking up the offer. Their reasons are many and various.

Some fear that another killer in the mould of Barend Strydom — who killed a woman and wounded another in the settlement last year — may decide to use them as target practice. Others believe the South African Defence Force may "bulldoze" them out of their homes.

Some 350 families, a quarter of the community, have moved since March — despite the apparent permanence of the settlement, as evidenced by the vegetable gardens and the snow-white nappies fluttering on the lines.

My hosts at Weiler's Farm, Elizabeth and Elias Mahlangu, both in their mid-50s, were about to move from their three-roomed, windowless tin shack on stand E79 with three of their seven children.

The three eldest children, a daughter and two sons, live and work in Johannesburg. They were not aware that their parents were moving and I had to inform them as soon as I had access to a telephone. Another son disappeared in 1987.

Fezile, 15, Barbara, 13, Mavis, 12 and I shared a bedroom, while the parents slept in another. The largest room served as a kitchen-cum-living room.

The shack was made of tin, reinforced with cardboard and tattered cloth to keep out the cold. The kitchen was furnished with a coal stove, a couch with one broken leg, a table and four wooden chairs and a sink under which a plastic bucket had been placed to catch waste water.

The bedrooms were very small — two single beds filled one bedroom while the second room, even smaller, contained only one bed. Fezile slept on the linoleum-covered floor while I was there.

The walls were covered with religious posters, one of which read "Bless this house oh Lord we pray."

Despite the impending move, the Mahlangu family carried on with their daily routine. The children were on holiday when I was there. Despite this, they were woken at a very early hour to do chores around the house and yard.

Fezile would disappear with his friends after doing the bare minimum in the yard. MaMahlangu would complain bitterly about this, and was forever sending us out to call him from his games.

She would warn him to keep away from the youths gambling in huddles around the camp. The main form of recreation for them was playing dice and *zweepie*, a money game in which players have to bet heads or tails after a coin, usually a *zuka* (five cent piece, is spun and covered with a grubby hand. We often found Fezile in one of these huddles, and his sisters extracted various deals in return for their silence.

The girls remained within calling distance, as they were required to help with the preparation of food and other household chores that their mother seemed to concoct during the day to keep them from wandering off. One would often hear MaMahlangu yelling for them across the open veld where other shacks used to stand.

I would sit outside in the warm sun with the parents and neighbours, listening to their reminiscences about other places they had lived, while toddlers played noisy games in the big, clean swept yard. The young women, mostly the wives of migrant workers from the Transkei, would discuss their children, their pregnancies and their experiences in the Transvaal.

The question of whether to move or not to move was constantly broached, with everyone expressing mixed feelings. The fear of right-wing attacks was the most immediate. One of MaMahlangu's friends, Nomvuyo, a young woman from Lady Frere, lived three doors away from the house where Strydom went on his "oefenlopie".

We would sit outside until the afternoon grew cooler, and then preparation for the evening would start. First, Fezile would be extricated from his friends to chop wood and bring in coal for a fire. The girls and I would go off to the "small shop" to buy tinned fish or "pieces" — scraps of pork — bread and milk.

Usually, Barbara cooked, but in the time I was there, I cooked in exchange for her doing the dishes. MaMahlangu would devote herself to preparing the special diet her diabetic husband needed.

The family survives on contributions from the eldest children and BabuMahlangu's small disability grant — he also suffers from tuberculosis. He had to give his sister's address in Soweto to qualify for the award, as Weiler's Farm was not a residential area, the family told me, and such grants were not paid out there.

BabuMahlangu used to work for a printing company until he fell ill. MaMahlangu has not worked since 1969 when a doctor declared her unfit to work because of high blood pressure and angina.

The evenings were spent quietly by the warm coal-burning stove, listening to stories on Radio Bantu. The favourites were *Mama Zala* at 7.45, *Idla Izitelo Zakho* at 8.15 and *Modiso wa Tempele* at 8.45. Fezile would lord it over the radio, telling us all to be quiet. He filled me in on the story so far, and I was soon engrossed in the schemings of the evil "Mama Zala".

We usually went to bed after this, around 9pm. It was difficult to read because the light from the paraffin lamp disturbed those who wanted to rest, and the space in the kitchen was used to store the wheelbarrow and gardening tools.

The fire would warm the house, but late at night one could feel the cold gnawing at the edges of the room. Late-night visits to the loo were not lightly undertaken, as the toilet was outside, and one had to be desperate to venture out.

The family's fears — of right-wing violence, security force action and victimisation by the kwaNdebele police — were thrown into relief when a car stopped briefly outside the shack one night. As the light from its headlamps filtered through the cracks in the tin walls, they sat petrified.

Harassment at the hands of kwaNdebele police had not stopped, the family said. Until recently, they told me, policemen used to come around asking neighbours whether they'd seen the missing son.

They were hoping the harassment would stop once they reached their new home, they said.

Health care was a factor in their decision to move, as they had been promised access to a doctor at Orange Farm. The problem of interrupted schooling for growing children was another consideration.

But the most compelling reason was the desire for a permanent home. As BabuMahlangu put it: "I am tired of being chased away. All I want now is a place where I am allowed to stay by law. If this is not my last move, I'll spend the rest of my days sleeping like a rabbit — waiting to be chased by dogs to another place."



First night at Orange Farm ... the Mahlangu family keep warm around a brazier as the sun sets

Our first glimpse of Orange Farm was discouraging. Looking around the plot on which she would build her new home, MaMahlangu tried to reassure her children that soon this would feel like home.

After all, it is not the first time they have had to make new friends, a new life out of a barren patch of land.

THE RISE — AND FALL OF E T

S/T ARGUS 5/8/89 30YA

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

POLITICAL meetings Eugene Terre'Blanche addressed, from Pietersburg to Cape Town, were enthralled by the man who in the safest of places would for some reason need to be surrounded by armed bodyguards, invariably clad in khaki with the nazi-like insignia of their movement displayed on their shoulders.

And he, with his staccato speaking style, would proceed to impale his audiences on the flame of his torch-blue eyes (with acknowledgement to Jani Allan).

Now he is being written off by most of his former associates in rightwing politics and in far-right movements.

The "Groot Karwats" (big whip) as the charismatic, tough-looking AWB leader came to be known among thousands of cheering supporters who flocked to his public meetings, stands discredited even in the eyes of rightwing leaders.

Once feared as a rising nazi-like Fuhrer who could sway the white masses with thundering speeches and militant racist slogans, Eugene Terre'Blanche is now despised and mocked among his former followers and henchmen as a leader with feet of clay.

Phone calls

They say he has destroyed his own political career and can no longer be taken seriously as a factor in politics.

The last straw was his escapade involving glamorous Sunday Times columnist Jani Allan, who caused a sensation by releasing tapes revealing how he bombarded her with phone calls at all hours over a long period.

The disclosures included scores of calls recorded on her phone-answering machine. They were rambling and emotional, with him pleading, at times incoherently, that she should answer his calls.

It all began after a much-publicised incident, also involving Miss Allan, at Paardekraal Monument last December and continued until mid-June this year. About two weeks later, according to Miss Allan, he spent a night sleeping on her doorstep after his pleas to be admitted had been ignored.

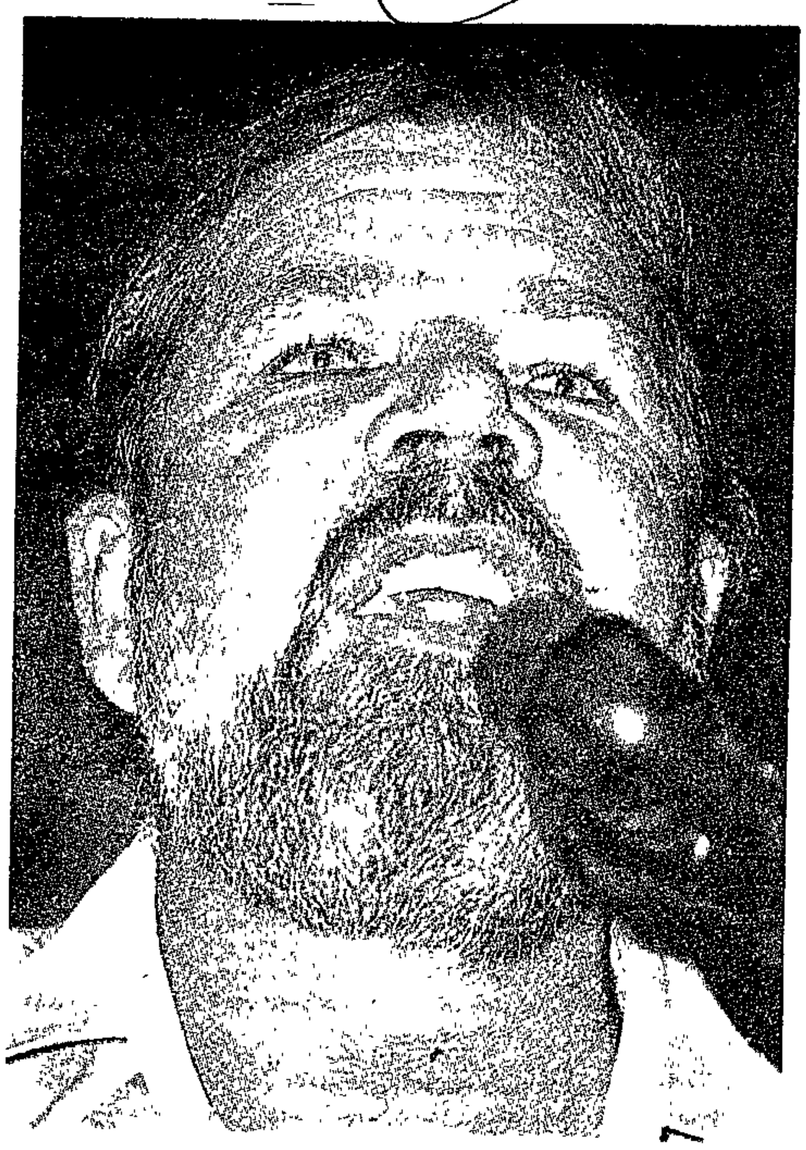
Mr Terre'Blanche subsequently denied this in a newspaper interview and was quoted as saying: "Miss Allan has never refused to open her door for me."

He has denied suggestions that there was a romance between them and the AWB's executive committee rejected the allegations about the doorstep incident as a "plot" against their leader.

Disintegration

But after the Paardekraal incident the AWB was plunged into a crisis when Mr Terre'Blanche summarily dismissed four of his top lieutenants who had called for his resignation.

This sparked a process of disintegration in the AWB, with members of the rebel group forming a rival organisation, the Boerebevrydingsbeweging, which now claims it is drawing many disillusioned former AWB supporters.



Eugene Terre'Blanche ... has the flame been doused or do embers still smoulder?

Mr Jan Groenewald, a member of the rebel group and former deputy-leader of the AWB, said this week that Mr Terre'Blanche's latest behaviour confirmed what he and others had said at the time of their suspension from the AWB.

They stood by their viewpoint that his public actions, in general, had "placed the AWB in a cul-de-sac".

"His recent actions reaffirm that we were correct in saying the AWB could not be saved under Mr Terre'Blanche's leadership."

His information was that the AWB was losing members on a large scale. Many were joining the Boerebevrydingsbeweging, which was now forming a power base.

Dr Chris Jooste, another AWB rebel who was dismissed by Mr Terre'Blanche, said the Boerebevrydingsbeweging was gaining support in its bid to seek rightwing Afrikaner unity and to propagate the Boerestaat concept. The movement was not involved in party-politics.

Conservative Party sources said the AWB was a spent force and could not be revived after the political downfall of Mr Terre'Blanche.

"The AWB was Terre'Blanche and Terre'Blanche was the AWB," one prominent CP spokesman said in an unofficial comment. "He has destroyed himself."

Officially the CP declines to comment on the problems of rightwing movements.

Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) leader Mr Jaap Marais, who is challenging CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in his Waterberg constituency in the general election, is one of few rightwing politicians who believe the AWB will survive in spite of Mr Terre'Blanche's escapades.

Mr Marais, who claims he is getting strong AWB support in his campaign, says a group of supporters is standing by Mr Terre'Blanche "in spite of everything", while others have indicated they will remain loyal to the AWB regardless of who the leader is.

Pretoria political scientist Professor Willem Kleynhans said: "The AWB has been destroyed. It was built around Eugene Terre'Blanche and now his personal image has been demolished. No matter what he says to explain his behaviour, the movement cannot survive as a political force or as a cultural organisation."

There were clear signs that the movement was disintegrating, with its former supporters flocking to the Conservative Party and other rightwing organisations.

Mr Terre'Blanche has been a controversial figure since he and six others launched the AWB in a Heidelberg garage in 1973.

Ironically, one of those who founded the movement was former deputy-leader Mr Jan Groenewald, dismissed by Mr Terre'Blanche this year.

Tar, feathering

The movement originally operated in secret, but it leapt into prominence after the tarring and feathering of historian Professor Floors van Jaarsveld for delivering an address on the desanctification of the Day of the Covenant.

That was in 1979. A group of AWB men, led by Mr Terre'Blanche himself, burst into the plush Unisa senate hall in Pretoria during an academic congress as Professor van Jaarsveld made his controversial speech.

Authoress Shelagh Gastrow, in her *Who's Who in South African Politics*, notes that Terre'Blanche and 13 supporters were subsequently prosecuted on charges of assault, trespass, crimen injuria and malicious damage to property.

The AWB said Professor van Jaarsveld's view was a "blasphemous attack on Afrikaner history and religion."

The movement's major aim is to ensure the continued existence of the Afrikaner nation and it seeks to establish a free, Christian Boer republic. It wants to foster a strong consciousness in Afrikaners of their white origins and heritage, their blood ties and racial purity.

In the state envisaged by the AWB, the president will be elected by whites and the government will be run by representatives of various occupational and professional groupings. The movement also makes provision for a separate area for coloured people in the Western Cape, but regards the Indian community as a foreign entity with no claim to its own parliament.

In December 1982 police uncovered arms caches in a swoop on the AWB. Nine men, including Mr Terre'Blanche, were detained in terms of security legislation. In July 1983 he and three associates were charged with terrorism.

Arms, explosives

They were accused of possessing arms, ammunition and explosives of Russian, North Korean, Chinese, East German, Rumanian and Yugoslavian origin, found in trunks buried on the farm of Mr Terre'Blanche's brother Andries.

Eugene was found guilty and sentenced to two years' imprisonment suspended for five years. He was given leave to appeal.

In his political utterances he has expressed the belief that the 1983 constitution will spell the end of Afrikanerdom. He has warned that when the country collapses, conservatives will recapture South Africa by force.

At his meetings he usually arrives with great fanfare and military music, flanked by bodyguards in khaki uniforms and preceded by flag-carrying youths.

The Transvaal Republic's Vierkleur is seldom absent and is accompanied by the distinctive AWB flag in black, red and white, and featuring a nazi swastika-type symbol of three sevens — said to be the antidote to the anti-Christ's 666.

The AWB has also become known for its anti-semitism and racist policies. The movement also opposes liberalism and communism.

In February this year the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, prohibited firearms at AWB meetings by an order in the Government Gazette.

Mr Terre'Blanche immediately slated the ban.

After the Paardekraal Monument incident last December, Mr Terre'Blanche appeared in the Krugersdorp Magistrate's Court on charges of malicious damage to property after allegedly breaking and damaging a gate, and crimen injuria after allegedly swearing at two policemen.

He was acquitted in May this year and soon after the verdict his followers burst into prolonged applause.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

For years he stomped the country, striking fear into the hearts of those who saw in him a Hitler-in-the-making — and excitement and expectancy into the hearts of those in search of a political saviour.

The militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging he still leads was regarded as the spearhead of a potential rightwing revolutionary take-over in South Africa.

Now he is being written off...

Join the system to defeat it, says Soal

DP's tricameral election strategy

PATRICK LAURENCE 5/8/89

SHORT of revolution, participation in the tricameral parliamentary system is the only way to bring about its dissolution, says Mr Peter Soal of the Democratic Party.

Moreover, he added, dissolution of the present inadequate system — from which blacks are excluded — is a precondition to its replacement by a new democratic constitution open to all.

Mr Soal was speaking in the midst of the on-going and bitter debate over whether or not those who are eligible should take part in the tri-cameral parliamentary system.

Mr Soal noted that the constitution can be changed fundamentally — or scrapped — only if a majority of members in all three parliamentary chambers, voting separately, agrees to do so.

Thus, he concluded, it is logical and imperative to pursue the pro-participation and alliance courses taken by the DP in order to obtain a majority in favour of dissolving the tri-cameral parliament in all three Houses.

To that end, Mr Soal explained, the DP has nominated more than a 100 candidates for the white chamber, nine for the Indian chamber and is seeking to forge a tactical alliance with the Labour Party (which is certain to triumph in coloured chamber).

The question of whether or not to participate in the officially-approved "racist" political system — a recurring controversy in South Africa politics — has been fanned to white heat in the past few days.

Apart from the aborted university meeting — at which the DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer was prevented from speaking by black students — two earlier developments highlighted the contentious issue.

One was a statement by the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) sharply condemning the DP for its decision to field nine candidates in the Indian Chamber. "Congress believes the DP is doing the dirty work of the Nats in imposing an unacceptable constitution on to the Indian Community," the TIC said.

Advancing the struggle

The second was a statement by Mr Sydney Mufamadi, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), equating all three chambers as constituent parts of a "factory of repressive legislation".

Later Mr Murphy Morobe, of the MDM, denounced the DP for fielding candidates for the Indian Chamber, charging that it was giving the "tricameral parliament a new lease of life". He added: "Our position is not informed by what is emotionally expedient or dramatic, but by what advances our struggle most."

Mr Morobe's words recalled language used by the jailed ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, in his celebrated position paper, written more than 30 years ago, on the boycott question.

Mr Mandela said then: " . . . the boycott is in no way a matter of principle but a tactical weapon whose application should, like all other political weapons of the struggle, be related to the conditions prevailing at the given time".

He added: "In some cases, therefore, it might be correct to boycott and in others it might be unwise and dangerous."

Mr Mandela went on to endorse as tactically correct a decision by the South African Coloured People's Organisation (SACPO), a member of the ANC-led Congress Alliance, to participate in 1958 parliamentary elections. At stake for the SACPO were four seats for special representatives of coloured people.

His reason for supporting that participation was that it might enable the SACPO to contribute to "urgent task" of defeating of the National Party Government and ensuring its replacement "by a less reactionary one".

One wonders what his position is today on the eve of another, arguably more critical election which could result in a hung parliament.

(Report by P Laurence, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg).

Scramble for hot seat a 'total fiasco'

Political Staff

EARLY voting in the general election got off to a slow start in most constituencies this week, but is expected by party officials to develop into a hectic race in marginal seats.

First signs of a scramble for votes by rival parties in hotly contested seats emerged in the Transvaal where hundreds of voters have rushed to the polls since they opened on Thursday.

At the Hofland Park polling station in Bezuidenhout constituency at least one woman fainted as hundreds of elderly people queued for hours to cast their votes for National Party MP Mr Sam Bloomberg.

Organisers for Mr Bloomberg brought in about 400 pensioners in four buses — one a municipal bus — and 15 cars.

Crucial days

Mr Bloomberg, who is facing a tough onslaught from the Democratic Party, Conservative Party and two independent candidates, lashed out at the "total fiasco", blaming the electoral process for "robbing him" of votes as many supporters left after queueing for more than two hours without being able to cast their votes.

The Conservative Party is making an all-out bid for early votes.

The CP's chief secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said this week his party regarded the first three days as crucial.

"It is part of our strategy to get the largest number of voters to vote early. This will give us a psychological advantage and will fuel enthusiasm among our supporters," he said.

This strategy is expected to set off an intense race between rival parties to bag early votes, especially in marginal seats where every vote counts.

All parties are urging their supporters to get in early under the new system for casting special votes before polling day, September 6.

Excitement

It is the first parliamentary election in which voters may cast special votes without stating a reason for not being able to go to the polls on election day.

The Democratic Party's director of political organisation, Mr Neil Ross, said his information was that only small numbers of voters had been casting special votes. This was the pattern in most constituencies.

Mr Ross expects, however, that numbers could go up "fairly dramatically" during the run-up to election day.

He says many people prefer the excitement of casting their votes on election day.

He estimates that in most constituencies an average of 50 to 60 voters cast their votes on the first day.

The Cape National Party's chief secretary, Mr Carl Greyling, said his party was encouraging people to vote early. The new system was convenient for voters.

Mr Koos van Wyngaardt, electoral officer for the Western Cape, said it was not possible to keep an on-going tally of the number of special votes cast.

People could vote in any constituency and the votes and papers, in sealed envelopes, were posted by certified and registered mail to the electoral officers concerned.

Voters can obtain ballot papers from electoral officers in any constituency.

Voting bureaus are open in every constituency from 8 am to 9pm every weekday and from 9am to 9pm on Saturdays.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

My children showed the way Strauss

w/t Natal 5/8/89

3044

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Political Staff

DR Dawie de Villiers, Cape leader of the National Party, faces an election challenge featuring the whole spectrum of rightwing rebellion in the party.

Not only is his Democratic Party opponent in Piketberg, Mr Attie Engelbrecht, a former Nationalist, but the DP's campaign is being organised by a former staunch Nationalist, Mr Hennie Strauss, who claims to have moved across the political spectrum from the NP to the HNP to the CP and, finally, the DP.

In addition, Dr de Villiers, Minister of Economic Affairs and Technology, is being challenged by a Conservative Party candidate, Mr Leon Mostert.

Mr Strauss told this week how he came to a point where he decided to abandon all the racist ideas of the NP and its rightwing offshoots.

He said he came to this decision after his own children had confronted him on the issue of mixed bathing in Sea Point.

It made him think seriously about his political beliefs when they challenged his ideas by asking why children of colour should be deprived of enjoyment of the pool.

"I decided my children were right. I had been wrong in my approach. We must all live together in peace instead of fighting one another.

"I then saw the DP's policy as the only hope for a solution to our country's problems."

Mr Strauss, who was a Conservative Party supporter at that stage, said he joined the DP in June this year.

In the late 1950s, he did election work in the Heilbron constituency of the Free State. He did house-to-house canvassing with the late Senator Jan de Klerk, father of the present NP leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Strauss said that he also worked for the NP in the Swellendam constituency.

Later he became disillusioned with the NP and then joined the Herstigte Nasionale Party (HNP) in 1975.

When the Conservative Party was formed after the rebellion of Dr Andries Treurnicht and others against the NP, Mr Strauss joined them.

However, he was expelled by the CP for voting "yes" in the constitutional referendum held before the introduction of the tricameral parliament.

In spite of his expulsion, he remained a supporter of CP policies.

Then came his experience at the Sea Point pool after it had been opened to all races.

At first, he wanted to stop his children from swimming among people of colour, but when they confronted him and questioned his attitudes, he thought again and decided to change.

Mr Strauss said he had come across many NP and CP supporters in Piketberg who were moving towards the DP. Some of them had attended DP house meetings and had indicated they were reconsidering their political allegiance.

DP candidate Mr Engelbrecht is the son of a former member of the Ossewa-Brandwag. His father stood several times as an NP candidate.

Rubicon speech

Mr Engelbrecht, a Boland farmer and brother of former Springbok rugby wing Jannie Engelbrecht, said President Botha's Rubicon speech was one of the main reasons for his decision to defect from the NP.

"I realised then that the NP puts the party above the future of the country," he said.

Mr Engelbrecht's campaign for the DP was backed by former heart surgeon Professor Chris Barnard at a public meeting in Piketberg this week.

● Dr Dawie de Villiers won the Piketberg seat for the NP in 1987 with a majority of 5 314 votes against the Conservative Party. The CP candidate got 2 896 votes.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Soal slates 'fat cat' Pik

'Wallowing in luxury, he's shedding crocodile tears'

DURBAN — Cabinet Ministers should disguise themselves as human beings and come out from behind their ministerial compounds, where they live in solitary splendour behind barbed wire, and find out how ordinary South Africans live, says Mr Peter Soal.

The DP MP for Johannesburg North and long-time critic of Cabinet luxuries, made the challenge following a speech this week by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in which he said that, like the man in the street, he and the members of the Government also suffered from the ravages of inflation.

Mr Botha continued by saying that Government Ministers were not "masochists and sadists" who kept inflation high to inflict pain on themselves and others.

OWN CORRESPONDENT

"My wife buys our groceries. Do you think it's pleasant for me to come home and have my wife complain to me that something she has bought from Pick 'n Pay costs twice as much as it did a month ago, especialy when I've just returned from Brazzaville in the middle of the night?"

Mr Soal said that while the Ministers pretended to be ordinary South Africans, the country might like to know just how Cabinet Ministers battled to make ends meet in the service of the country.

Apart from earning R13 166 a month, they had a string of perks and when they had finished serving the taxpayer they could retire on massive pensions equal to their salaries with a gratuity of almost R500 000.

But to make their difficult lives easier, Cabinet Ministers not only flew around the country first-class, free, while they were Ministers, but also after they had retired.

Other perks included luxury houses in Cape Town and Pretoria for which they paid only a nominal rent, free vegetables and flowers from Government estates and free television sets and video recorders.

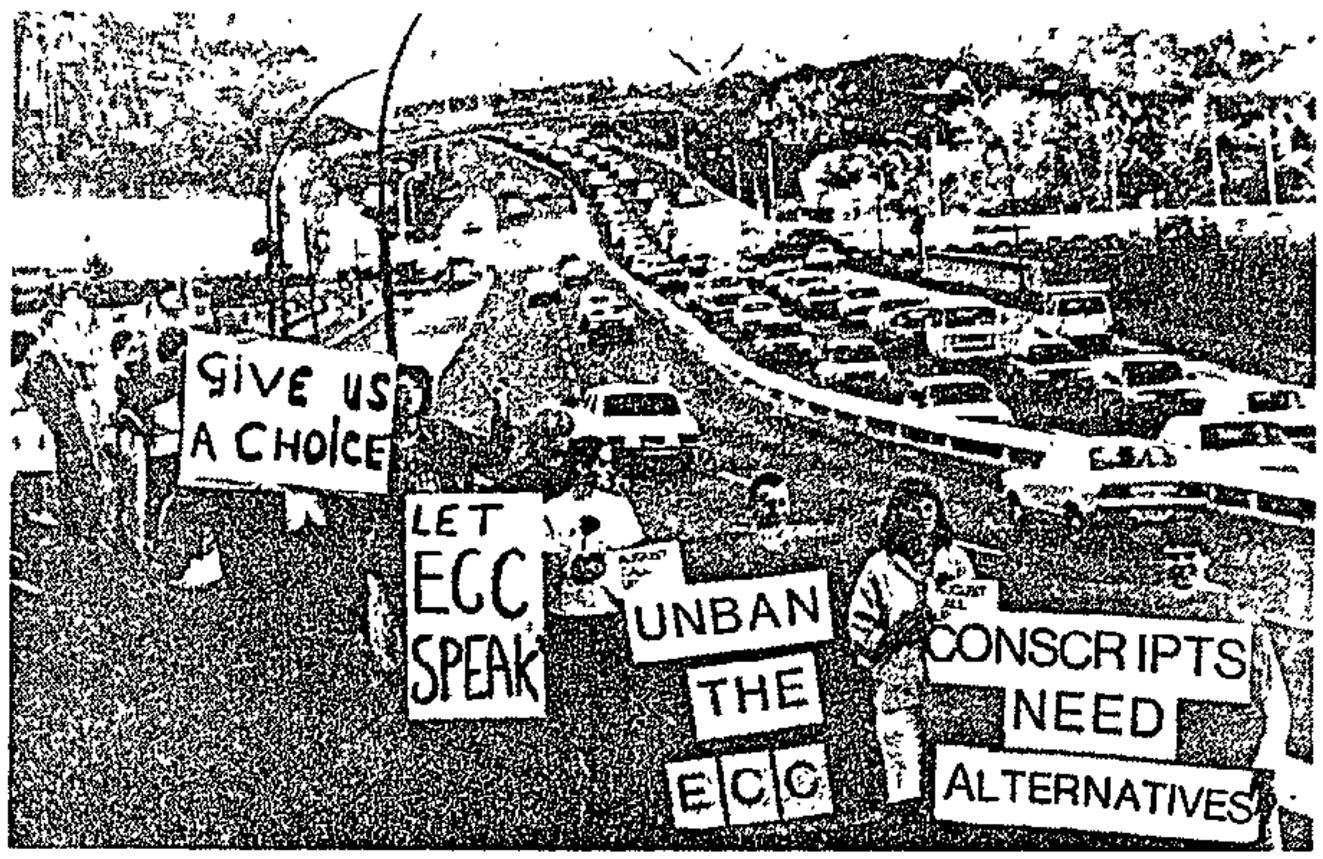
"They have chauffeur-driven luxury motor cars and a second 'personal car' for which they are given an allowance covering all costs, including the purchase price.

"They have enormous expense accounts. Their wives get to accompany them on trips both local and overseas — all compliments of the taxpayers.

"Wallowing in luxury, Pik is shedding crocodile tears.

"He and his colleagues are cut off from how ordinary South Africans are having to battle after they have squandered our resources."

Mr Soal said the Cabinet should try "eking out an existence on the salaries paid to teachers or nurses or, even better still, on the pittance paid to social pensioners".



TAKING A STAND . . . Rush-hour motorists making their way home along De Waal Drive past the University of Cape Town campus yesterday were met with the sight of these students demonstrating with placards. Picture: OBED ZILWA

Vic Holderness supports SA 'Peace Corps' system

Cape Times 5/8/89 (30K)

Staff Reporter

RETIRED navy commodore and DP candidate for False Bay Commodore Vic Holderness lent his support to the establishment of a "Peace Corps"-type system in South Africa at an anti-conscription press conference yesterday.

An established "Peace Corps", as an alternative to military service, could be used to build up infrastructure in rural and poorer areas in South Africa and even in Southern Africa, he said.

Commodore Holderness shared a platform with, among others, representatives of the Conscientious Objectors Support Group (COSG); a UCT SRC sub-committee, Students Towards Peace (Stop); conscientious objector Dr Ivan Toms, and fellow candidate and DP national youth chairman Ms Michelle Guttler.

He said voluntary Citizen Force participation from all race groups should be encouraged.

"Bearing in mind the sometimes more rigorous aspects of military service, consideration should be given to making this form of service more attractive, for example by tax benefits."

Ms Guttler said an alternative had to be made available to all conscripts.

"The young people forced out of this country because of conscription must be given the opportunity to remain," she said.

Dr Toms questioned a government which treated conscientious objectors "as common criminals and not political objectors".

He said South Africa's treatment of its objectors was the worst anywhere in the world, including in Russia: "I think the objectors are the true patriots, and not the traitors at all."

(Report by D Caelers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

304A

Van Eck defends white democrats in Parliament

By BARRY STREEK

PARLIAMENT, specifically the white House of Assembly, has to be used to mobilise white democrats as part of the wider democratic movement, the Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said last night.

But Mr Van Eck, who has been attacked by Nationalist MPs for his links to extra-parliamentary groups, said coloured and Indian MPs would play only a very minor role, if any, in "the people's struggle for a non-racial democracy".

His comments, made at a seminar organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) at Stellenbosch, were clearly aimed at justifying the DP's participation in parliamentary structures.

However, he did say that Parliament was no longer the main initiator of political change and developments as it did not represent all racial groups or the most relevant leadership from the coloured and Indian communities.

He also said all political parties, including the DP, continually ran the risk, because of their presence in an increasingly isolated Parliament, of being co-opted by the government into the defence of the parliamentary institution.

But Parliament could be used in the exceptionally valuable role of informing white voters about the realities in South Africa.

"It needs to be stated that most members of the present cabinet do show a healthy sensitivity to public exposés or misdeeds committed by their officials."

Parliament could also be used openly and legally to "influence, indoctrinate and convert" white voters, he said. "These are activities which most extra-parliamentary organisations are prevented from doing."

The large amount of freedom the parliamentary parties had to operate both inside and outside Parliament could be most effectively and constructively used to forge links between white democrats inside Parliament and black democrats outside it, Mr Van Eck said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)



DP's new talent will be a linguistic mix

IF THE Democratic Party became the government there is a more than even chance that Dr Denis Worrall would end up President — at least if the public's choice had anything to do with it.

Recent opinion polls show Dr Worrall way ahead in the leadership stakes.

It would also be a toss-up which language Cabinet meetings in a DP government would be conducted in.

For such a Cabinet would likely contain a greater mix of Afrikaans and English-speaking Ministers than has been the case for 40 years.

The Law and Order post would probably be conducted in accustomed Afrikaans under Mr Tian van der Merwe, the DP's spokesman for the portfolio.

Mr Wynand Malan, a co-leader of the DP, would be in the Cabinet and could bring a new profile to a post like Home Affairs.

Dr Theuns Schlebusch, a former Nationalist Cape MPC, is being tipped as a Minister of Health. He is a dentist — but would have to win a close battle in the NP-held seat of Queenstown to get into Parliament.

Mr Kobus Jordaan, a former NP senator who is contesting Umhlanga, could take a post like Development Aid.

Mr Jannie Momberg, fighting for Simonstown, would take his reputation as a sports administrator and Zola Budd's first manager into the job as Minister of Sport.

There would be several "in-betweeners" on the language scale. Co-leader Dr Zach de Beer would take the Economic Affairs post; Miss Dene Smuts, a journalist, would sit well in the portfolio of Information, Broadcasting and the Film industry; General Bob Rogers, former chief of the SAAF, would be ready-made for Minister of Defence.

Mr Colin Eglin is known to favour Foreign Affairs.

Mr Roger Burrows has established an impressive track record as Education spokesman, and would be a strong candidate for that post.

Other names being linked to posts are: Mr Ken Andrew for Administration and Privatisation, Mr Mahmoud Rajab for Justice, Mr Errol Moorcroft for Agriculture, Mr Dave Gant, head of his family's food company, for Transport, Mr Rupert Lorimer, who has exposed ivory scams, for Environment Affairs, and Mr Peter Soal in Welfare.

Finally, with party political considerations aside, most South Africans would probably like to see Mr Harry Schwarz as Minister of Finance — the present government has been making eyes at him for years.

Report by L J Venter 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

ELECTION 1989

In the accompanying articles, LESTER VENTER ventures some ideas on what sort of Cabinet each of the contending parties would establish after September 6 — if they were in power

CP wants AWB man for Justice Minister

THE MAN the Conservative Party would like to be its Minister of Justice if it wins the general election is the only Member of Parliament who openly acknowledges his membership of the militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

He is Mr Chris De Jager, an advocate and MP for Bethal. Although he has previously admitted his AWB connections there have been conflicting statements from the CP on whether Mr De Jager was still a member of the organisation.

A probable colleague in the post of Law and Order would be Mr Moolman Mentz, also reputed to have had AWB sympathies.

One of the most articulate and bilingual members of the CP caucus, Professor Fanie Jacobs, is currently the party's spokesman on administration and broadcasting.

He would in all likelihood be placed in such a Cabinet post with Information added to his portfolio.

A strong contender, however, would be the more youthful Dr Pieter Mulder, a former professor of communications.

The CP places stronger emphasis on seniority over suitability than other parties do, and its present Shadow Cabinet would be converted, virtually intact, to the country's management team.

Or, more accurately, to that unspecified part of the country the CP plans to retain for management by whites.

The ambassadors' corps will have to accustom themselves to dealing with Mr Tom Langley, MP for Soutpansberg, as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Cas Uys, an attorney and farmer, is established as the CP's finance spokesman and would become Minister of Finance. He would probably be backed by the CP caucus's only English-speaking member, Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, as Minister of Economic Affairs.

Dr Andries Treurnicht, the party leader, holds the Shadow Cabinet post on Constitutional Development — but would be head of a CP government.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg would retain his portfolio in Agriculture.

Other portfolio holders are: Mr Danie Pienaar, Education and Development Aid; Mr Frank le Roux, Manpower; Mr Willie Snyman, Health; Mr Koos van der Merwe, Defence; Mr C B Schoeman, Environment; Mr H J Coetsee, Housing and Local Government; Mr A Gerber, Education; Mr Jurg Prinsloo, Transport; and Fanie van Vuuren, Posts and Telecommunications.

Report by L J Venter, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town

NP will be forced to fill the Cabinet gaps

EVEN if the National Party wins the election, the Cabinet that runs SA is likely to be very different to what it is now.

Before he thinks of reshuffling present members, Mr F W de Klerk, designated as State President, will have to fill six vacancies.

They include the prime post of Constitutional Development opened by Mr Chris Heunis's resignation and Mr De Klerk's own post of National Education that he will vacate to become State President.

Other vacancies through resignation of Ministers are in Agriculture, Public Works and Manpower, Economic Affairs and Technology and Home Affairs.

Constitutional Development is currently filled by Mr Gene Louw, appointed by President Botha after the departure of Mr Chris Heunis last month.

Mr De Klerk is expected to split the mammoth ministry, leaving Mr Louw with regional and local government affairs — and give a senior man the sharp-end job of getting constitutional negotiations going.

Top runners are Mr Kobie Coetsee, currently Minister of Justice, Mr Gerrit Viljoen, now in Education and Development Aid, and Mr Pik Botha, the country's popular Minister of Foreign Affairs, who has built an unmatched record in talking to — and coming to agreement with — hostile fellow Africans.

However, the odds, according to insiders, are that Mr Botha will be left in Foreign Affairs — leaving the history-making portfolio to the other two runners.

A new face in the Cabinet is likely to be that of Mr Ami Venter, currently a white own affairs Minister and a favoured lieutenant of Mr De Klerk.

Home Affairs is a likely post for him.

Dr Dawie de Villiers this month became leader of the biggest provincial block of seats in the NP caucus — the Cape — and will have to be taken from his relatively obscure post of Administration and Privatisation.

A senior portfolio, possibly Justice, would have to be offered to him.

A "short pants" Minister, Mr Sam de Beer, currently deputy Minister of Education, has been knocking at the door of greater things for some time.

But first he will have to win a knife-edge struggle against the Conservative party in his Geduld seat.

In 1987, a rush of resignations led the NP to taking 47 new MPs into its caucus. This will leave Mr De Klerk with a relatively small crop of experienced Parliamentarians to choose from.

Report by L J Venter, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

Yippee for the Yuppies!

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN, ALAN DUGGAN, SHAUN HARRIS and MANDLA TYALA

Parliament set to get an injection of young blood after the poll

STOCK up with Perrier and make room for the BMWs. Build a sauna and put filofaxes in all the offices. The Yuppies are going to Parliament.

And 1989 is going to be a good vintage for young politicians.

When the results of the general election are tallied on the night of September 6, Parliament will undergo a complete facelift through an influx of new-breed politicians. With more than a fifth of the present MPs not standing for re-election and a further 20 percent in danger of losing their seats, the great hall of Parliament will look decidedly different.

No longer will the average age of Honourable Members approximate that of the Russian politburo. Fresh-faced youngsters will bring their Gucci shoes and Cartier watches to the back benches.



A former Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University, he is now a gentleman-farmer.

Former navy officer turned mechanical engineer Mr Gus Janse van Rensburg, 31, hopes to win Umlazi for the DP.

In spite of his characteristic yuppie drive and ambition, he lacks the typical trappings:

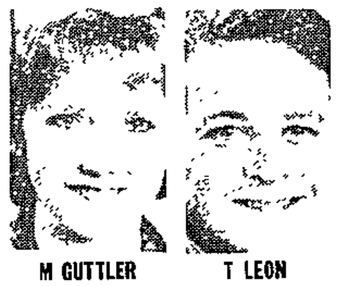
"I do not jol around and drive flashy sports cars. In fact I don't even have a car right now," confides the Natnurtured turnabout.

Pretoria attorney Mrs Elmarie Neilson, 27, also had to break away from a strong NP upbringing to stand for the DP in Pretoria Central.

"I believe the DP is a young party looking at South Africa's future," she says.

Impressive

"The older generation made such a mess of this country's politics that it is high time we took over," says Mr Christiaan du Preez, 33. He is trying to win the Vereeniging seat vacated by Mr



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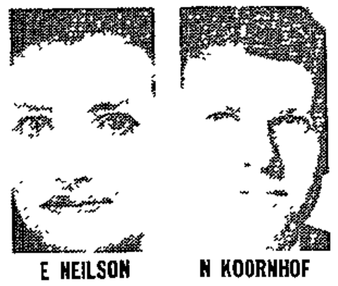

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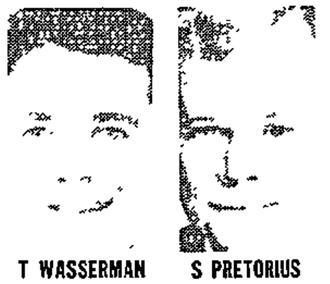

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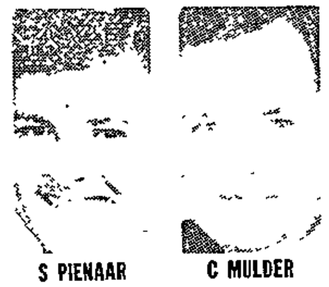


S PIENAAR C MULDER

in Belville. A former MPC and member of the President's Council, he says he accepted the nomination "because I believe the NP offers the most realistic solutions to South Africa's problems".

Mr Sakkie Pretorius, the present chief secretary of the Cape National Party, contests the safe seat of Tygervallei, but Mr Alie van Jaarsveld will have an uphill battle against General Bob Rogers in the marginal seat Walmer.

In the Free State, NP chief secretary Mr Inus Aucamp is considered to be one of the brightest NP prospects for the future. He hopes to win Fauresmith against a determ-ground — he worked for Nelspruit MP Mr Braam Raubenheimer for many years.

A young CP businessman, Mr Johan Welmans, is fighting a spirited campaign in Pretoria Central, and Vanderbijlpark's Mr Casper Pieters has considerable experience in local government, despite his youth.

Mr Barend Keet, 28, who is out to capture Vereeniging, is the youngest CP candidate in the campaign. Born and bred in the Vaal Triangle, he has been a full-time CP organiser since 1983.

"I think young people are coming to realise to an increasing extent that they cannot just leave the decisions about their future to the older generation. We must make our own contribution felt," he says.

They may be a little wet behind the ears and inexperienced. They may be brash. But one thing is certain: Parliament will not be able to ignore the new breed of yuppie politicians.



Parliament has, over decades, aquired a staid and venerable image. In the '50s and '60s it was not uncommon for politicians to begin their political careers at an advanced age.

Dr D F Malan himself set the example. He continued ruling the National Party with an iron hand till he was well into his 80s

Young MPs used to be the exception and not the rule. Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer was considered a rarity when, in 1953, he won Maitland for the United Party at the tender age of 24.

He still holds the record for being the youngest-ever MP but, if all goes well for his party, his caucus will be strengthened considerably by a number of thirtysomething MPs.

The leader of the Young Ones will most certainly be Mr Tony Leon, 32, who is almost a shoo-in in Houghton. His reputation as the tough, no-compromise leader of the DP in the Johannesburg City Council precedes him, but everything points to the fact that he will live up to his billing

Cutting

Miss Michelle Guttier, 25, is the youngest candidate standing. She faces an uphill battle in the NP stronghold of Tygervallei. A leader of the DP youth movement in the Cape, she has a Masters degree in Religious Studies and is a school teacher.

Mr Hennie Bester, 26, the DP flag-bearer in Stellenbosch, is no stranger to political controversy. He was the man who raised the ire of President P W Botha when he tried to lead a delegation of Maties to visit the ANC.

Mr Lester Fuchs, 31, is not at all fazed by the challenge of recapturing Hillbrow for the DP He has already cut his political teeth in Johannesburg local politics.

"I've been called a baby by some people but I believe I am ready to tackle the big task ahead," he says.

His National Party opponent, Mr Tony Wasserman, is an equally young man who is working his way up the ladder of NP politics.

Yuppie may be a foreign expression in the Natal platteland constituency of Vryheid but local lad, Mr Ron Gevers, 34, is set to make a lasting impression on the voters. The University of Natal graduate is active in local community affairs and, like all healthy Yuppies, already has a successful Comrades Marathon behind his back.

Another sporting type is Mr Wessel Nel, 35, a Maritzburg College old boy out to capture Mooi River for the DP A chartered accountant, he has run the Comrades, paddled in the Duzi canoe marathon and represented South African as a junior horseman

He believes most South Africans reject the Government's racially divisive policies and prefer a shared future of goodwill and mutual respect.

Also with a Maritzburg College background is Mr Don Urquhart, 40, who is contesting Newcastle for the DP.



Shoes shined and ready for Parliament, Lester Fuchs is out to capture Hillbrow for the Democratic Party

The list of young aspiring DP politicians is impressive. There's Mr Norman McFarlane, 38, taking on Mr Barend du Plessis in Florida; strawberry farmer and housewife, Mrs Barbra Buys, 33, in Klip River; Mr Donald Cockart, 26, in Meyerton; Dr Theuns de Bruyn, 34, challenging Dr Stoffel van der Merwe in Helderkruin; Mr Geoff Engel, 33, out to recapture Bezuidenhout; and Mr Gavin Weiman, 34, fighting a valiant battle in Koedoespoort.

The National Party already had a good influx of younger MPs in 1987. In the past two years they have made their mark in Parliament and are now more formidable election campaigners.

One of the rising stars is 34-year-old Mr Chris Fismer, a former University of Pretoria SRC president who is now standing in the Rissik constituency. An advocate, Mr Fismer is already tipped for promotion in the future.

Assured

In the neighbouring constituency of Pretoria Central, another young Nat, Mr Gert Oosthuizen, is making an impact.

The Cape National Party has a strong tradition of luring bright young men to its organisation with promises of a secure political future. President Botha is an excellent example of this. He worked his way through the ranks of the party machine until his election as MP for George in 1948.

In 1987, two well-known younger party officials were elevated to MP status — Mr Hennie Smit in George and Mr Sakkie Louw in Newton Park

Three more are expected to follow on September 6.

Mr Neels Ackermann, 40, is all but assured of a victory

Another young Nat who will have his work cut out for him is the NP's youth secretary in the Transvaal, Mr Coetzee Bester. He is defending Hercules against a joint onslaught from the CP and HNP.

Changing

A good name has never been a liability in politics. Mr Nick Koornhof, 32 — cousin of the ex-Minister — is set to retain his Swellendam seat with a comfortable majority. An attorney, Mr Koornhof has already distinguished himself as a *verligte* thinker and an excellent speaker in Parliament.

Dr Corné Mulder, youngest son of Dr Connie Mulder, has followed in his father's footsteps as MP for Randfontein.

An attorney with a doctorate in political science, he is a good example of the young breed which is changing the image of the staid Conservative Party.

Teacher Mr Wouter Scholtz hopes to win his mother Mrs Bessie Scholtz's old seat, Germiston District, for the CP.

Another CP MP who grew up in a political home is Potgietersrus's Mr Schalk Pienaar. His father, Ben, was MP for Zululand in the '60s.

Mr Pienaar has made a name for himself as a formidable debater and a skilful political operator.

No doubt he learned some of the tricks of the trade while serving as private secretary to several former Cabinet Ministers.

A job as a private secretary is often a stepping stone to a political career. Both Mr Adriaan Vlok and Mr Albert Nothnagel started out on the officials' benches.

Out to emulate them is Mr Christo Smith, CP candidate in Nelspruit. In a sense, Mr Smith is returning to familiar

Opposition gears up to wrest back Cape hot-seat

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

PEOPLE of the Cape Peninsula have set aside their traditional preoccupation with cultivars and culture as the political battle for the tip of Africa hots up.

The Democratic Party has mounted an all-out bid to win back from the National Party the two seats that make up the Peninsula — Wynberg and Simonstown — both traditional opposition territory.

The opposition reeled two years ago, in the 1987 election, when the NP's Mr David Graaff — himself, as the son of Sir De Villiers Graaff, a member of a traditionally opposition family — snatched Wynberg with a slender 97-vote majority.

Simonstown was inherited by the South African Party from the United Party and carried into the Nationalist camp in 1980 by its incumbent, Mr John Wiley.



ROBIN CARLISLE
"Nats aren't delivering"

Both parties, naturally, say they are going to win the Peninsula.

However, the DP candidates, Mr Robin Carlisle in Wynberg and Mr Jannie Momberg in Simonstown, say they are reaping a nationwide swing to the DP — and the NP candidates, Mr Graaff in Wynberg and Mr Harry Dilley in Simonstown, concede they have a "tough" defensive battle on their hands.

What's at stake is the significant support the NP — now with half or less Afrikaans-speaking backing — picked up from English-speaking South Africans in 1987.

Both constituencies are overwhelmingly English-speaking and both have voter profiles that make them particularly susceptible to SA's declining living standards.

Wynberg is made up mainly of working-class voters with average or lower incomes.

Mr Carlisle says: "The Nat appeal up to 1987 was mainly on 'comfort' issues.

"They are no longer delivering on that contract and that's what is creating the change everyone is talking about.

"Some hardliners may still be saying 'I don't want blacks living next door to me' — but, more than that, they are now saying 'I also don't want to be poor.'"



HARRY DILLEY
Security issue

Mr Graaff disagrees. While people "are feeling the squeeze", he says, Wynberg voters are an established community where there is little mobility.

Most live in homes they have owned for many years and so their bond payments are, in reality, an ever-decreasing percentage of their incomes.

The primary issue, he says, is "future security" — which voters more willingly entrust to the NP.

Mr Carlisle says voters realise the full definition of security must include the economy, crime rate and the availability of jobs.

Wynberg is facing a Group Areas issue.

A road and an open field separate the constituency from a depressed coloured suburb. Some coloured families have moved into the constituency and the crime rate on the "border" is high.

Mr Carlisle says, however, that voters there see the problem not as one of race, but one of falling standards and declining property values.

Further down the Peninsula, in Simonstown, things are different.

"We live on an island," says the DP's Mr Momberg.

For one thing, it is one of the few constituencies in SA where environmental issues are paramount.

And right now it's a



DAVID GRAAFF
Snatched Wynberg

356 000-ton problem.

The leaking supertanker Stavros GL is lying in False Bay — and the NP candidate Mr Dilley, a marine engineer, has the repairs contract.

He hit out at "armchair critics". Tankers have been coming into the bay — their only winter-gale refuge — for 23 years.

"This is the first time there has been a hoo-ha," he says. SA is a world leader in environmental and pollution control, according to Mr Dilley.

But local residents are up in arms over the leaking ship, the second in a month.

A local paper has railed against turning the bay into "a backyard repair shop for passing tanker traffic".

Mr Momberg says: "If we have a spill here such as in Alaska it will take us generations to recover."

Mr Momberg, still enjoying a reputation as a sports administrator and past manager of Zola Budd, claims economic and security issues go hand-in-hand among the constituency's voters, the majority of whom are near or in retirement.

"We want bobbies on the heat, not chasing women who are swimming topless.

"Let them swim topless. Let's have security from crime and want."

Report by L J Venter, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.



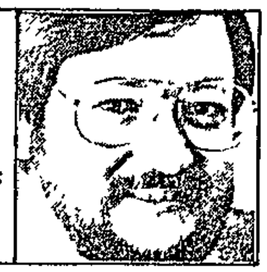
A whole new poll game for '89 Nats

1/Times 6/8/89

304 M

Hennie Kotzé

a political analyst, assesses likely NP strategies in the election campaign



IT seems as if the days when the NP could "put up a broomstick and it would get elected" are gone for ever.

In Afrikaner circles the NP no longer has the monopoly to select the best potential candidate because of strong competition from the Conservative Party. Not only is the CP gaining the upper hand in the hegemonic struggle for Afrikaner symbols, but there is also a breakdown of NP recruiting mechanisms, such as the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

While the NP has now definitely shed its Afrikaner exclusivist image, with up to 50 percent of English-speakers supporting the party, relatively few are nominated for the party.

Trends

In its campaign planning, the NP will certainly pay attention to the trends that emerged in the 1987 election. At this early stage it would be hazardous to estimate any kind of swing to or from the present government.

However, if one takes the results of recent by-elections and the municipal elections into consideration, it will not be surprising if the NP loses seats to both sides.

It must be remembered that on a national level the NP concentrated nearly all its efforts and resources in the 1987 election on fighting the "liberal" opposition parties.

The far-right was thus given the space to wage a relatively aggressive election campaign, in a sense jumping on the Government's security bandwagon.

It can be assumed that the NP will devote considerably more of its energies to combating the rightwing in the September election. But being forced to fight on two fronts — to the left and to the right — will not only drain financial resources but test the NP's own ability for political rhetoric that will satisfy both camps

National Party intelligence will try to pinpoint opposition strongholds, even within constituencies. For the first time in South African electoral history, each separate polling district's votes have been made available to the various political parties.

Using these figures and the available opinion poll data sponsored by government, it would, on the constituency level at least, be fairly easy to use a "horses for courses" approach in terms of explaining policy.

The NP is in any case well known for using a two-pronged attack, one devised for the "platteland" and the other for urban areas — this strategy may even be extended to provincial level.

With the new rapprochement between the Government and some East Bloc countries, it will be difficult to trot out the old and tried "total onslaught" line against the Democratic Party.

Soft

Indications are that the DP will be accused of being soft on security and of advancing the cause of the ANC and various other bogeymen This scare strategy pulled a substantial number of the English-speaking voters away from the Progressive Federal Party in the 1987 election.

But with erstwhile high-profile military officers among DP candidates, it can be expected that the tactical tools used by the NP to foster the image of "sell-outs" will be more subtle

After the promise by new party leader F W de Klerk of a "positive" approach to the election, it is to be expected that the emphasis will fall on "controlled reform".

This was neatly captured in the 1987 election by the NP's slogan, "Reform Yes, Surrender No". Although this position is obviously meant to attract as wide a range of support as possible, it may become a hazard under incessant opposition insistence for details of black inclusion in the political process.

But, through fighting a campaign rather than following the opposition as in the 1988 municipal elections and the recent Linden municipal by-election, the NP may put the opposition parties on the defensive with the propaganda machinery at its beck and call.

The influence of purely political factors such as the state of the economy and party leadership is increasing in South Africa. A combination of the following perceptions (true or false) may lead to an increase in support for both opposition parties, but more so for the CP:

- The overtaxation of taxpayers;
- High interest rates;
- Weak measures to control inflation;
- Ideological costs, such as the duplication of services;
- The blunder by Deputy Minister of Finance Org Marais, who stated recently that South Africans are no worse off economically than 20 years ago.

Although electoral choice may ostensibly be between policies or parties, much of the voter's thinking is about leaders — and here the NP has a considerable advantage with new leader F W de Klerk.

Pitted against the CP's Treurnicht (an old-style Nat) and the DP's untried "troika" (with a commitment to universal franchise), an affable "Give FW a chance" may well keep a substantial number of left-leaning NP deserters in the camp.

Doubtful

However, it is highly doubtful that the De Klerk factor will have the same effect on deserters to the right.

Taking all the abovementioned factors into consideration it is possible that the National Party will lose seats to the far-right and to the left. A preliminary analysis at this early stage points to the following possible election outcome: Transvaal: CP 29-35, NP 31-33, DP 8-10; Natal: NP 11-12, DP 7-8, CP 1; OFS: NP 6-8, CP 6-8; Cape: NP 44-45, DP 10-12.

This scenario gives the National Party a worst-case option of 94 — not yet a hung Parliament.

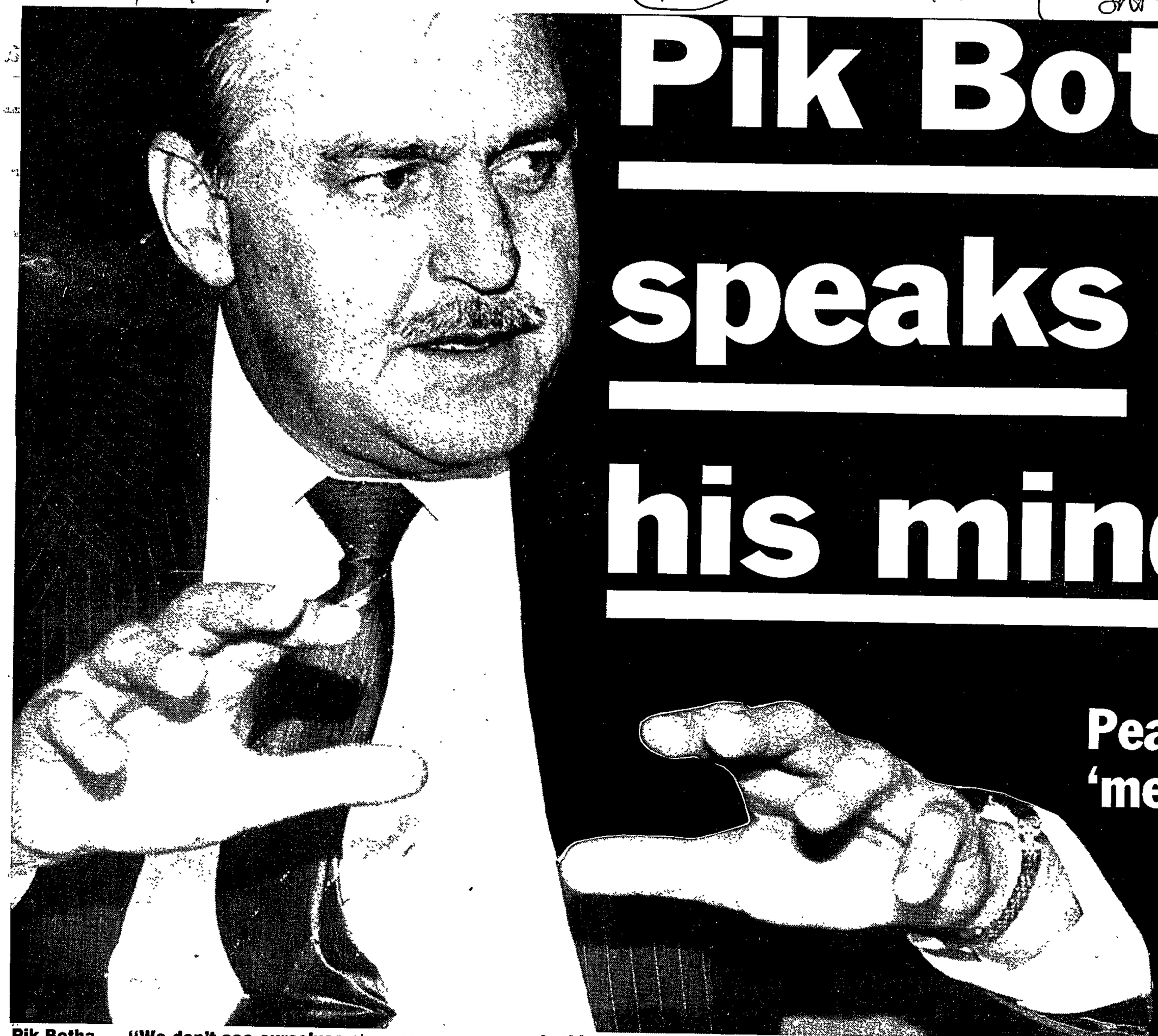
□ *Extracted from the latest Indicator, published by the University of Natal.*



6/8/89

304A Cpness 6/8/89 Cont

Pik Botha speaks his mind



Peace dream 'messed up' by MNR rebels, says Minister

Pik Botha . . . "We don't see ourselves at [illegible] in this country. The season of violence is over." [illegible] ANDRIE [illegible] EKA

experience has taught Foreign Minister PIK BOTHA that a legal case has no meaning if it is not supported by a political case. That, he says, could explain why the US continues to aid Unita despite protests from that country's president.

Speaking face-to-face with CHARLES MOGALE, Botha reiterated previous denials that South Africa is aiding the MNR rebels in Mozambique.

MOGALE: With the reported changes of perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union, are we to see better relations between South Africa and the Soviets.

BOTHA: There is a huge vacuum caused by lack of contact since the 1950s. It is difficult to know if one should make an attempt to talk.

There will be a natural hesitancy on the part of the South African government and the Soviets to break through this lack of contact.

I think Gorbachev is interested in moving his country ahead economically. He doesn't see any gain for the Soviet Union to continue its past involvements in regional conflicts.

It must be clear that Africans are now intent on resolving their own problems.

I believe the Soviets will accept that it is not in their interests to project themselves as a power that goes against the interests of the Africans.

MOGALE: On interference in regional conflict, shouldn't the same apply to the United States given their assistance to Unita rebels in Angola?

BOTHA: As you know, we have stopped our assistance to Unita. The US is a global power, and they reason that the war in Angola has reached an impasse, without a winner. Should they stop their assistance to Unita, it may affect the balance again.

The Angolan government sees this as illegal intervention in their internal affairs.

MOGALE: Why is there this anti-Marxist sentiment propagated by Western governments including South Africa? Why is the ideology not given a fair chance to compete in the open political market?

BOTHA: I think in general the Europeans believe that communism as an ideology has totally failed. Ironically they see changes in Gorbachev's policies – perestroika, glasnost, demokratisia – as admission of that failure.

Since the Second World War, America, as a global power, has always tried to maintain a balance of power with the Soviet Union.

An American representative said to me, referring to the Soviets: "If we can't beat them bastards in conventional arms, we will outspend them."

MOGALE: How do South Africans see the Soviet Union?

BOTHA: Many black South Africans see the Soviet Union as a power which has sympathy with their cause, coming out clearly against apartheid.

But now that we are removing apartheid, many blacks see problems occurring inside the Soviet Union. (They see) that Namibia is moving towards independence and that there might even be peace in Angola and Mozambique. They are asking themselves: what kind of South Africa do we want?

They are saying: "Pik, we do not want apartheid. You will never get us to accept it. But we also are not going to fall for the situation that prevails in the rest of Africa."

I think Soviet influence as the saviour of black South Africa is receding.

I stood up in the United Nations in 1974 and said I could not defend discrimination based on the colour of a person's skin. I paid the price, but I stuck to it. So I can say with equal force to blacks and whites that they've got to change.

MOGALE: There have been unabated reports – which you denied – alleging that South Africa has been aiding the MNR in Mozambique. Are you going to do anything to dispel the reports?

BOTHA: If I can get hold of any firm evidence that such acts have been perpetrated, I will act.

While Renamo is waging this war, it is chasing away investment. It precludes me from building bridges, from playing our role as a leading regional power.

Look at the Cahora Bassa Dam which could be a joint project between the Mozambicans and South Africa.

My dream of a southern Africa is being messed up by organisations like the MNR.

MOGALE: You did not believe the government of Botswana when they said they knew of no ANC bases in their country. Foreign Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe is actually on record as inviting you to come and identify the bases.

Their argument was: if you can't make the borders safe for yourselves, they are hardly in a position to make them so for you. What is your comment?

BOTHA: What I suggested to Dr Chiepe was that, precisely for that reason, there should be co-operation. Quietly. There should be mutual trust.

If terrorists move through a neighbouring state and they are detained, and they indicate how they moved, and you submit that information

'Gorbachev is interested in moving his country ahead economically. He doesn't see any gain from continuing past regional conflicts.'

to that government, they take steps. We don't announce it. Otherwise you embarrass them.

I don't accuse the government of Botswana – maybe they are totally unaware of this – but we have had instances where the same person would come to Gaborone or Francistown or elsewhere, and our security people would tell the authorities that Mr X is there.

They would put him on a plane to Lusaka. A week later he is back. Those are the cases they must control.

I am not in favour of cross-border operations. It gives us a bad name. We pay a price for it.

MOGALE: When South African security forces raided Botswana on June 12, 1985, you were scheduled to meet with the country's officials about two weeks from the date of the raid. That raised speculation that the South African forces operate independently of Cabinet decisions. What is your comment?

BOTHA: The Cabinet does not approve all the operations of the security forces. There are certain guidelines which leave certain latitudes in decision-making on the ground.

MOGALE: Are we likely to have more cross-border raids?

BOTHA: I hope Botswana and ourselves can resolve the issue of mutual trust on the question of co-operation.

Our difficulty is how do we translate it into a practical day-to-day situation.

MOGALE: Back home, there is a feeling that the government is soft on rightwing violence.

There has never been a known case of detention without trial of a person on the right of the National Party. What is your comment?

BOTHA: In some cases where extreme rightwing persons were involved in activities, you find that their actions were such that they could be handled in terms of the normal legal procedure.

They have been arrested, put before court and sentenced.

MOGALE: Our newspaper advocates freedom of expression – and finds nothing wrong with people expressing extreme rightwing sentiments. But if leftwing people who do likewise are detained without trial, surely the same should happen to the rightwing.

BOTHA: My colleagues are required by law to go through statements or activities and many of the rightwing statements fall short of that discretion which the regulations give to the Minister to take action.

But on the leftwing, they tend to go over the brim. Then there is sufficient reason to react.

MOGALE: The Government has refused to talk to the ANC until it renounces violence. But the ANC on the other hand feels that police brutality, detention without trial and forced removals are tantamount to State violence. They say there should be no conditions. What is your comment?

BOTHA: In general I agree. There should be no conditions.

The problem is the interpretation of conditions. Our concept of an open agenda differs from that of the ANC. The ANC sees it as a condition.

We don't see ourselves at war with any party in this country.

The season of violence is over. This country must govern together. White domination must end.

MOGALE: National Party leader FW de Klerk emphasises "group rights" which divide blacks in terms of tribes, while not doing the same to whites. You have said the government is moving away from domination of one "group" by the other. Do you rule out the possibility of a black State President?

BOTHA: You know that I was repudiated on this matter. I submitted to disciplinary action and I admitted at that time that it was not National Party policy.

But it remains my democratic right to continue to propagate my particular view. That is the best answer I can give.

City Press 6-8-89 (South)

Our role in the serious pursuit of peace

ST Tues 6/8/89 304A

Willie Esterhuyse

of Stellenbosch University, warns that the pressure is still on South Africa to find a solution



SINCE the middle of 1988 southern Africa has experienced some dramatic political events, resulting in the closing of the books on the Cold War and colonialism in this part of the world.

In fact, even South Africa has been removed from the context of East-West disputes.

A completely new political ball game has emerged, reflected in new vogue phrases and concepts like "co-operation", "alliance politics", "dialogue" and "settlement processes".

Whether South Africans fully understand this new dynamic — not to speak of some of our politicians and strategists — still remains questionable. Many South Africans tend to interpret it — and Mr F W de Klerk's visits beyond the country's borders — as a sign of acceptance and a softening of attitudes.

Conviction

Nothing could be further from the truth. What these events mean is that a moment of truth for South Africa has arrived.

These events signal the beginnings of co-ordinated and concerted action by the major powers to find a resolution of the so-called "South African question". Invitations to South African leaders for talks are not meant to boost their egos or promote their images. On the contrary, they are meant to signal the seriousness of the new political ball game.

The present positions of the United States and Britain are cases in point. Statements made by spokesmen of these countries indicate their very firm conviction that only a political settlement of the internal conflict in South Africa — including the conflict with the ANC — would normalise South Africa's relations with the rest of the world and the countries in the region.

South Africa will not be allowed to play for time. What these countries are looking for are clear signals of a creative game plan and time frames.

Recent visits to Britain and the United States by South African leaders indicate these two countries' intention to play a much more active role in the promotion of talks, dialogue and negotiations on political change within South Africa. In fact, the emphasis is not on reform or even the removal of discrimination, as such, but on a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

It is also clear that the more active promotion of a negotiated settlement in South Africa will be exercised in a closely co-ordinated manner by those countries with a stake in the region, including the Germans and the Portuguese.

Meetings between representatives of these countries and, for instance, the ANC will be high-profile, signalling to Pretoria the countries' conviction that the ANC should not be excluded from talks, dialogue and an eventual settlement process.

Ironically, the present high political status of the ANC in the international world makes it more vulnerable to international pressures as far as talks and dialogue with the South African Government are concerned.

It is also important to note that countries like the US, Britain and Germany, while not condoning the ANC's use of violence, do not regard the ANC as a terrorist organisation. In fact, at his confirmation hearings, Mr Hank Cohen made this point loud and clear. It should, however, be noted that these countries do not regard the ANC as exclusively representing black political aspirations.

The major Western powers, contrary to their positions in the past, have consensus on the need for the USSR to play a role in southern Africa, particularly in view of Moscow's close relationship with the ANC and some of the countries in the region.

Conflicts

Some southern African countries, notably Mozambique and Zambia, are supportive of these new initiatives. Presidents Chissano and Kaunda, most probably reflecting frontline thinking, expressed a willingness to participate in dialogue with South Africa — even in the context of a regional conference — on condition that Namibian independence becomes a reality and Nelson Mandela is released.

South Africans, especially those from the white community, should not regard this new political dynamic as signalling acceptance or an indication that the world is coming to its senses as far as South Africa is concerned. We have not entered a friendlier world; we have entered a world serious about peace and negotiated settlements of conflicts.

In this respect, special mention should be made of the following:

The unconditional release of Mr Mandela and other black leaders, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of political organisations and the removal of certain specified discriminatory legislation are not the main objective of the new strategy of active promotion of talks and dialogue. They constitute the conditions and gateways towards meaningful talks and dialogue.

The main objective of the new strategy is a negotiated settlement, bringing to an end the era of apartheid and white domination. If this does not happen, pressures and problems experienced by South Africa in the past could turn out to be a "Sunday school picnic" compared with what it will experience if no progress toward a settlement is made over the next 12 to 20 months.

The West's new approach signals moment of truth

KGB forged note from Pik to Crocker, says U.S.

ST Times 6/9/85

THE KGB is suspected of masterminding a clever forgery in an attempt to bedevil relations between SA and the US.

Alert officials of the US Information Agency raised the alarm after spotting a letter purporting to be from Foreign Minister Pik Botha to former Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker.

Diplomatic sources now believe the letter is a concerted attempt by a Soviet intelligence agency to spread disinformation about supposed close co-operation between SA and the US at a time when relations between the two countries are so sensitive.

By DRIES van HEERDEN

The letter — on a letterhead of the SA Ministry of Foreign Affairs and with a falsified signature of Mr Pik Botha — has now been stamped "forgery" in thick, black letters and US embassies have been warned about its dubious origins.

In a memo to embassies the USIA warns that "the forgery bears a strong resemblance to previous forgeries of suspected Soviet origin, and the sophistication of its preparation indicates the involvement of a professional intelligence service".

According to diplomatic sources the forgery was spotted quite easily. The most obvious mistake was that it was addressed to Dr Crocker while protocol dictates that Mr Botha should address his correspondence to his US counterpart.

A careful analysis also revealed a number of errors in grammar and format.

Dr Crocker said he had not received the letter, and made it obvious he would not have been taken in by it.

"The tone of the letter is totally and completely wrong. Its contents conflict sharply with US policy, and it would make anyone who has worked in the field laugh."

The falsified letter and an accompanying document surfaced this week in Windhoek where it was published in a local newspaper. It alleges among other things that there is a joint SA-US attempt to subvert the upcoming elections in the territory.

It falsely charges that the US is co-operating with SA to prevent Swapo from coming to power and is giving election aid to Mr Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance. (3049)

It is believed the timing of the letter was arranged as an attempt to put the election process in Namibia under suspicion.

A funny thing happened to the Nats on the way to the election

By LESTER VENTER and DRIES VAN HEERDEN

POLITICIANS of all shades were asking this week: Whatever happened to the National Party's mighty election machine?

They are baffled by the NP's lacklustre performance at the hustings. Many predict it will result in a welter of lost seats on September 6.

Opposition spokesmen say the NP's lack of "oomph" is proof that it has run out of steam after 41 years in office.

But NP spokesmen insist they are deliberately saving energy for a burst of activity during the final three weeks of the campaign.

Either way, the party with a legendary reputation for robust, relentless electioneering has left opponents — as well as many of its supporters — mystified.

"This is is not the National Party we know," said one puzzled senior party man this week.

Losses

Meanwhile opinion polls — their findings substantially confirmed in house-to-house canvassing — have revealed that the NP is losing massive support on two flanks, to the DP and the CP.

Predictions of a "hung Parliament" with no single party holding a clear majority are no longer considered unrealistic.

"You'd think this drain of support would be a spur to energetic campaigning," one senior NP member said privately this week.

"Instead, our people seem content to leave it all to an advertising agency."

Opposition leaders, on the other hand, say they are harvesting votes galore while the NP remains hesitant and defensive.

They say NP strategists failed to plan for the new system of special votes which has seen voters streaming to the polls since Thursday.

As a result, a home-stretch

□ To Page 2

Who'll free us from the purity bloc?

Richard McNeill

suggests we are in danger of falling prey to rule by committee

IF a camel is a horse designed by a committee, what does that make South Africa — a country which is being increasingly shaped by a series of unofficial bodies accountable only to themselves?

You may think the right-wing Nationalist government, after 41 years in power, is the most pervasive influence in our lives.

Wrong. The whole ramshackle left — especially the ANC and its sympathisers, affiliates and fellow travellers in the trade unions and the self-proclaimed Mass Democratic Movement — is more and more dictating the way things go.

Of course, we have long since had to put up with the the British actors' and musicians' ban — enforced, of course, by their respective committees of activists.

Our sporting life is held in thrall by committees — not the SACU or the SARU or even the ICC or the IRB but by Sanroc and the AAM.

Absolute

The United Nations is thick with committees attempting to make life difficult for us. A committee produces an annual blacklist of performers who made the mistake of ignoring the advice of committees not to come here.

But here at home the tail, my friends, has begun to wag the dog in a disconcerting way.

You may think that despite the Government's poor record, free speech is an absolute term.

But if you want to exercise it on, for instance, the Wits campus, you must first get the approval of the Advisory Committee on Freedom of Speech, which of course, needs the nod from black student activists.

Another committee with no actual power but tremendous influence decides what overseas musicians — and sometimes even local musicians — you should be allowed to listen to here.

Sun City may hire them, governments may issue visas, airlines may fly them in and you may be prepared to pay your money at the door, but if the committee says they are ideologically impure, forget it. Go home.

Similar ideological considerations, pontificated on by another purity committee, influences what you see or don't see at, for example, the Grahamstown Festival.

Yet there is no evidence these cultural commissars know the first thing about the arts or anything else.

We worry about the future government of this country — whether it will be freedom or socialist oriented — but socialism is already happening.

Slowly what might be called free market considerations in cultural matters — Is it good? Will it pay? Is it worth hearing/seeing? — are being decided upon by the faceless men of the MDM.

Today the Commodores pop group, tomorrow a rebel cricket tour. And next?

Can anybody doubt that in our Brave New World, which we're told is just round the corner, the same myopia is going to be extended to all corners of our national life?

It requires only a small adjustment to apply the same ideological purity rules to, for instance, books, newspapers, magazines, videos and television, as countries already under the heavy heel of socialism know to their cost.

But, you say, our airwaves are already slaves to government and the Press is censored. True? Well, partly true.

The SABC is only just beginning to show welcome signs of greater independence. And only a socialist — or the chairman of a purity committee — would deny that in the all-important area of *comment* the Press is still most definitely free. It is *comment* — the challenging and testing of ideas — that purity committees dislike most.

Vigilant

The Nationalist Government has always operated in a climate of critical scepticism. Not one which the activists of this world easily take to.

There will be those people who will shelter behind the "what else can you expect?" argument — blaming years of repression, denial of rights, discrimination, poverty etc.

Well, I'll tell you what I expect:

- I expect those who have suffered one form of repression will not be keen to replace it with another;
- I expect people who know the sharp end of civil and economic disadvantage to take all possible steps to avoid applying it to others;
- I expect those who have to battle for their freedom to value its preciousness all the more when they get it.

But I'm not sure they will. And I have a feeling that unless we are very vigilant indeed the new South Africa is going to be just as bad as the old — if not worse.

MP claimed maid's wages from Parliament

A MEMBER of Parliament, Mr Johnny Johnson, admitted yesterday he had claimed a monthly sum of R120 from Parliament to pay his wife's maid.

He said, however, she had left his employ and was, therefore, no longer on the Parliamentary payroll.

He said the reason he claimed wages for the maid, Mrs Ester. Witbooi, as part of his constituency expenses was because she also doubled as office cleaner at his Esselen Park (Worcester) constituency office..

When she worked as his wife's maid, "she also answered the telephone" for him, Mr Johnson said.

He paid her an extra R60 a month for her work as a maid, he claimed.

Mr Johnson won the Esselen Park seat for the Labour Party in 1984, but has since joined the official Opposition Democratic Reform Party in the House of Representatives, led by Mr Carter Ebrahim.

He is being opposed in the general election by a young Worcester teacher, Mr Anwar Ismail of the Labour Party. Mr Ismail is the son of President's Council member Mr E Ismail.

Mr Johnson's claim that Mrs Witbooi also worked at his office is denied by her and Mr Johnson's secretary, Mrs Alvera Fortuin.

They have signed affidavits attested to by a Commissioner of Oaths.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

Both swear Mrs Witbooi never worked at Mr Johnson's office.

When this was put to Mr Johnson, he said they were "not telling the truth".

□□□

He also charged that they were "under the influence of my opponent, Mr Anwar Ismail."

Mrs Witbooi said in her affidavit she was employed by Mrs Johnson at the Johnsons' residence in Hennie Ferus Crescent and that she had never worked in any constituency office.

She denied she had worked at any other premises in any other capacity for Mr Johnson, except as a maid for his wife.

Her claim is being backed up by an affidavit signed by Mr Johnson's secretary until recently, Mrs Fortuin.

Mrs Fortuin also denies Mrs Witbooi had ever been employed in any office in the Esselen Park constituency.

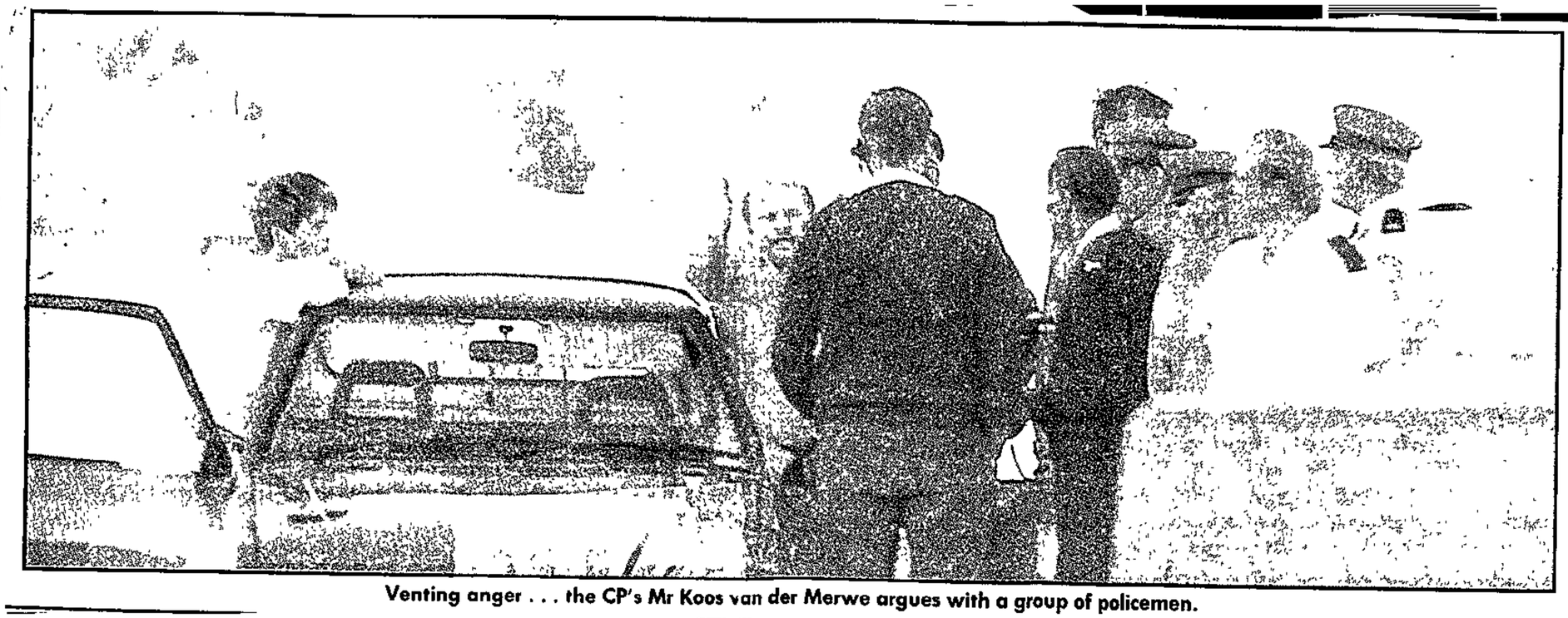
She was not only secretary to Mr Johnson, but made the tea and cleaned the office herself, he said.

According to a Parliamentary document, Mr Johnson claimed reimbursement from Parliament for a sum of R121,08 in respect of "Ester Witbooi".

He also claimed R403,60 for Mrs Fortuin.

His explanation to the Sunday Times was that the R121,08 he had claimed for Mrs Witbooi was what he paid her monthly for cleaning his office.

Report by N West, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.



Venting anger . . . the CP's Mr Koos van der Merwe argues with a group of policemen.

CP councillor in plaza without

By Paula Fray
and Anna Louw

Boksburg Conservative Party town councillor Mr Koos van der Merwe had to be restrained by police at the weekend when he vented his anger on attendants at the Gosforth Plaza on the N17 toll road.

The incident happened soon after the plaza, outside Germiston, was opened on Saturday afternoon

The bakkie in which Mr van der Merwe was a passenger then sped through the plaza without paying

The rumpus was seen by a photographer from The Star, Stephen Davimes.



At the ready . . . a policeman levels his pistol at the bakkie's right front tyre. ● Pictures by Stephen Davimes.

STAR 7-8-89

sped through paying toll

Mr van der Merwe, a former traffic inspector and member of the CP-controlled town council, confirmed last night that he was a passenger in a vehicle that drove through the Gosforth Toll Plaza without paying on Saturday.

He said he would first discuss the issue with the Chief Whip of the CP caucus in the town council, Mr T J Ferreira, before releasing a statement to the press.

Lieutenant Ida van Zwiel, police liaison officer on the East Rand, said last night she had heard about the incident but said no charges had been laid.

Davimes said he saw Mr van der Merwe jump out of a car parked just before the toll plaza.

"He was very upset. He was shouting and hitting out at the toll plaza attendants," Davimes said.

Within minutes, police restrained Mr van der Merwe and pushed him back into the car.

A number of police and traffic officers surrounded Mr van der Merwe and calmed him down.

The bakkie in which Mr van der Merwe was a passenger then sped through the toll plaza without paying.

The vehicle was pursued by two traffic officers on motorcycles.

The Boksburg Town Council has consistently opposed the construction of the toll plaza on the R77 which now forms part of the N17 toll road.

BENEFIT

The managing director of the toll concession holder, Expressways, Mr Ian Madden, is on record as saying the Boksburg council has made toll roads "a political football for electioneering purposes, although there can be little doubt that once the road has been constructed, Boksburg will benefit significantly".

Although the toll plaza has met with opposition from Wadeville industrialists, one of whom suggested a blockade of the toll plaza, the incident on Saturday marred an otherwise quiet, but busy, weekend for Expressways.

Mr Madden said 13 000 motorists went through the plaza during the first hours.

He said motorists wishing to qualify for the discounts offered to frequent users could now pay with Visa and Mastercard credit cards or First Auto, Stannic Motor and Trust Motor fleet management cards.

Southern Africa peace moves stepped up

Talks in Kinshasa and Nairobi today

The Star's Africa News Service

NAIROBI — Peace negotiations in southern Africa move into a higher gear today as negotiations on Angola and Mozambique take place in Kinshasa, Zaire, and Nairobi, Kenya, respectively.

In the Zairean capital, representatives of the Unita rebel group and the Angolan government will be discussing ways to monitor a ceasefire agreed more than a month ago, and in Nairobi the Mozambican rebel leader, Mr Afonso Dhlakama, will be meeting church representatives to discuss a government peace plan.

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe was expected in the Kenyan capital today to discuss the peace process with President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya.

Integration

Mr Mugabe had direct talks on Friday night with President Chissano of Mozambique who flew home on Saturday. He left behind two top officials, his political adviser and former ambassador in Harare, Mr Francisco Madeira, and Transport Minister Mr Armando Guebuza,.

Zimbabwean sources hope that the Renamo rebel group will agree to a proposal that officials of the movement take up posts as individuals in the ruling Frelimo Party while detailed negotiations take place to decide the degree and extent of integrating the organisations under one umbrella.

Zimbabwe ended its own dissident rebellion after Mr Joshua Nkomo and Mr Mugabe agreed to merge their two parties. The integration exercise, which is still not complete, has been going on for 18 months.

12-point plan

Mozambican church leaders are expected to present a government 12-point peace plan calling for an immediate end to all acts of terrorism and banditry.

During the weekend, Mr Dhlakama met President arap Moi and afterwards described the meeting as "a victory" for Renamo.

An Angolan government delegation led by Foreign Minister Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem is expected in the Zairean capital today to resume negotiations with Unita

Since the two sides agreed on a ceasefire on June 22, two attempts to begin negotiations on a peace accord failed over mutual accusations of ceasefire violations.

Last time the two sides met was on July 22 when the rebel delegation requested consultations with their leadership on President Mobutu's proposals for monitoring the ceasefire.



Four students, taking part in a placard protest today against the development of Yale Road into a major thoroughfare, hoisted themselves up to the M1 with their placards. ● Picture by Etienne Rothbart.

Wits students protest against proposed multi-lane highway

Students from the University of the Witwatersrand today staged a placard protest against plans to turn Yale Road into a major thoroughfare running from Empire Road to Newtown.

The students, holding placards saying "One M1 is enough", "Close Yale", "More deaths on Yale?", "Unite our campus now" and "You wouldn't do this to RAU would you", stood along Yale Road and three students hoisted themselves up to a section of the M1 highway.

SRC member and co-ordinator of the protest, Mr Jordan Beagle, said the protesters came from all sections of the university and that it was an issue which affected all students and staff.

He said when Wits bought the Milner Park Show Grounds — now the West Campus of the university — the idea was to have one campus Three years ago however, the university learnt of plans to turn Yale Road into a five to six-lane throughfare to Newtown.

Major objections to this was that it would once more cut the campus of Wits into two separate entities, the parking along Yale Road would disappear, the noise will be "exceptional", it would increase air pollution and would increase the danger for students crossing the road.

"Already about six students have been knocked down on Yale Road," Mr Beagle said. "One of them is still in a coma."

Mr Beagle said the university wanted Yale Road to be closed down and incorporated into the campus. He added that independent investigators commissioned by the university had indicated that there was an alternative route for a thoroughfare to Newtown directly to the west of the Wits West Campus.

Bag-snatching: youth (17) held

A 17-year-old Munsieville youth was shot in the thigh and arrested after he snatched a 65-year-old Krugersdorp woman's handbag yesterday, a West Rand police spokesman said.

The spokesman said Mrs Ruth Abbott was on the corner of Market and President Streets at 11.15 am when her handbag with R670 was grabbed. She was pushed to the ground, breaking her arm.

Two men, one a 22-year-old, chased the youth and cornered him. He then took out a knife and threatened one of the men, who produced a gun.

A shot was fired hitting the youth in the thigh. He was then arrested and the bag with the money recovered.

The youth is being treated under police guard at Leratong Hospital.

Farmer killed with own shotgun

Housebreakers shot and killed an elderly Delareyville, western Transvaal, farmer at point-blank range with his own shotgun at the weekend.

The killers then placed the shotgun across his chest before fleeing.

The body of bachelor Mr John Wilham Geldart (65), of the Blyf Gerust farm, was found by his domestic worker at 7.15 am yesterday, police said.

He was lying in a pool of blood in the kitchen Mr Geldart had been shot in the face.

Police said Mr Geldart was murdered after he apparently surprised housebreakers in his farmhouse after returning home from a visit to a friend the previous evening.

Police believe there were three killers No arrests have been made.

Nat ads link DP with the ANC

The National Party's long-awaited campaign linking the Democratic Party with the ANC was launched yesterday with full-page advertisements in all the Sunday newspapers.

Under the banner "Are these men planning your future?", it carries a photograph of DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and economic adviser Professor Sampie Terreblanche with Mr Joe Slovo of the SA Communist Party and Mr Johnny Makhatini, former head of the ANC's propaganda department.

They met at an Idasa conference. — Political Correspondent. Star 7/8/89

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Cape Times 7/8/89

6% growth possible in SA — DP

3064

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party believed it would be able to achieve an average real growth rate of 6% a year. This growth rate would leave a surplus of about R15 billion instead of a deficit, according to Democratic Party (DP) finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew.

"It is a realistic option for South Africa, but only if we have a change of government.

"We can be a winning nation," Mr Andrew said.

The DP would restore confidence in South Africa and implement economic policies, as contained in its manifesto, that would ensure strong and sustained economic growth.

Between 1981, the previous election, and 1988, South Africa's real growth in GDP averaged 0,96% per year. The DP recognised that economic growth was critical for South Africa.

Mr Andrew said the Nationalist government was characterised by inefficiency and waste.

Resources frozen

The Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, said in 1987 that billions of rands of scarce capital resources had been "sterilized" as a result of South Africa's political problems.

DP economic proposals would cost about R15 billion. However, it would effect government savings of at least R9 billion. Its manifesto proposals could be financed by an average real growth rate of 2% in the gross domestic product.

One should consider the billions of rand of empty space in schools, hospitals and teacher training colleges, the hundreds of expensively trained white teachers being made redundant. On top of that there was expenditure on the homelands, decentralization and forced removals, which cost R8 billion a year.

Each year hundreds of race classification and group areas cases were investigated, costing billions.

"Debt servicing costs are now nearly R10 billion per year," he said.

"By reducing debt and stabilising the value of the rand, the DP will reverse the trend.

"Defence spending could be substantially reduced, by R2,5 billion, without in any way endangering our security."

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

Vlok admits fabrications — Cosatu

Political Staff

THE Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, had admitted that he effectively fabricated allegations that Cosatu had distributed a document planning violent disruption of the elections, the trade union body said yesterday.

Mr Vlok's admission confirmed that "the security paranoia and hysteria which the government has been whipping up amongst whites is a smokescreen behind which they have tried to smash all democratic opposition to apartheid rule", it said in a statement issued by its general secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo.

"This comes hot on the heels of the successful and peaceful mass defiance of hospital apartheid, despite the dire predictions of the minister."

Cosatu said that last week it instructed its attorneys to write to Mr Vlok, to demand that he retract his allegations and to undertake to desist from making further such statements.

"Within 48 hours the minister responded, admitting that the document circulated at Cosatu Congress made no reference to petrol-bomb attacks on candidates, and undertaking that he would desist from making any further statement that this document did support such attacks, or that it advocated any specific acts of violence.

"In addition, the Minister also expressed his "regret (that) any inconvenience (was) caused to" Cosatu.

"This is clearly an apology, and an admission by the minister that the allegations in question were wrong and without foundation."

Cosatu would proceed through its attorneys to obtain corrections and apologies from the relevant newspapers and state media.

(Report by B Streak, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

304A

Minister Vlok admits blunder

LAW and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok has backed down on his statement that Cosatu plans to petrol-bomb election candidates and has promised not to say so again.

In an election speech he claimed that plans for violence were outlined in a Congress of South African Trade Unions' document.

But within 48 hours of receiving a letter from Cosatu's lawyers he went into reverse, undertaking not to state that the Cosatu document advocated or supported any specific acts of violence.

Mr Vlok was replying to a demand by Cosatu's lawyers that he retract allegations that the document advocated acts of violence and intimidation of voters, failing which the organisation would urgently consider taking him to court.

In a letter to Cosatu's

SOWETAN Correspondent



Minister Vlok

lawyers, Mr Vlok wrote: "Without hesitation I gladly give the undertaking that I will desist from making any further statements to the efect that the document . . . specifically supports petrol-bomb attacks on candidates in the pending elections."

He also conceded "that the said document does not specifically refer to petrol bombs", but denies that "my other conclusions . . . are substantially without justification".

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer commented: "It appears Mr Vlok has had to make a fairly abject apology to Cosatu.

"I hope voters will take note of this and realise that many of the wild accusations made by the Ministers are actually without foundation.

Cosatu said in a statement: "What seriously concerns us is the fact that similarly fabricated allegations have been used as basis to restrict Cosatu, UDF and many other organisations; to detain literally thousands of people including thousands of children; and more recently to house-arrest hundreds of ex-detainees."

Cosatu said the document from which Mr Vlok quoted was a draft resulution, tabled at the federation's congress, but had not been discussed because of time constraints.

R361 000 tax-free farewell for Heunis

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A tax-free golden handshake of R361 000 to the former Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, is the start of a R1,7-million pay-out to retiring cabinet ministers.

Taxpayers will fork out more than R5 million to pay for gratuities to the ministers and MPs who are not standing for re-election on September 6. The amount could be a lot higher if a number of veteran MPs lose their seats. Apart from their golden handshakes, they will also receive generous pensions.

Details of the pay-outs and pensions to be received by cabinet ministers are:

- **Mr Heunis will receive a golden handshake of R361 737 and a yearly pension of R120 579.**
- **The Minister of Agriculture, Mr Greyling Wentzel, will get a pay-out of R332 045 and the maximum pension of R120 579.**
- **The Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Danie Steyn, will receive a gratuity of R271 427 and a yearly pension of R110 518.**
- **Mr Pietie Badenhorst, the Minister of Health and Welfare, will receive a pay-out of about R268 000 and a pension of about R105 000 a year.**
- **The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Stoffel Botha, is set to receive a R296 395 pay-out and a pension of R119 499 a year.**
- **The Indian Minister of the Budget, Mr Ismael Kathrada, will receive a gratuity of R165 404 and a pension of R72 962 a year.**

Mr Stoffel Botha, who was the only minister available for comment on the pay-outs at the time of going to press, said he did not wish to comment.

Mr Brian Goodall, the DP candidate for Edenvale, who is just one day short of the seven years and six months' service needed to qualify for an MP's pension, said the whole system of MPs' and cabinet ministers' pensions and pay-outs was unsound.

"It is not a pension fund at all," he said. "There is no proper scientific funding or calculation of the liabilities of the fund."

(Report by M Robertson, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg).

Cape Times 8/8/89 (3044)

F W not likely to reform NP — Wimpie

Own Correspondent

THE NP under leadership of Mr F W de Klerk was likely to maintain the present political position after the election, Prof Wimpie de Klerk said yesterday.

Prof De Klerk, brother of the NP leader, sketched four post-election options available to Mr F W de Klerk in a speech to a Union of Jewish Women lunch in Orchards.

He said a scenario of maintaining the present position with "fine footwork" was the most likely.

"This is (F W's) style, his character," he said.

The other three options were Mr De Klerk moving the NP to the right, shifting the NP "a few degrees" to the left, or a total rejection of a racial approach to politics.

He said he believed his brother had the political integrity to realise political change had to take place.

He questioned whether Mr F W de Klerk would abandon the racial model of the NP.

Prof De Klerk said in response to a question that still believed the DP's solution was the best for SA.

(Report by Riaan Smit, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg).

SA still feeling cost of Rubicon 'change'

Political Staff

THE leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, should tell the voters the full truth about why the original Rubicon speech by President P W Botha was changed, the Democratic Party candidate in Piketberg, Mr Attie Engelbrecht, said last night.

Mr Engelbrecht said the Rubicon speech had reverberations around the world and that all South Africans were still suffering the consequences.

Mr De Klerk should also explain what his role was in the changes that were made to the original speech, Mr Engelbrecht said at a meeting in Malmesbury.

"As most of us are aware today, the original speech was changed at the eleventh hour to protect the interests of the NP.

"In other words, the party's interest were more important than the future of South Africa and its people.

"But I still want to ask the following important questions: What has happened to South Africa's international image? What has happened with our economy? What was the relationship between the different races in South Africa?

"If I answer those questions honestly for myself, I cannot vote for the NP on the basis of its past," Mr Engelbrecht said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)



STRAIGHT-TALKING . . . Democratic Party candidate for Piketberg Mr Attie Engelbrecht.

Cape Times 8/8/89

DP opens door in Piketberg

(3044)

Staff Reporter

MR Attie Engelbrecht is a Vredendal farmer, a Sandvelder by birth who feels uncomfortable with big English words — and he plans to reap more than 2 000 Piketberg votes for the Democratic Party.

The party he joined four weeks ago does not have an election office in the town of Piketberg. National Party secretary for the constituency Mrs Alta Rossouw warily ventured comment about the new challengers.

"The DP is something strange, something new for people here. But there will definitely be people voting for it, and not just English-speakers from the top of the mountain (the Piketberg)," she said.

She was confident that Nationalist MP Dr Dawie de Villiers, who took the seat with a majority of 5 314 votes in 1987, was going to sweep the boards on September 6.

Last week Mr Engelbrecht addressed 130 attentive listeners who, braving the draughts of the Piketberg Agricultural Hall and lashing, icy rain, shouted "Hear! Hear!" to the words: "Do not be scared of this party because it is the party of the common man."

Chatting before the meeting, his first in the constituency, he said: "We are getting support from folk here — in Vredendal, Citrusdal and Porterville — and it's growing."

A "born" Nationalist, he broke ranks with the NP because of "eleventh-hour" tampering with the first draft of the Rubicon speech.

He is confident of seriously eroding NP candidate Dr Dawie de Villiers's support among the constituency's wheat and fruit farmers.

"For the D P to win it needs to take the platteland. The door is wide open."

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Matie leader's switch from Nats to DP

Cape Times 8/8/87

304A

By BARRY STREEK

THE chairman of the Stellenbosch University SRC, Mr Pierre van der Spuy, announced last night that he could no longer support the National Party and would back the Democratic Party in the election.

He said the most important reason for his decision was that he did not want to go into the future of South Africa with fear, but with a positive approach that every South African was his fellow South African.



Mr Van der Spuy

"I no longer want to be seen as a white person, but as a South African," Mr Van der Spuy, a 23-year-old medical student, said.

The DP candidate in Stellenbosch, Mr Hennie Bester, commented: "We are overjoyed to have him on the team and I think it is symptomatic of the fact that the NP holds no future for young people."

The NP candidate in Stellenbosch, Mr Piet Marais, said Mr Van der Spuy's decision had definitely not come as a surprise to him.

"He was not a member of the NP and I was not aware that he was a supporter.

"As far as I am aware he is not a voter in this constituency.

"I took it for the last six months that he was a supporter of the DP."

Mr Van der Spuy said he was not a registered member of the NP, but he was a known supporter.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

Suzman to give away most of cash

Cape Times 8/8/89 304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA's longest-serving MP, Mrs Helen Suzman, plans to use the "major part" of her golden handshake when she retires next month to set up an educational trust fund for black women.

Mrs Suzman, whose 36-year tenure as MP for Houghton ends on September 6, will be entitled to a gratuity of about R200 000.

Officials in Pretoria said yesterday that an ordinary MP like Mrs Suzman would receive a yearly pension of R75 111.

Mrs Suzman said yesterday that she wanted to devote the major share of her gratuity to setting up the trust.

The trust would be geared specifically to women because their educational needs often took a back seat within financially-strapped families, she said.

The formula used to pay golden handshakes to MPs is based on their maximum salaries before retirement and the length of parliamentary service.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

CP's homeland will be 'like Boksburg'

By CLIVE SAWYER
Tygerberg Bureau

THE white homeland proposed in the Conservative Party's manifesto would be like Boksburg, the Minister of National Health and Population Development, Dr Willie van Niekerk, has said.

Addressing an audience of 40 in Kraaifontein last night, Dr van Niekerk said the Conservative Party had made no provision for whites who lived outside the white homeland, nor said where the boundaries of this white homeland would be.

Voters were worried they would be left outside its boundaries. The National Party took care of all whites through its white Ministers' Councils, Dr van Niekerk said.

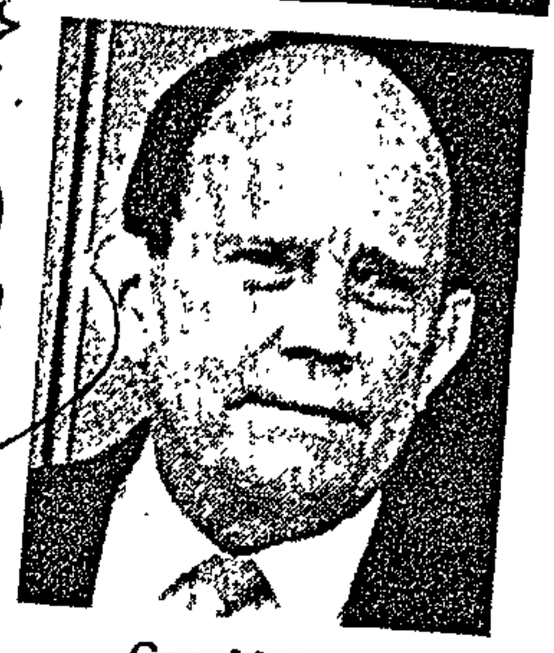
A system of group vetoes would prevent one group dominating another in the National Party's envisaged confederal system, he said.

The NP candidate for Wellington, Mr Giel Malherbe, said anyone voting for the CP would be voting for Kraaifontein to become part of a coloured homeland.

(Report by C Sawyer, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

Election '89

SADF leaflet: Magnus must go, says DP



Gen Malan

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party last night renewed its call for the resignation of Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan after the Defence Force launched a political attack on DP policy in a propaganda pamphlet.

DP MP for Pinelands Mr Jasper Walsh said the pamphlet, entitled "Your son in the National Service", which was distributed to parents of the August intake, represented a "flagrant abuse" of the role of the SADF.

"The entry by the SADF itself into the political debate by criticising the DP proposals (on defence policy) is scandalous.

"In his 'Rambo style' General Malan has once again show his incompetence in handling this sensitive portfolio," Mr Walsh said at a meeting in Pinelands. "He must resign."

The pamphlet states: "Certain sections of South African society believe that our defence force should be reduced to a small, inefficient Permanent Force component.

"People who believe this kind of drivel are no more than mere gullible pacifists — theirs is an attempt to undermine our defence capability."

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Barend's 'political' fax queried

ALTHOUGH the Department of Finance faxed party political statements on behalf of Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis, the minister was paying the department for this service, spokesman Mr Louis Louw said yesterday.

Business Day yesterday queried why a statement by Mr Du Plessis, which attacked the economic policy of the DP as "just as naive and impractical as the political models it proffers for SA", was faxed by the department.

(Report by Riaan Smit, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg).

How the DP's plan would work

1845
8/8/89
304A

By MICHAEL MORRIS of the Political Staff

FINANCE

MONEY, how to get it and how to spend it, has become, probably more than at any other time in South Africa's modern history, a compelling national political issue. Just who has the best economic plan is a matter of intensely fought debate. Opposition on the left and right are holding the government to account for what they describe as an economic shambles — high inflation, rocketing prices, scant foreign investment, a poor exchange rate, creeping poverty.

But the government says the opposition's alternatives are not worth the paper they are written on. Minister of the Budget and Works in the House of Assembly, Mr Kent Durr, said last week the Democratic Party's economic programme would cost more than R20-billion and push tax up by 18 percent. Not so, says the DP's MP for Gardens Mr Ken Andrew. He explains how his party would turn the economy around.

Democrats, he says, believe strong and sustained economic growth is a vital requirement in a changing South Africa and they insist that it is no pipedream. "The DP will restore confidence in South Africa and implement economic policies that will ensure strong and sustained growth."

"It is possible, even if (Minister of Finance) Barend du Plessis has labelled the country's growth rate of three percent as 'overheating', and a rate of 2,5 percent as an 'outstanding achievement'.

"Clem Sunter has noted that South Africans, as he put it, 'grossly underestimated their potential'

"It was Dr Gerhard de Kock who highlighted one of the most important aspects of this debate when he pointed out that getting inflation down, growth up and lifting the standards of living would not be achieved without significant political and constitutional change.

"It is obvious that achieving what we have promised is unthinkable to the Nats because their economic assessments are pitched against their expensive and wasteful policies — policies which still add up to apartheid."

So how will the DP do it?

Mr Andrew says: "From 1981 to 1988, South Africa's real growth in GDP averaged 0,96 percent a year.

"Economic growth is critical. If we can increase our growth rate to six percent a year, South Africa would have additional GDP of R76,5-billion in five years' time. In other words, in 1994, South Africa's GDP would be R311,5-billion rather than R235-billion at a growth rate of 0,96 a year.

"If central government expenditure remained at a constant proportion of GDP — 28 percent — a DP Minister of Finance, based on 1989 prices, would have an additional R21,4-billion to spend in 1994 without increasing tax rates."

Paging through the DP manifesto, Mr Andrew shows how a DP government would pay for its promises.

He estimates the cost of eight essential pledges at R15-billion a year These are:

☐ Reducing GST to 9 percent,

☐ Doubling the size of the police force,

☐ Increasing expenditure of disadvantaged education departments by 50 percent,

☐ Better pay for teachers, nurses and the police,

☐ Increasing social old age pensions,

☐ Spending more on land, serviced sites and housing,

☐ Reducing fuel taxes by 50 percent, and

☐ Implementing other special programmes on poverty, environmental conservation and health.

Where will the money come from?

Wasted

Mr Andrew says: "NP government is characterised by inefficiency, quadruplication and wasted expenditure.

"Their own Ministers have highlighted the problems. Barend du Plessis admitted that scarce capital resources had been 'sterilised' because of South Africa's political problems

"Minister of Education Piet Clase made it plain when he said 'the NP has an expensive policy'.

"When he was Administrator of the Cape, Mr Gene Louw questioned the financial viability of splitting things up into own and general affairs.

"There are other things to consider — billions of rands of empty space in schools, hospitals and teacher training colleges, hundreds of expensively trained white teachers being made redundant, homelands expenditure and money spent on decentralisation and forced removals running into some R8-billion a year, money wasted on race reclassifications and group areas investigations

"Professor Michael Savage estimated last year that the direct costs of implementing NP race policies were R3,9-billion.

"Debt servicing costs are now nearly R10-billion a year. By reducing that debt and stabilising the value of the rand, the DP will reverse the recent trend."

Mr Andrew said that against "this background of incompetence and mismanagement, and by eliminating wasteful apartheid expenditure, the DP government would reduce overall expenditure by 10 percent (R6,5-billion).

"In addition, by gaining access to modern arms technology, doubling the number of police and promoting peace in South Africa and with our neighbours, defence spending would be substantially reduced — by about R2,5-billion — without in any way endangering our security.

"A DP government would therefore be able to effect savings of at least R9-billion."

He said that the effect of the DP's economic plan after five years in government would in 1994 be.

☐ Extra central government revenue, at existing tax rates, of R21-billion.

☐ Cost of tax reductions and additional services of R15-billion.

☐ Savings of existing expenditures of R9-billion.

☐ Surplus available — R15-billion.

"Achieving real growth is the key. By 1994, the DP government would be able to provide key services to all South Africans and still have room to manoeuvre on its fiscal policies.

"More money would be in the hands of the public. Standards of living would be rising. Our policy of inward industrialisation would be reducing unemployment and promoting growth. This is not a pipedream. If you have a growing economy, then everybody has an opportunity to get better services and more income.

"There are three essential things to consider. If inflation stays high so that there is no money, and no desire, to save; if local business has no confidence in the future, and if international isolation and hostility persist, then South Africa will not have growth.

(Written by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Sampie might sue over NP ad

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PROFESSOR Sampie Terreblanche said he was taking legal advice on a National Party advertisement which he believes is aimed at "criminalising" him.

The full-page advertisement appeared in Sunday newspapers at the weekend.

Professor Terreblanche said the advertisement had created "a completely distorted framework" of the Leverkusen conference last October of academics, politicians and senior ANC officials.

The advertisement contained a photograph of DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and Professor Terreblanche with SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo and ANC information department head Mr Johnny Makhatini, under the headline "Are these the men planning your future?!"

Professor Terreblanche said he had attended the conference in his academic capacity with the "full knowledge" of Stellenbosch University to discuss the working of different economic systems.

Professor Terreblanche said he was "proud" of his attendance at the conference and had no doubt that if SA one day achieved prosperity, the meeting at Leverkusen and President P W Botha's meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela wold go down as "historical milestones on the way to a just system".

"We will not in any sense be intimidated and will go again and again to such conferences in the interests of the country."

● Attorneys for Die Vrye Weekblad said the NP had contravened copyright regulations by using the picture without the newspaper's permission.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

Nat MP tells audience 'Shut up'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

"Life is full of surprises," Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night at what was billed to be a debate between Information Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and the Conservative Party's Mrs Gay Derby-Lewis and turned out to be an encounter with the National Party's Mr Andre Fourie and Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, who was earlier said to have been replaced by his wife because of other commitments.

Although the players changed, the game was the same: CP criticising NP and DP, NP slating CP and DP, DP slamming CP and NP.

And, oh yes, NP annihilating the "SACP/ANC regime", as Turffontein MP Mr Fourie put it.

But unexpected were Mr Fourie's outbursts. He told Mrs Mona de Beer to "go and laugh outside"; accused her husband of "making fun" of the NP's view on a black State President and told a member of the audience to "shut up".

Mr Fourie was clearly irritated by questions from the 50-strong Junior Chamber of Commerce and Industry audience and remarks from fellow-debaters.

He said the DP was capitulating to the South African Communist Party, the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement alliance.

Referring to an NP advertisement showing DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan with the SACP's Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Fourie said: "It makes me sick to see any South African, white or black, sitting next to Joe Slovo, the perpetrator of violence, the thrower of bombs. A vote for the DP is inevitably a vote for an SACP/ANC government."

Dr de Beer replied that the DP condemned violence. The party was prepared to consult with the ANC, but could not co-operate with the ANC as it did not share the same political beliefs.

The audience asked the difference between the DP talking to the ANC and State President P W Botha drinking tea with Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela currently held no official position in the ANC, said Mr Fourie. And he had committed himself to "peaceful development".

Then the audience asked: "Why not release the man?"

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

De Klerk stands by group concept

ST 9/18/89 Political Staff (304A)

MARITZBURG — The basic choice of white voters in the election was between the Democratic Party policy of one man-one vote and National Party insistence on effective protection of group rights, National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk said last night.

Mr de Klerk said both parties sought fundamental reform. It was untrue the NP was clinging to white domination or that it was not really committed to negotiation.

There had to be "drastic" change.

But throughout his speech, Mr de Klerk emphasised this had to be done on the basis of the protection of group rights, particularly the white rights.

The insistence on group affairs was being made out to be a sin.

"It is not a sin, it is a reality of South Africa."

The group concept could not be wished away and whites would not enter into power sharing if it involved majority rule, he said.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

Election 1989

NP 'aims to weaken State Presidency'

Political Staff

The National Party intends stripping the State Presidency of its present powers so that it will not matter what the colour of the incumbent's skin is.

This emerged in a debate at the University of Pretoria yesterday between the Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, and the Democratic Party MP and candidate for Randburg, Mr Wynand Malan.

Dr van der Merwe said with the presidency as powerful as it was, it would always be important not only what the president's colour was, but also his language and province of origin.

This was unacceptable in South Africa.

"The powers must be distributed amongst office bearers in such a way that it eventually will not be important," he said.

(Report by A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)



Mr Arrie Paulus speaking in Carletonville last night.

CP, DP 'hand in glove' – Viljoen

Star 9/8/89

By Clyde Johnson, Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Education and Development Aid Minister, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, last night accused the Democratic and Conservative parties of helping one another to create a deadlock to immobilise the South African Government.

3049

Speaking at a National Party meeting at Nelspruit's Van Riebeeck Park Hall, Dr Viljoen warned of the implications of a "hung" Parliament where no party received a clear majority.

"Despite their vast differences, here we have the ironic situation where the DP and CP are nominating 'spoiling candidates' in constituencies where both realise they do not have the slightest chance of winning," he said.

"Yet, despite the DP fighting the NP hand in glove with the CP, they turn around and say they would be willing to form a coalition with the NP in the event of a deadlock."

Dr Viljoen said the election on September 6 was the country's most important ever. It could prove to be a watershed particularly in the constitutional area where South Africa's future would have to be determined.

"It is important for every voter to realise that their vote is not intended to overcome some short term problem, be it economic or otherwise.

"This is an election where long term issues are vital," he said.

South Africa needed a strong government with a clear policy and power base. Negative voting, which could lead to a hung parliament, should, he said, be avoided at all costs.

(Report by C Johnson, Sigrit Centre, De Waal Street, Nelspruit.)

Vlok: I take back no word against MDM

Cape Times 9/8/87 (SOCA)

Own Correspondent

LAW and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok last night said he was not withdrawing any allegations he had made about the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

Addressing an election meeting at Verwoerdburg, Mr Vlok said: "I am being portrayed as having made untrue allegations against the so-called Mass Democratic Movement. This is not true. I stand by everything I have said about that grouping of radical organisations. I withdraw no word of it."

He said police were investigating whether Cosatu had broken restriction orders placed on the organisation in terms of emergency regulations.

Mr Vlok said activists of "radical organisations" who spoke for the MDM were being told what to say from within the inner circles of the SACP and the ANC".

"Because this is so, the question arises whether the aims of the MDM is not precisely the same as that of the SACP and the ANC ..."

Mr Vlok quoted at length from a document he said had been brought back from a meeting between "several MDM activists, including office-bearers of Cosatu, the UDF and its affiliates" and the "ANC/SACP-alliance" in Lusaka on June 5 and 6 this year.

He also quoted a nameless official of Cosatu at "a conference of the ANC in Tanzania in 1987" as saying: "The NP and other parties are presently going from door to door to campaign for their candidates to be elected. It is our democratic right to call on our people not to vote in these racist elections, and to defy restrictions on our leaders and organisations."

(Report by Riaan Smit, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Nafcoc Conference '89

5-year plan 'does not go far enough'

Govt is told to scrap apartheid

THE president of the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Dr Sam Motsuenyane yesterday warned the Government that attitudes against it will harden if it did not take steps to dismantle apartheid.

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

Delivering his presidential address to the 25th annual conference of Nafcoc in Sun City, Motsuenyane said the government must create a climate which will make honest negotiations possible such as in Namibia.

He said the National Party's five year plan, while advocating certain constitutional changes and a new political dispensation, did not go as far as destroying the basic structures of apartheid.

"The wide majority of black people would like to see apartheid completely nullified. The Bill of human and group rights which the plan envisages, should form a desirable component of policy, in a future non-racial and democratic South African community," he told about 1 000 delegates attending the conference.

"The truth must be accepted that no serious negotiations about the future of South Africa can be entered into until the representatives of the mass democratic organisations like the ANC, PAC and others are directly involved."

"The 25th conference of Nafcoc is taking place in a climate of heightened expectations for peace and radical political changes, not only for South Africa, but throughout the entire sub-continent.

"The prevailing mood of expectancy was sparked by the positive peace initiatives which began in Angola, ending in the signing of an accord between South Africa, Cuba and Angola. These peace initiatives have led to the Namibian independence process," Motsuenyane said.

Large numbers of prominent South Africans, of all racial groups, have travelled to Lusaka to hold meetings with ANC and exiles. Inside the country Cosatu, UDF and Inkatha finally started peace talks about the Natal massacres.

Motsuenyane said of even greater interest in South Africa was the enormous speculation that had arisen in the wake of the recent meeting between President Botha and imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

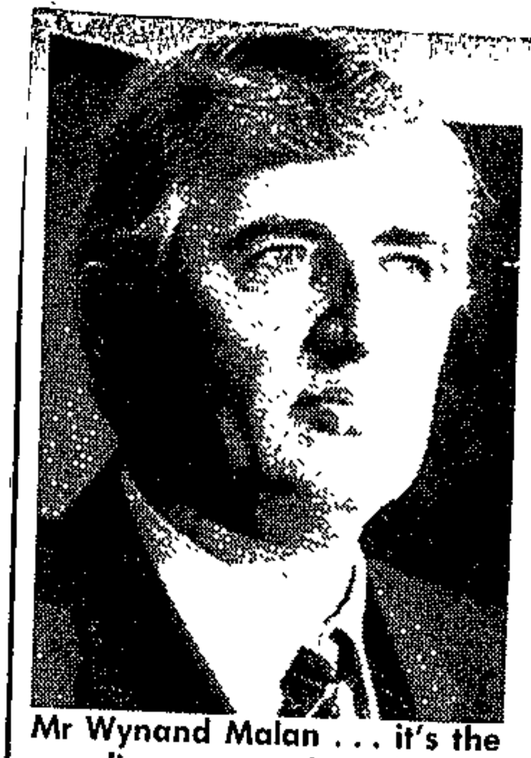
Referring to the country's economic climate, he said the reimposition of the state of emergency coupled with international pressures on the economy had created conditions which militated against growth and the restoration of investor confidence in the South African economy.

Babb and Malan find little common ground

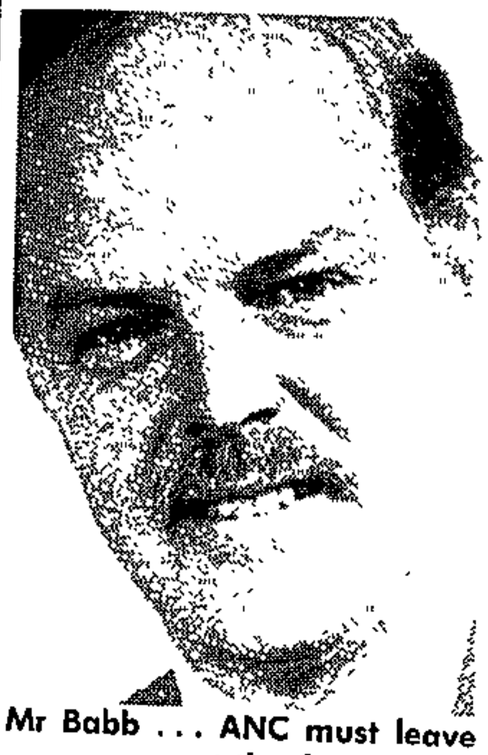
Star 9/8/84 304A

Graham Linscott comments

Election on TV



Mr Wynand Malan . . . it's the ordinary man who suffers.



Mr Babb . . . ANC must leave guns at the door.

Last night's debate was without doubt the most significant yet. It was Glen Babb, former diplomatic whizz-kid now in Nat colours, against Wynand Malan, former Nat and now co-leader of the Democrats, defending his marginal Randburg seat against none other than Mr Babb.

The debate came in two parts. One was on the economy and the other on the basis for negotiations.

Mr Malan said the DP was for private enterprise, individuality being the engine of economic growth. But productivity required both schooling and skills. This could come only with political change.

Mr Babb accused him of favouring a redistribution. Productivity could be achieved only by profit. Redistribution would increase taxes and increase Government intervention.

PRIVATE SECTOR

Mr Malan denied favouring any physical redistribution and emphasised that the private sector was the basis of the economy.

Mr Babb challenged him to call off Archbishop Tutu and any others who were advocating sanctions.

Me Malan obliged, saying the DP had always regarded this course as counter-productive.

Mr Babb several times asked Mr Malan what the price was of brown bread and mentioned the growth prospects of several large companies.

Mr Malan found it astonishing that Mr Babb spoke of the prospects of large companies when the ordinary man was suffering. Old Nats must be turning in their grave.

He conceded that he did not know the price of brown bread — his wife did the shopping.

NO CAPITULATION

Mr Babb said there was light at the end of the tunnel and the governments of Canada and the United States had been forced to introduce regulations to stop their citizens becoming involved in trade with South Africa.

He also said the Nats did not believe in capitulation, unlike the DP which sought an interim government on the way to black majority rule.

There were many poles of negotiation, but the DP saw only two — the Nats and the ANC — "and then your disappearing in a puff of smoke as facilitators".

It might have been only my set, but at this stage there was a "Peep! Peep! Peep!" while Mr Babb spoke and the test pattern came on screen for a couple of seconds. It was no doubt accidental, but we missed part of what he actually said.

Mr Malan firmly rejected his opponent's statements about black majority rule and the DP seeking only an interim government.

The Nats and the ANC were the two major actors preventing negotiation, he said. Unless there could be negotiation across the whole spectrum, including homeland leaders and participants in the tricameral Parliament, the country would get nowhere.

The Nats spoke of negotiation, yet not even those operating inside the system had accepted the five-year plan.

Mr Babb said the purpose of negotiation was to achieve democracy. But the ANC would have to move closer and leave its guns at the door. It was up to the ANC to change, not the Nats.

BILL OF RIGHTS

Mr Malan questioned the Nats' values. They spoke of property rights, yet they had the Group Areas Act. They spoke of a Bill of Rights, yet they had repressive legislation.

He asked why, if Prime Minister John Vorster could tell Ian Smith to negotiate with the "terrorist" Mugabe, there should be no talks with the ANC?

Mr Babb said the Rhodesian talks had been during a ceasefire. The ANC still talked of armed struggle, and the message from the talks between the State President and Mr Nelson Mandela was very different from the message coming from Lusaka.

Mr Malan wound up by saying the Nats offered nothing. They had brought about a decline in the economy and our security, yet were asking the electorate to trust them again.

And that was the Great Debate. In all fairness, one imagines there was some jollity afterwards at DP campaign headquarters, Randburg.

(Comment by G R Linscott, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

Prof going to lawyers over Nat advert

CAPE TOWN — Professor Sampie Terreblanche is taking legal advice on an NP advertisement he believes is aimed at "criminalising" him.

He said the advertisement had created "a completely distorted framework" of the Leverkusen conference last October of academics, politicians and senior ANC officials.

The advertisement contained a photograph of DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan and Professor Terreblanche — together with SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Joe Slovo and ANC information department head Mr Johnny Makhatini — under the headline "Are these the men planning your future?"

The professor said he was proud of his attendance at the conference and had no doubt that if SA one day achieved prosperity, the meeting at Leverkusen as well as President Botha's meeting with Nelson Mandela would go down as "historical milestones on the way to a just system".

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

dnesday August 9 1989

No answer on President

Left, Right jeer at Nat hedging

Star 9/8/89

Political Staff 304A

A National Party pamphlet tackling the thorny question of whether a black man could in terms of its policy become President has been branded as ambivalent and laughable by both leftists and rightists.

The NP's response to the question, contained in the propaganda publication titled "Key Issues", was an example of how directionless the party was, Democratic Party co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said.

Simple question

"Simple question, one would say. If the same question is put to the Democratic Party, the answer is a monosyllable: Yes. If it is put to the CP, the answer is equally simple: No."

Both Dr de Beer and Dr Willie Snyman, CP MP for Pietersburg, read out the party's answer in the pamphlet: "The position of State President can be an important symbol of national reconiliation and should thus enjoy the support of all groups.

"Although this issue is not on the agenda now, it is important that all groups be able to participate in the election of the State President. However, it is the NP's premise that domination of any group by others must be avoided.

"It is thus necessary that the electoral procedure as well as the character and the responsibilities of the office of the State President be reconsidered in order to prevent the office from becoming an instrument for domination."

Gesturing his uncertainty, Dr Snyman said: "It that now a yes or a no?"

Said Dr De Beer: "Now, do you know whether a black man can be president or not? Of course you don't, because Mr De Klerk and the Nats are so utterly directionless and feeble that they will not even answer a simple question like this."

The country was governed by a party neither for equal rights like the DP, nor against them, like the CP. The NP was not for the CP's partition, nor did it favour a single federal state like the DP.

Dr De Beer said the DP favoured scrapping the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts. The CP wanted to apply them strictly. "The Nats reject the CP's policy of applying the Acts and also reject the DP's policy of repealing them."

(Report by A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

'Vlok's election propaganda

Sowetan 10/8/89

304A

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions has accused Law and Order Minister, Mr Adriaan Vlok, of mounting an election propaganda by allegedly reviving allegations he withdrew against the Mass Democratic Movement.

In a speech on Tuesday night, Mr Vlok said since the campaign got off the ground unrest and terrorist incidents had increased.

He said anti-apartheid activists were bent on creating chaos in South Africa.

"Minister Vlok in essence repeated his Fochville speech which had been so thoroughly discredited, not least by his own admission to Cosatu's lawyers that he had fabricated important allegations in the speech," Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Cosatu's assistant general secretary, said in a statement.

"Cosatu and the Mass Democratic Movement refuse to be side-tracked from the main issue facing our country: that is the dismantling of apartheid and minority rule.

"There can be no solution to this most pressing and urgent task without the participation of the Mass Democratic Movement." - Sapa.

Nafcoc chief to seek FW meeting

By JOSHUA RABOROKO

PRESIDENT of Nafcoc, Dr Sam Motsuenyane, has been delegated to urgently meet national party leader, Mr FW De Klerk, after elections to discuss, among other things, the scrapping of apartheid.

Page 2 SOWETAN Thursday August 10 1989

This formed part of several resolutions adopted by delegates at the 25th annual conference of Nafcoc at Sun City yesterday.

Motsuenyane said following utterances made by Nationalist Party leaders it was believed that the Government had not moved any closer to the point where honest negotiations with the Mass Democratic organisations, including the ANC and PAC could begin.

No meaningful negotiations regarding the future of South Africa could be entered into without the direct involvement of some prominent and credible black political leaders who are now in prison.

He said the purpose of the meeting with De Klerk would be to demand the release of political leaders, the lifting of the state of emergency, the unbanning of political organisations and negotiations for a new constitutional dispensation.

Nafcoc would be happy to support a negotiated settlement if these preconditions were fully met.

Some of the resolutions taken at the conference include:

* The review of Nafcoc policies related to sanctions and foreign investment;

* The review of the impact of the opening of the central business district of certain cities to black entrepreneurs and what problems they were presently encountering;

* Overview of funding policies relating to black business.

* Discussion of the strategies to be adopted to facilitate the training of managers.

* Discussion of strategies for marketing the Nafcoc business charter both in South Africa and abroad.

* Discussion of strategies to protect the black entrepreneurs from possible exploitation in black white partnership undertaking and franchising of export import business.

* Discussion of the role of black entreprenuers in the promotion of export import business.



Mr Adriaan Vlok

Cosatu hits at Vlok

JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions has accused Law and Order Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok of mounting an election propaganda campaign by reviving allegations he withdrew against the Mass Democratic Movement.

In a speech on Tuesday night Mr Vlok said that since the election campaign had started, unrest and terrorist incidents had increased.

He said anti-apartheid activists were bent on creating chaos in South Africa.

Only a few days ago the minister withdrew his allegation that the movement intended to mount a violent defiance campaign.

"Minister Vlok last night in essence repeated his Fochville speech which had been so thoroughly discredited, not least by his own admission to Cosatu's lawyers that he had fabricated important allegations in that speech," Mr Sydney Mafumadi, Cosatu's assistant general secretary, said in a statement. — Sapa



Bringing whites on board — Worrall

The relationship between the Democratic Party and the Mass Democratic Movement is still clouded by uncertainty.

With the unveiling of the DP's election manifesto recently, numerous questions still abound. What does it mean by federalism? Is it "hawkish" on security? Why participate in the "monkey" House of Delegates?

CHIARA CARTER sought some answers in a probing interview with DP co-leader Denis Worrall:

Advocate Dullah Omar, have stated that the DP is a party of the ruling class and as such all people who regard themselves as part of the MDM should not vote in the elections. What is your response to this?

This is a regrettable attitude.

There were members of the MDM at our launch. I don't believe the MDM would quarrel with our objectives.

We are taking the message of a non-racial and democratic South Africa to white South Africans in a way few organisations can. Our efficiency in this is unmatched by previous political parties.

Given our shared objectives, the MDM can't get to white South Africa in the way that we can. We are bringing white South Africans on board.

I don't understand what would be achieved by telling liberals and white radicals not to vote.

What is the response of the DP to the mass resistance campaign which the MDM has launched?

I can understand the frustration of those denied a vote. So can many whites who empathise with the frustration of those excluded from the political process.

We are absolutely opposed to the disruption of meetings such as happened at Witwatersrand university recently. We strongly condemn this but I am not convinced that these disruptions are part of the resistance campaign.

Our concern with the defiance campaign is that it doesn't turn ugly and result in violent confrontation which would lead to greater polarisation. The only people who will benefit from this is the Conservative Party.

Why did you, a former supporter of the Nationalist Party, turn away from the NP.

We are entering a new era in our political history. In the past it was dominated by white interests and politics was white determined. Now all South Africans' interests are involved. Hence, we have a new political party.

The Nats lack credibility and the will to change. Every step towards a post-apartheid South Africa is a step away from Nationalist dominated politics.

The DP is drawing many ex-members of the Nationalist party because they realise that the NP is a washed up party which can't achieve a turnabout in the economic or political crises.

Ambassadors are essentially channels of comunication. They do not justify but explain. Their representative function is wider than the government of the day. They represent the country with all its potential, problems and points of view.

I reached a stage where I felt the NP did not represent the answer. It lacked the direction and the creative leadership to turn things around.

I was not a career diplomat but essentially a politician. Nevertheless, it was not an easy choice and things have not been easy since then.

The DP has said it stands for federalism. What does this mean in terms of universal franchise?

We stand for federalism and proportional representation.

Put simply, proportional representation means an electoral system in which everyone has the right to vote. Parties are represented in parliament according to the percentage of votes they obtain.

This is a departure from the winner takes all approach and means that votes are not wasted. If a candidate wins a seat by 52 percent, the other 48 percent of votes do not get thrown away.

It is a more democratic system, gives better representation of people's interests, values and ideals, and has worked in many other countries.

Federalism is a system like that of the USA. It means there will be a central government with limited functions and the remainder of governmental functions are distributed to local government.

We think this is desirable because it brings government closer to the people and means they can determine their daily lives at a regional and local level. It is also more efficient than a centralised state.

What is the DP's view on the ANC?

We believe the political future has to be negotiated on an all-inclusive basis. This means that all parties must be involved.

All constitutional options from the Freedom Charter to Carel Boshoff's dream of a Boere Volkstaat must be put on the negotiating table.

If we came to power, we would relieve the Chief Justice of his powers and tell him to immediately begin to set the negotiations process in motion.

South Africa already has a culture of negotiations in fields such as labour relations on which we could draw.

Some critics have said that the PFP element of the DP predominates. Is this a correct analysis?

The DP is not the PFP, the IP or the NDM. It is a new party developing its own personality. It would be incorrect to say that any element dominates.

The DP believes we have been successful in projecting an image of strength, creativity and freshness in our answers to South Africa's future.

(Report by C Carter, of 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock.)

Carter: Given the history of consistently strong opposition from the community towards the tricameral parliamentary system and its predecessors, why has the Democratic Party decided to participate in the tricameral parliamentary system?

Worrall: It is incorrect to say that the DP supports participation.

We are not contesting any seats in the House of Representatives.

We are only contesting nine seats in the House of Delegates.

The original stance of the party was not to participate in either the House of Representatives or Delegates.

This was because we were not convinced that the majority of South Africans supported participation in these two houses and we were concerned that participation would close doors for the party with other organisations. We feel it is important to engage with all parties across the political spectrum.

I must say that as regards the three PFP members of the HOD, we had a moral duty to support their candidature. There was no question of us not supporting them. The issue was whether we should go beyond that.

In Natal, the situation was such that the regional council of the party decided to participate on a limited basis.

The views of our members in Natal prevailed and we have nine candidates for seats in the HOD. Naturally, they have the full support of the party.

The DP is on record as having a strong stance on security, including the enlarging of the police force. Does this mean that the party supports the use of the army and police to quell civil unrest and to enforce the state of emergency?

The DP's stand on security should be separated from the issue of the state of emergency.

We believe the emergency should be lifted as a first step towards negotiations. We further believe black politics should be freed from restraints. We think detainees should be released, parties unbanned and apartheid ended.

If we are talking about security as guaranteeing the safety of individuals, the inviolability of homes, then this is a universal human wish.

The DP thinks we can do better than the Nationalists on this.

Furthermore, we offer real security — the security that comes from a strong economy which is growing; the assurance for whites that they have a future in South Africa and on this continent as Africans; the peace of mind that comes from knowing you have a government based on the will of the people.

With reference to troops being deployed in the townships, we wish to move towards the normalisation of the situation and the withdrawal of such troops.

The very existence of the DP implies that you believe change can be effected from within parliament and that it is worthwhile to participate in white parliamentary politics. Why do you think this and how do you see such change occurring?

Firstly, there is no question that parliament is the finest political pulpit for white South Africans. The aspirations of whites are focused on parliament.

Secondly, by being part of parliament we can effect the nature of the debate about the future of our country.

Most importantly, we have a situation where we are going for power. Hence our participation is completely justified.

Our strategy is three pronged: To engage all political organisations; to work in alliance with those organisations which share our objectives; and to go for power which means to win elections.

The DP stands for a non-racial, democratic and free enterprise South Africa. We don't hesitate in spelling out our message and increasingly, people are being won to the view that it is in the interests of all white South Africans to abandon apartheid.

'S Africans must learn to trust one another'

Star 11/8/89 Political Reporter 3041

The National Party did not want to act against Boksburg petty apartheid because, if it did, it would have to explain why it was fine to have apartheid in Pretoria parks but not in Boksburg parks, Mr Sirk van Wyk, Democratic Party candidate in Boksburg, said last night.

Speaking in the constituency, he said the DP wanted all apartheid laws scrapped, including the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Group Areas Act.

"We want to live in peace with one another. We want to decide ourselves with whom we want to associate. We do not want, or need, the misery and anxiety of total communities being uprooted and physically moved all over the place, to satisfy the whims of an ideology-bound bureaucracy. Above all, we don't want to have to pay for the social engineering of the NP leadership."

GROUP-CENTRED SOCIETY

Mr van Wyk, locked in a four-way battle with the NP, CP and HNP, said there were risks involved in "thinking ourselves loose" from a group-centred society.

New symbols of national unity had to be found, while all South Africans would have to learn to trust and care about one another.

"As we have learnt to share our economy, we will also learn to share our amenities and our residential areas. When we do, we may not find it all that painful. We may even find that our fear of the future was our greatest obstacle."

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

OFS CP boycott

Sowetan 11/8/89

304A

A NEW black consumer boycott against Conservative Party businesses has erupted - this time in the small Free State town of Parys on the Vaal River.

Although Parys - unlike Boksburg and Carletonville - does not have a CP-controlled town council, boycotters have identified CP businesses in the town and have begun to withdraw their custom. A list surfaced in Parys this week identifying about 36 businesses - including one medical practice and two or three legal practices - owned by CP supporters.

According to residents of the town the list has been circulating in the black areas of Parys.

The managers of a pharmacy named on the list said yesterday that several black customers holding accounts with them, had been in this week to close them.

They were convinced that the National Party was responsible for drawing up the list.

NP election workers denied this. However, one said: "That's what should happen - boycott the right people."

Officials at the CP's election office said - without naming the NP - that the boycott was " a clear sign that the CP was winning the election in Parys and that certain instances were trying to disadvantage the CP."

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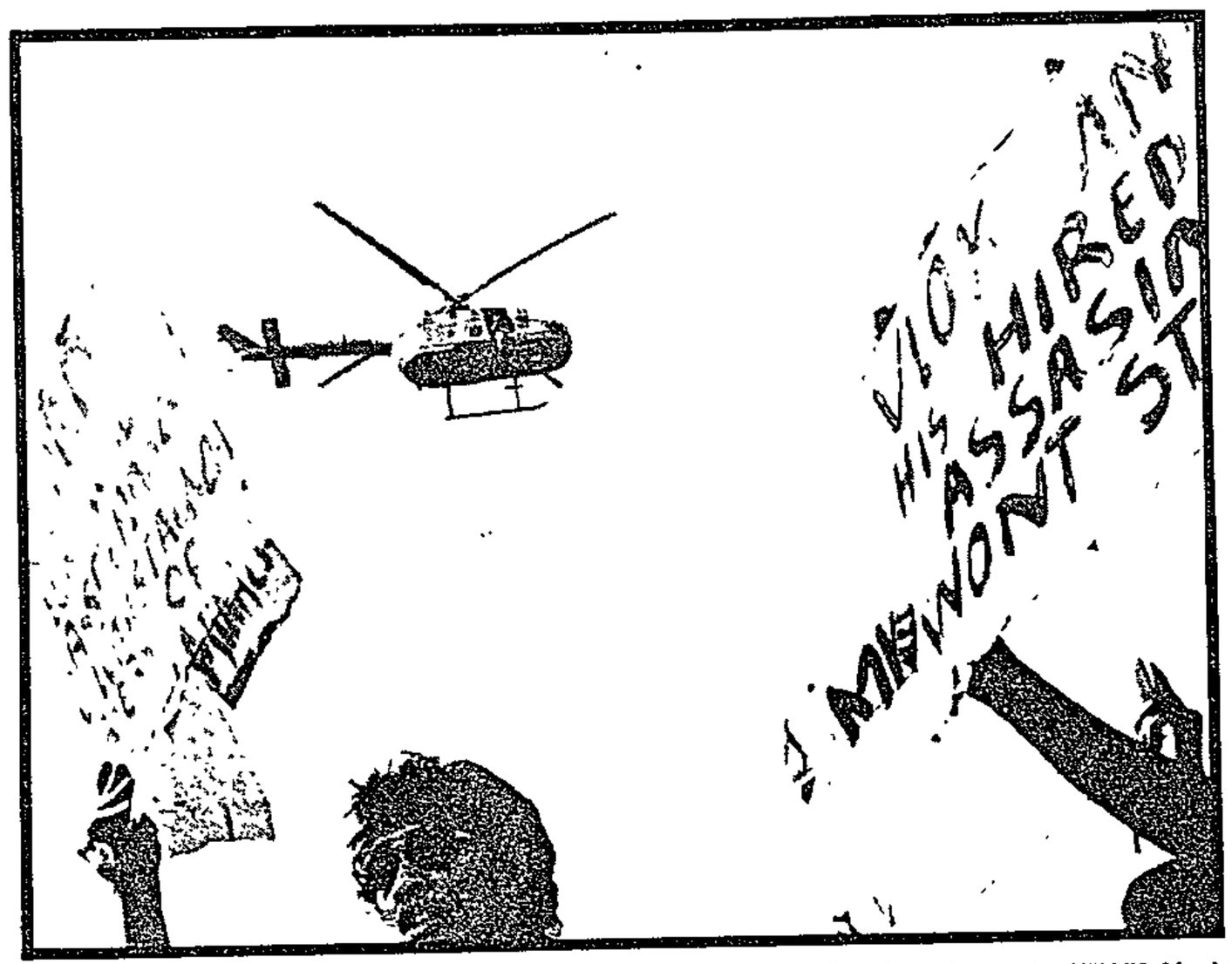
Palls of black smoke as demos sweep Cape

Thousands of Cape students take to the streets ... black smoke pours from burning tyres ... restrictions on an ANC funeral are blatantly ignored ... leading activists defy their restriction orders

By GAYE DAVIS



The spirit of defiance spreads ... UWC students march beneath a helicopter Picture: GUY TILLIM, Afrapix

IN the biggest protests since the start of the State of Emergency, students at schools across the Cape Flats and in Cape Town's black townships staged demonstrations, massed rallies and displayed placards this week.

In Mitchells' Plain and other areas, palls of black smoke spewed from burning-tyre barricades, a symbol of resistance.

According to police unrest reports:

●On Monday police fired teargas at pupils in Mitchells' Plain, Bishop Lavis, Belhar and Modderdam Road, while a placard demonstration was broken up by police in Manenberg.

●On Tuesday, University of the Western Cape (UWC) students were teargassed by police during an on-campus march after a rally attended by about 2 000 students; the same day saw hundreds of students from different schools staging rallies in Kraaifontein, Mitchells' Plain, Athlone, Bellville and Belhar.

Clerics and educationists staged a placard demonstration outside St George's Cathedral in support of detainees defying restriction orders.

●On Wednesday UWC students held another rally attended by about 1 800 students. After marching around the campus they clashed at the main gate with police who fired round upon round of teargas, pursued students onto campus and lobbed more canisters at residences. Seven journalists were briefly detained and may be charged for contravening Emergency regulations.

Other incidents cited by police include vehicles being stoned in Guguletu and Bellville.

But sanitised police reports of clashes fail to put across the new militancy or the depth of organisation evident in students' actions.

For months, despite it being restricted, they have been re-building the Western Cape Students' Congress (Wecsco), an umbrella body with affiliates at schools in black and "coloured" townships throughout the Cape Peninsula as well as in the Boland and on the West Coast.

Its leaders talk in pseudo-military jargon of "battle plans", "hard" and "soft" targets and "POAs" (plans of action). Student participation in the defiance campaign is termed "national service".

In the spirit of the MDM's call that the defiance campaign be a peaceful one, "discipline" is the watchword.

But they say that the presence of police results in provocation which can lead to "unforeseen results", although not always: rallies on Tuesday were without incident, despite police being present in the hall of one in Mitchells' Plain.

The detention under Emergency regulations of 10 students, including three executive members of Wecsco, has bolstered their cause, as has police action against students.

Their campaign is being built on the back of years of resistance to apartheid and the inferior education it offers them, cemented by intensely felt local grievances.

These include the removal of most of the conservative white principals who were a focus of resentment at high schools earlier this year and the reinstatement of politically active teachers suspended 18 month ago.

A significant feature of this week's rallies were the number of teachers present. Teachers mounted platforms and spoke on behalf of their restricted organisations, the Western Cape Teachers' Union and the Democratic Teachers' Union.

On Thursday about 120 teachers from three high schools staged a march yesterday baring placards saying "Leave our kids alone", "We have the right to protest" and "We support our students".

Police ordered the group to disperse but a delegation of three teachers and three clergymen were permitted to proceed to the Bishop Lavis police station to hand in a petition.

In Athlone, *toyi-toyi*ing students waiting for buses waved the familiar black green and gold colours at watching police who immediately took up sjamboks and strode across: a confrontation was averted by the intervention of lawyers present.

A group of policemen then entered the hall and, to sarcastic applause and jeers, removed remaining banners.

At rallies the brief was clear: spread the message of defiance from student to teacher and teacher to parent.

But the tone for this week's events was set at last Saturday's funeral in Athlone of Robbie Waterwitch and Coline Williams, two activists who died in the first of a series of bomb blasts in the Peninsula on the eve of nominations day for the elections.

Restrictions imposed by police — that the funeral be indoors, that only ordained priests speak and that there be no banners, placards or pamphlets — were blatantly ignored.

Those of the esitimated 3 500 people present who couldn't be accommodated in the packed church sat in an outer courtyard under banners of the ANC.

A pamphlet distributed described Williams and Waterwitch as trained members of Umkhonto weSizwe, the ANC's military wing.

In a eulogy, they were described as "children of 1985", their spirits "forged in the crucible of struggle". Congregants were urged to "pick up their fallen spears and fight, courageously and with discipline".

The appearance, as the coffins were about to be loaded into the hearse, of youths bearing the ANC and South African Communist Party flags, prompted four policemen armed with R-1 rifles to intervene.

They were met with a wall of human flesh, literally stopping them in their tracks and sweeping them back out of the churchyard gate. Tense negotiations followed before the funeral procession was allowed to leave

At the cemetery, police snatched the ANC flags draping the coffins, but they were replaced with others.

Marshalls, with the help of Archbishop Desmond Tutu and lawyers, kept tight control on mourners in an atmosphere taut with tension

In Bonteheuwel later, as mourners arrived at the Catholic Church for tea, police tried to arrest a man wearing camouflage uniform. The crowd refused to let them do so and the gathering was dispersed with teargas.

That evening about 300 people gathered in the parking lot of Groote Schuur Hospital were also teargassed by police and an advocate, Johnny de Lange — a member of the defence team in the Yengeni terrorism trial — was detained and released on Monday. He faces charges of breaking Emergency regulations.

The crowd was at the hospital in support of a delegation of six seeking permission to deliver fruit and chocolates to jailed trade unionist Oscar Mpetha, having his 80th birthday.

Despite the police action the gifts were delivered and a large crowd, though unable to see Mpetha, sang *Happy Birthday* and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* at the door of his ward.

On Sunday, hundreds of people packed an Athlone church for a service in support of 21 ex-detainees, including most of the United Democratic Front leadership in the Wester Cape, defying their restriction orders. There were tense scenes as congregants accompanied restrictees to their homes, where police were waiting to inform them they had broken their orders and faced charges.

There were no incidents, however. MDM representative Cheryl Carolus this week commended the "discipline and dignity" with which people were heeding the call to defiance.

Who's been chatting up the ANC? The Nats themselves

The Nats have made plenty of mileage out of the DP's contacts with the ANC. But contacts by NP officials or supporters rank prominently among the eighty contacts with the ANC since 1985, chronicled here by MARK PHILLIPS

THE Democratic Party's meetings with the African National Congress have become a key thrust of the National Party's election campaign — but over the past two years NP members have made a few contacts of their own with the banned organisation.

Full-page NP advertisments appeared in the Sunday papers with pictures of DP leader Wynand Malan and economic advisor Sampie Terreblanche meeting with Joe Slovo and then-ANC foreign affairs head, Johnny Makhatini, who died late last year. *(See story at right)*

But only a week earlier Randburg National Party councillor Stephen van Metzinger had returned to South Africa from the first openly admitted meeting between an elected representative of the NP and exiled leaders of the ANC.

And late last year Piet Koornhof, then South Africa's US ambassador, made the unprecedented move of sending a message of condolence to Makhatini's family, after his death Sunday's NP advertisment erroneously described Makhatini as "former head of ANC propaganda department".

Van Metzinger's encounter with the banned organisation is one of 80 — 30 involving white South Africans — since the trail-blazing visit by leading members of the business establishment in 1985. Many other meetings with the ANC receive little or no coverage, while others are confidential and go unreported.

As the NP councillor arrived, South Africans learned that top state officials, including Reserve Bank deputy-governor Jan Lombard and Development Bank chief executive Simon Brand had been discussing future economic policy with a large delegation of leading ANC members and Soviet Africa experts in Switzerland.

The last five years have seen major changes in South African politics — but few more rapid than the unbanning by stealth of the ANC

The muted response of the NP press and the SABC to Van Metzinger's trip, and the huge Five Freedoms Forum conference in Lusaka last month, is in sharp contrast with vitriolic reaction to the meeting between 62 passport-holders and the ANC in Dakar in July 1987.

As it has become increasingly evident that the solution to South Africa's problems cannot lie in white parliamentary politics and black "system" politics alone. So the ANC has drawn increasing attention to itself as the major representative of the extra-parliamentary, non-racial tradition, and the most popular political organisation in the black community.

Despite frequent contact with the ANC, white society remains deeply divided in its attitudes to the organisation. Attitudes range from open support, through critical support for its objecuves, though not necessarily its tactics, to outright antagonism towards both its strategies and its objectives

The 30-odd reported meetings with whites in the last five years have included adherents of all these viewpoints. But most importantly, they have always included people close to the government.

In 1985 the government threatened to withdraw the passports of seven NGK ministers who planned to meet the ANC. It withdrew the passports of eight Stellenbosch University students who tried to defy the government's public opposition to such talks.



SACP's Joe Slovo

But no such threats or preventative measures were taken against the increasing number of establishment figures quietly meeting ANC leaders.

The first reported to do so were editors of NP newspapers — Harald Pakendorf of *Die Vaderland* and Piet Muller of *Beeld*.

In 1986 Broederbond chairman PJ de Lange met the ANC at a conference on neutral territory in the United States. No details of the meeting were released, but at the time, the Broederbond was preparing a confidential internal memorandum which raised the possibility, for the first time, of a black majority government for South Africa

In 1987 NGK ministers overcame government objections to meetings with banned organisations and held discussions with ANC religious department members at a World Council of Churches meeting in Lusaka.

Public denunciation was, however, largely directed at the 62 largely Afrikaans-speaking delegates who flew to Dakar in July 1987.

The wide cross-section of delegates and the sheer scale of the visit went well beyond anything which had gone before. Day after day the delegates were pilloried in editorials and cartoons in *Beeld* and *Die Burger*

The extended safari to Ghana and Burkino Faso provided more grist for the ANC-phobia mill SATV ran a special extra-gruesome docu-drama on ANC terrorism to welcome the Dakarites home.

Yet even in this case, it was reported that the National Intelligence Service approached several delegates to report back to them on the substance of the discussions. While in public the government expressed outrage, its less public face was gingerly searching for political answers.

The Dakar uproar achieved its cathartic purposes for a political establishment not yet ready to accept the logic of its failed policies. The Emergency was only a year old, counter-revolutionary optimism reigned in powerful places.

But never again has the response to an ANC visit matched that of Dakar. Rumours were soon rife that at least one cabinet minister was trying through intermediaries to arrange a behind-closed-doors meeting with the ANC in Lusaka. News of frequent contact between South African and ANC diplomats at functions around the world began to leak out.

In the last two years, meetings and contacts between establishment representatives and the ANC have started to occur almost without comment. Springs NP MP Piet Coetzer, an aide to information minister Stoffel van der Merwe attended a conference in Bermuda earlier this year at which ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki was present.

Also present was Stellenbosch philosophy professor Willie Esterhuyse.

Academics, students, bankers, economists, professionals, rugby enthusiasts, city councils, workers — all have sent representatives to Lusaka, Harare, London or Lausanne to discuss a post-apartheid future.

The response of television, which two short years ago led a crusade against the ANC safari-goers, shifted to brief disapproval, then to benign and matter-of-fact reporting.The NP's attacks have only been resumed for election purposes.

PW Botha's tea with ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the news that Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee has been seeing Mandela regularly has given a new respectability to these meetings. This is despite the electioneering efforts of NP leader FW de Klerk to distinguish Mandela from the organisation he leads.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the Botha-Mandela tea is that for the first time the NP government, which has been talking to the ANC for the last four years — largely through intermediaries — met a leading member of the ANC directly, and in South Africa.

●Mark Phillips is a researcher at the Centre For Policy Studies, Johannesburg.

NP ordered to withdraw Vrye Weekblad photo

By PHILIPPA GARSON

The Afrikaans weekly newspaper, *Vrye Weekblad*, this week won thousands of rands of free advertising following its legal victory against the National Party, which had to undertake to withdraw a photograph from an NP advert.

The NP instead published the advert in daily newspapers this week with "This picture has been withdrawn due to court action by *Vrye Weekblad*" printed over the space intended for the photograph.

"It is surely justice that the NP is paying to advertise our name," said Max du Preez, editor of the Afrikaans weekly.

The photograph, taken by *Weekblad's* Elsabe Wessels at a conference in West Germany last year, depicts the Democratic Party's co-leader, Wynand Malan, and economic advisor Sample Terreblanche grouped with South African Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo and the African National Congress' international affairs director, Johnny Makhatini.

In an obvious ploy to link the DP with the ANC, the NP "lifted" the photograph from *Vrye Weekblad* for its advert.

Vrye Weekblad, claiming copyright of the photograph, lodged an urgent application to interdict the NP to refrain from using it. The application, heard on Wednesday evening in the home of Mr Justice J Leveson, was postponed to an undisclosed date, but the NP's Con Botha had to undertake not to publish the photograph in the meantime.

Du Preez told the *Weekly Mail* yesterday: "We are completely satisfied. It could not have happened to nicer people. We think it is important that the position of copyright on newspaper material be re-established."

NEWLY-FORMED ARTS COUNCIL SEEKS QUALIFIED PERSONNEL

The newly-formed Arts Council of Bophuthatswana, established in terms of Act 37 of 1988, has vacancies for three very special people — an EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, a SECRETARY and a PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER, who will be responsible for the running of the Council on a day-to-day basis.

In keeping with its stated aims of developing the talents and culture of the nation, as well as interacting with people of other cultures, the Council hopes to hold choral festivals, art exhibitions and drama and dance performances. These activities will be promoted on a regional and national level by the nation's own artists. Artists from other countries will also be invited to participate.

ABOUT THE POSTS:

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

THE JOB:
The Executive Director is the Chief Executive Officer of the Council and also Chief Accounting Officer. Since the Arts Council is new the Executive Director will be expected to set up a proper structure and put the intentions of the Arts Council Act into practice.

THE PERSON:
The incumbent must have the following qualifications: organisational ability; experience and interest in the arts; initiative and contacts; sound academic and professional background; firmness of purpose and good interpersonal relations.

THE SECRETARY

THE JOB:
The Secretary reports to the Executive Director and will be responsible for the establishment of this new office. Since this is a new position additional non-secretarial duties will be part of the job. While the Arts Council is being established the Executive Director will be responsible for all the administration which will eventually form part of individual positions in their own right. As the Secretary, many of these responsibilities will be delegated to you.

THE PERSON:
The following qualifications are important: word processing, short-hand, office management abilities, good interpersonal relations and a command of written and spoken-English. An interest in the Arts and Culture will be advantageous.

PUBLIC RELATIONS OFFICER

THE JOB:
The Public Relations Officer will operate as spokesman for the Council. The incumbent will be expected to possess a thorough knowledge of Arts Councils and be involved with marketing the Council both locally and abroad.

THE PERSON:
The incumbent must have the following qualifications: organisational ability; experience and interest in the arts; initiative and contacts; sound academic and professional background; firmness of purpose and good interpersonal relations; the ability to communicate fluently in English and Setswana.

The Arts Council is an equal opportunity organisation.
The package is negotiable.

If you are interested, please phone ADMEDIA RESPONSE at (011) 887-2456, or forward a full CV to PO Box 51443, Raedene 2124. Strictest confidence is guaranteed.

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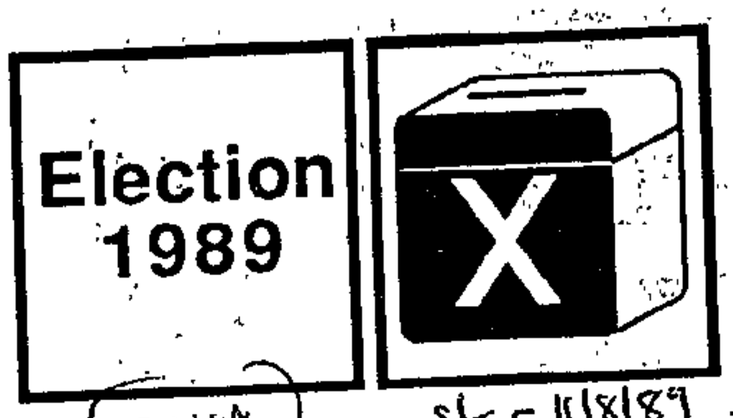


Thousands have voted early

Thousands of people throughout South Africa have cast special and postal votes since the polling offices opened a week ago.

More than 34 000 voters in the Western, Northern and Southern Cape have cast special votes. Of these, about two-thirds were for the House of Representatives. In Natal, more than 25 000 people have voted, mostly for candidates in the House of Delegates.

In Pretoria, 16 000 have cast special votes and in Bloemfontein, more than 1 700 national servicemen have voted. Though voting at most Free State polling offices has been slow, reports of fairly good percentages have been received from some seats. — Sapa.

(Report by N Lewis, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

CP forces town clerk to take long break

Own Correspondent

CARLETONVILLE — In what appears to be a tactical pre-election move, the Conservative Party-controlled Carletonville Town Council has forced town clerk Mr Chris de Beer to take two months' special leave.

This shock decision was taken at a meeting on Monday after a lengthy battle between Mr de Beer and the council.

CONDITIONS

The already tense situation was aggravated by Mr de Beer's decision to appeal to the Administrator of the Transvaal for an investigation into possible irregularities in council administration.

Several conditions have been attached to Mr de Beer's forced leave, including a prohibition on his active participation in politics.

The possibility of selling the new official town clerk's residence was also discussed. Mr de Beer is not at present occupying the house.

In addition Mr de Beer has been banned from attending any seminars regarding council expenditure.

Mr Koos Nel, chairman of the management committee, said the episode was not the concern of the media.

SHOCKED

"The town clerk is on two months' leave and that is all there is to it," stated Mr Nel.

According to Mr Louis Nel, National Party candidate for Carletonville, Mr de Beer is being victimised for not supporting the Conservative Party.

"This is a ploy by the Conservative Party to intimidate other municipal officials and I am shocked at this move."

(Report by S Krish, 10 Juliana Street, Carletonville)

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson, J M Patten and J de Villiers, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

De Kock hopeful about future

Political Staff

THERE was now a better appreciation in South Africa that everyone would gain through economic co-operation and development in the sub-continent but "I'm just sorry I won't be around to participate", the former Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Gerhard de Kok, said in his last interview.

South Africa had made mistakes in its policies towards the frontline states, he said in an article published in the latest issue of Leadership, which was released yesterday.

In the interview, granted shortly before his death this week, Dr De Kok said the Reserve Bank had been frustrated at times by political obstacles, particularly regarding interest rates.

Dr De Kok said South Africa could continue to export capital for years and it was not about to be brought to its knees.

"But don't get me wrong; it would be a great tragedy if things did not improve.

"The political developments of 1985 were a great disappointment to me.

"We could argue about the effect of specific events on the gathering capital outflow, but the reality is that international perceptions deteriorated long before legal sanctions were imposed on this country.

"Foreign commentators believed the country had become ungovernable and that the end was in sight.

"Those with this view were wrong, but until our political relations with the world improve we will have to maintain measures such as exchange controls with all their accompanying evils. I am not proud of this.

"But the fact remains that, if the South African economy is seriously damaged, there is no way in which Africa can develop. That penny appears to have dropped."

Election battles won before the fighting

MIKE ROBERTSON

THE battle between the NP and CP for a number of Transvaal constituencies could well be decided long before election day on September 6 because of changes to the Electoral Law.

A week after special voting opened, more than 10% of voters in some rural constituencies had already cast their ballots.

NP Transvaal secretary Lucas Nel has said the party believed it had lost seats in 1987 because its supporters had failed to turn up at the polls.

This year it was taking no chances, and would utilise the new voting provisions to get as many of its voters to the polls before election day.

CP spokesman Koos van der Merwe said his party was also taking advantage of the new procedures to get supporters to vote before September 6.

The highest percentage of votes cast so far has been in the Soutpansberg constituency, where 2 466 — or 13,2% — of voters have cast their ballots.

The CP's Tom Langley won the seat by 250 votes at the last election.

The NP believes Soutpansberg represents its best chance of winning a seat back from the CP.

In Vanderbijlpark, where Education Minister Gerrit Viljoen is defending a 3 000 majority, more than 10% of voters (2 574) have cast special votes.

In Overvaal, where the CP's Koos van der Merwe won by 1 000 votes in 1987, more than 2 000 have voted so far.

Other seats where large numbers of people have voted are: Krugersdorp 1 085 (4,8%), Carletonville 1 686 (7,9%), Nigel 1 064 (4,5%), Brakpan 1 257 (5,8%), Vereeniging 1 600 (7%), Potgietersrus 1 907 (10,2%), Pietersburg 1 425 (6,39%) and Waterberg 937 (5%).

Under the new special voting arrangements, voters merely have to indicate that they will not be in their constituencies on election day to cast a special vote. Previously, voters had to satisfy a series of conditions before being allowed to cast special votes.

Report by Mike Robertson, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

Cape Times 11/8/89 (304A

Archbishop denies support for Nat



Archbishop Hurley

DURBAN. — Durban businessman Mr Chris Collingwood, who is standing in Durban Central against Mr Peter Gastrow, has claimed that Archbishop Denis Hurley supports his candidature.

Archbisop Hurley said yesterday that Mr Collingwood's campaign had never been discussed at any level of the church and he "certainly has not got my backing".

Archbishop Hurley said he did not know how Mr Collingwood could claim that his recent advertisement in the Southern Cross newspaper had secured the NP 100 000 Roman Catholic voters.

"The Southern Cross has taken a lot of flak since that advert appeared," he said.

He added that Mr Collingwood was a pleasant sort of person, but "I had the impression he had no idea at all about black feeling in the country or the reality of black politics".

Mr Collingwood told two reporters that he had the endorsement of the archbishop and the support of the Catholic Church, but when pressed on the issue he backtracked and began to attempt to explain NP policy, ending off by saying the result in Durban would be determined by the old Durban families who were supporting him.

But two members of his own family are working for Mr Gastrow.

At a function at the start of the campaign he referred to two women reporters as "little girls" who would not understand economics. — Sapa

(Report by B Cameron and R M Challenor 85 Field Street, Durban)

DP taking legal steps against NP over canvassers

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party was taking legal action against the National Party because it was paying canvassers in different parts of the country in contravention of the Electoral Act, the DP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday.

He had been visiting constituencies throughout South Africa.

"I have been annoyed and disturbed to find that the NP is spending vast amounts illegally in this election by paying canvassers.

"This has come to our attention in East London, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg.

"The DP will take legal steps during the next few days to put an end to this systematic abuse."

Mr Ross said Section 120 of the Electoral Act specifically lays down what electoral expenses were allowed.

In terms of the relevant section, agents, sub-agents, polling agents and a restricted number of clerks could be paid and they could canvass voters if they occupied these positions.

"There are numerous incidents where canvassers are being paid for the number of households they call on or they are paid a flat rate for canvassing at night.

"All along we have commented on the lack of voluntary workers for the NP and this is a desperate attempt to remedy the situation by an outright violation of the Electoral Act."

Mr Ross added that the legal action envisaged by the DP was the laying of charges and the lodging of complaints with the returning officers.

It would also write to the election agents and candidates concerned drawing attention to the abuses, while reserving their rights to take further action if necessary, Mr Ross said.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)



Mr F W De Klerk

De Klerk favours one man one vote for all in SA

Political Staff

THE leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has come out in favour of one-man-one-vote in South Africa.

"We say all the people of South Africa, whether they be black, white, Indian or coloured, must have a vote, must elect their leaders and must, through their leaders, become part of all decisions affecting their lives," he said in an interview in Leadership mazgazine.

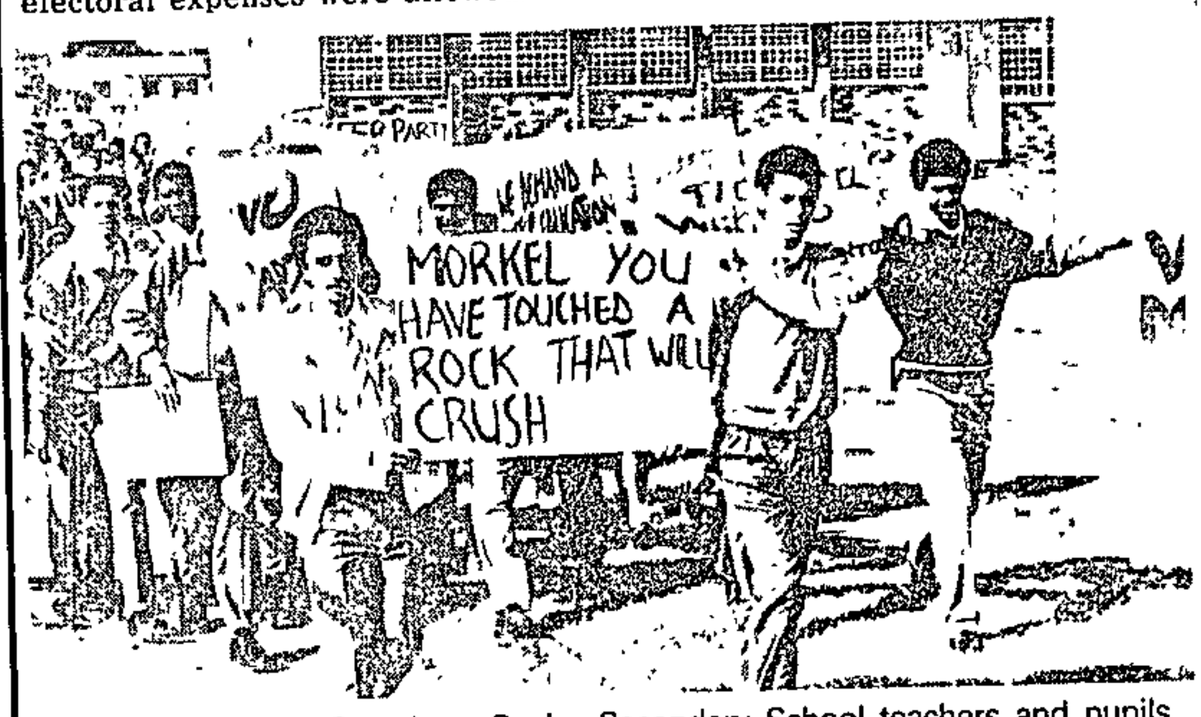
"They must therefore become involved at all levels of government in such a way that no one group will be able to dominate the other," he said.

"Inasmuch as it can be said that the white group in South Africa dominates the others, that must be moved away from."

South Africa had to have a new constitution.

● Government schools would not be opened to other race groups and the existing policies on separate education would be retained, said Mr De Klerk.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).



PROTESTING ... Steenberg Senior Secondary School teachers and pupils yesterday held a demonstration to protest against a claim made by a Labour Party election candidate that he was responsible for renovations to the school.
Picture: MARIUS BOSCH

Rumpus over MP's R3m claim

By MARIUS BOSCH

TEACHERS and students at a Steenberg school yesterday held a placard terday, the school — with the backing of the headmaster Mr Hennie Davis — said it rejected "with contempt" Mr

FW 'only less callous than Marie Antoinette'

Political Correspondent

LAST WEEK'S reference by Mr F W de Klerk to starving pensioners as "petty politics" displayed a callous insensitivity that was rivalled only by Marie Antoinette, the DP candidate for Tygervallei, Ms Michelle Guttler, said yesterday.

Speaking at an old-age home in Kenwyn, Ms Guttler urged pensioners to reject the "Give F W a chance" plea after what the NP had done to the country over the past 41 years.

"The NP has already been given more chances than they deserve. They have proved incapable of instituting any meaningful change.

"It's time to give South Africa a chance," Ms Guttler said.

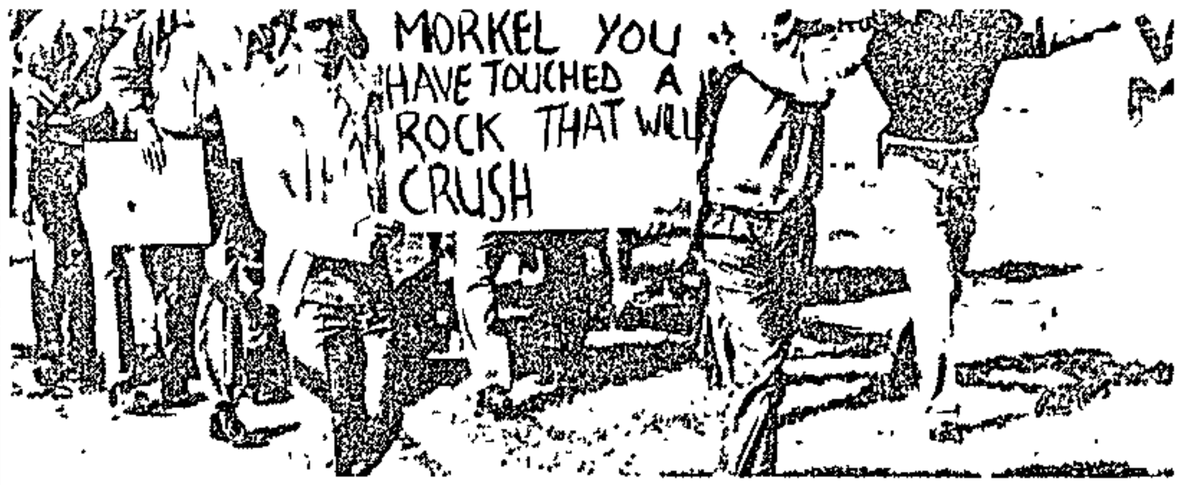
(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

Malan: CP will win less than 25% of seats

Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party could not even win a quarter of the 166 seats in the coming election, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan predicted last night.

The Nationalist argument that the DP should not be standing in seats like Springs and Geduld as this may cause th CP "to slip in through the back door"



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Picture: MARIUS BOSCH

Rumpus over MP's R3m claim

By MARIUS BOSCH

TEACHERS and students at a Steenberg school yesterday held a placard demonstration to protest against a claim made by a Labour Party election candidate that R3 million renovations to their school were due to his efforts.

The LP candidate for Retreat, Mr Gerald Morkel, claimed that renovations to the Steenberg Senior Secondary School were "a direct result" of his "efforts to improve the conditions and facilities" at schools in the area.

In a counter-pamphlet issued yesterday, the school — with the backing of the headmaster Mr Hennie Davis — said it rejected "with contempt" Mr Morkel's statement.

Yesterday about 700 teachers and students of the school marched around the school with placards bearing slogans denouncing Mr Morkel and demanding that party politics "be kept out of our school".

Mr Morkel last night said he was not aware of the demonstration but added that he stood by what he had said in the pamphlet.

(Report by M Bosch, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

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Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party could not even win a quarter of the 166 seats in the coming election, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan predicted last night.

The Nationalist argument that the DP should not be standing in seats like Springs and Geduld as this may cause th CP "to slip in through the back door" was fallacious, Mr Malan told a meeting in Springs.

"The CP cannot become the biggest party in Parliament It has the support of only 24% of voters, spread across the country."

Mr Malan said voters ought to have a choice between all of the parties but that "simple finances" precluded this from happening.

"The assumption is that the NP is slightly better than the CP and thus deserves to be elected. Nonsense. Only a weak party uses such an argument."

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

Gun-toting hecklers invade DP meeting

PRETORIA. — Gun-toting hecklers tried to disrupt a Democratic Party meeting addressed by Pretoria area candidates and party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer in Verwoerdburg on Wednesday night.

Three men in their late 20s, two of them seen carrying side-arms under bulky jackets, noisily aired their contempt for what was being said before vacating the city hall during question time.

Reeking of alcohol, the men talked loudly among themselves while other DP candidates spoke, saving their most voluble heckling for Dr De Beer.

When Dr De Beer referred to them and two older men in the audience as Conservative Party supporters, they voiced distaste for the CP, indicating to those seated near them that they were politically further right than that.

The DP candidate for Verwoerdburg, Mr Darryl Moss, said he had alerted a policeman guarding the special voting station at the hall to the presence of the armed men.

Dr De Beer told the audience of about 340 that the DP would entertain dealing with the National Party in the event of a hung Parliament. — Sapa

(Report by Alan Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Esther: All know ANC talks are necessary

ALL reasonable South Africans — including the government — knew that talks with the ANC had to take place, DP candidate in Maitland Dr Esther Lategan said last night.

"It is ironic that while the NP is trying to discredit the DP, the State President himself has met with Mr Nelson Mandela," she said at a meeting in Maitland.

"It is further ironic that while the government is trying to create the impression that they are strong on security, South Africans have less security today than two elections ago."

The government was giving the impression of stirring up unrest, she said.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

ELECTION FOOTNOTES/By BARRY STREEK

It's Mr Mandela please, Magnus tells hecklers

WHEN an interjector at the National Party's Ysterplaat meeting shouted that the government should "free Mandela", the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, responded: "I don't call him Mandela as you do. I call him Mr Mandela."

General Malan, who had to field a barage of interjections, commented: "At least I am getting you to react — I love it."

However, General Malan's booming voice was drowned out by howls of derisive laughter and cries of "bulls..." when he asserted: "This is a democratic country."

□□□□

THERE were a lot of people in radical circles who took the NP initiative on constitutional negotiations very seriously, the Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Leon Wessels, said in Kenwyn.

This initiative would cause the ANC to run out of steam.

However, security action alone and the maintenance of law and order was the final solution for South Africa.

Earlier Mr Wessels said: "We don't deny that we have a problem, but we have a plan to solve it."

□□□□

AT the Kenwyn meeting, the NP candidate in False Bay, Mr Adriaan Jordaan, said: "The way of the NP will not be easy. We do not offer the simple solutions of the left and the right."

He also said it had always been a privilege to be white in South Africa but it would not continue to be a privlege.

"We cannot allow people to be privileged in the economy purely because they are white."

□□□□

NEW election posters in Westdene in Johannesburg depicting a photograph of the National Party candidate, Mr Pik Botha, without the NP logo on it indicated Mr Botha was "running scared and ashamed of his party", the Democratic Party candidate in Westdene candidate, Mr Chris van Niekerk, said.

"If I was a member of the NP I would say Mr Botha was being a party-pooper. But as a DP candidate I say he is running scared," Mr Van Niekerk said.

But Mr Botha's campaign manager, Mr Ruphes Steenkamp, said the poster was the idea of young people in the campaign team.

TONIGHT'S MEETINGS:

Durbanville. The Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Roelf Meyer, will speak in support of the NP candidate in Durbanville, Mr Frik van Deventer, in the Monte Vista school hall at 6.30pm

False Bay: The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, will speak in support of the NP candidate in False Bay, Mr Adriaan Jordaan, in the Strand at the Morkel Hall at 7.30pm

(Report by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

'Steering towards second Rubicon'

Staff Reporter

NP LEADER Mr F W de Klerk was steering the country towards a second Rubicon by creating expectations among international leaders which he could not fulfil, DP candidiate for Stellenbosch Mr Hennie Bester said yesterday.

Despite the expectations of foreign leaders, the NP government was neither prepared nor able to produce the goods when it came to negotiating a new and acceptable constitution with credible black leaders, he said.

SA was faced with escalating violence, poverty and the prospect of total international isolation and could not afford having the NP implement its five-year action plan.

"If they were honest and serious about negotiations they would not now be spreading the type of anti-ANC and anti-MDM propaganda to stifle the DP It is these people who they will have to negotiate with to create a peaceful future," he said.

(Report by C de Villiers 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)

NP, DP 'agree on some points'

Staff Reporter

DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night that he and NP Transvaal secretary Mr Lucas Nel wholeheartedly agreed on a number of points — all admissions of Mr Nel and all favouring the DP.

Speaking in the Komga town hall in the King William's Town constituency, Dr Worrall and Mr Nel were reported as saying that voters had moved towards the left. "I agree with Mr Nel on these points," Dr Worrall said.

Mr Nel observed further that the DP had achieved success because it had projected an image different from that of the PFP.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's St, Cape Town).

Sanlam boss: Mandela 'should be released'

NEW Sanlam boss Dr Tjaart van der Walt says ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela should be released on parole so that a new start can be made in South Africa.

"My view is that one should seriously consider letting Mr Mandela out on parole if one does not want to free or release him," he said in an interview in Leadership magazine.

Dr Van der Walt became chairman of the financial giant after its previous chairman, Dr Fred du Plessis, was killed in a car accident in March.

Dr Van der Walt said he realised that within the spectrum of Sanlam's policy owners, there were very diverse views and he respected them all.

"My personal view is that any kind of talk with or about Mr Mandela must be functional and sensible. I have sufficient confidence in the State President to believe that his talks with Mr Mandela would have been functional.

"The least it can do is increase our credibility abroad. It shows our good intentions."

But Mr Mandela's release, he said, must not lead to violence.

"It must not disturb the peace. But I wish to see Mandela on parole and start a new beginning."

Dr Van der Walt added: "If South Africa goes down the drain, Sanlam will go with it — and we are not prepared to go down the drain."

(News by Barry Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

Pik Botha keeps mum on agenda

De Klerk to meet Kaunda in Zambia

LUSAKA — Zambian President and Frontline states chairman Kenneth Kaunda, and NP leader F W de klerk, will meet on August 28 in the southern Zambian town of Livingstone.

"The talks will be a continuation of discussions with Kaunda initiated by President Botha," Foreign Minister Pik Botha said last night.

Kaunda announced the meeting at the end of yesterday's Frontline heads of state meeting in Lusaka.

Sources at the venue said the ANC unveiled a plan to settle the SA conflict along similar lines to those being implemented under UN supervision in Namibia.

MIKE ROBERTSON reports Pik Botha, who will be attending the meeting with De Klerk, said he did not wish to elaborate on the agenda.

It is understood discussions will centre on De Klerk's plans for SA and Botha's proposal for a type of Marshall Plan for southern Africa.

Reports Kaunda said he wanted to hear De Klerk's programme for dismantling apartheid.

Asked whether Frontline states — Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana — believed the time was right to negotiate with Pretoria, Kaunda said the summit had taken a decision on that issue.

He declined to say what it was.

ANC leaders privately opposed a meeting between Kaunda and De Klerk.

The ANC said it needed proof from Pretoria it was ready to end apartheid.

The ANC, laying its proposal before the Frontline summit, proposed a settlement should be sought in which, through international mediation, all parties involved in the conflict would take part in peaceful means of ending the political deadlock in SA.

ANC participation in such a plan supports the statement by imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela after his meeting with President Botha on July 5.

Mandela said then he would like to "contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in SA".

Sources close to the ANC said its proposed settlement plan was similar to those of resolution 435, on Namibia, but no detailed information was available.

It was also pointed out that, should this plan be supported by the six Frontline leaders, it would be a major step in the search for a peaceful settlement in SA.

The ANC and government have preconditions before negotiating but this proposed plan might change things. — ANC, Sapa-Reuter.

Star 11/8/87

304A

'SA turns its ambassadors into stuntmen'

By David Braun,
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — An attack by Canadian External Affairs Minister Mr Joe Clark on the South African Embassy's poll of Canadian opinions on sanctions has incensed embassy officials.

The poll findings were released this week. The survey found that while most Canadians supported sanctions in principle, a majority were opposed to them if they would deprive black South Africans of jobs.

South African ambassador to Ottawa Mr Hennie de Klerk called on the Canadian Government and the Commonwealth to drop plans for more sanctions in the light of the poll and because a dozen surveys in South Africa had shown black people opposed sanctions.

Mr Clark, in Canberra for the meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers, hit back. He said South Africa's Government turned its ambassadors into stuntmen whenever the Commonwealth met to discuss apartheid.

He said the poll was partial and weighted to be carried on the view that sanctions hurt blacks disproportionately.

Increased South Africa activity around the time of Commonwealth meetings indicated the organisation had acquired more importance than anyone had thought, he said.

South African Embassy spokesmen in Ottawa were angry at the attack but said official reaction should come from Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

● South Africa's leading black newspaper, the *Sowetan*, yesterday said in its editorial comment that the irony of the Canada poll was "that blacks here are not allowed to debate the question of sanctions openly: it is an offence to advocate economic sanctions against South Africa".

"But there is even greater irony: sanctions are being used to help blacks in their fight for liberation, but the Government takes the same voteless blacks and uses them as a shield against those fighting apartheid," *Sowetan* says.

"So much activity, yet very little progress. The money that was used for the survey (R162 000) — South African taxpayers' money — could have been put to better use here at home."

● See Page 12.

Kaunda to meet FW de Klerk on August 28

Crucial discussions will take place in Livingstone

Mr F W de Klerk and Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha will meet President Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia on August 28.

A statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs last night confirmed the meeting.

It said the meeting was a continuation of talks with President Kaunda initiated by President P W Botha.

President Kaunda, after a one-day meeting of the six Frontline states in Lusaka yesterday, told a news conference: "I have briefed my colleagues that I am meeting Mr de Klerk in Livingstone."

President Kaunda had offered to meet Mr de Klerk to discuss ways of ending apartheid.

Mr de Klerk, expected to succeed President Botha after the elections in September, has said he is committed to dismantling racial segregation.

He has promised to bring South Africa's 26 million blacks into the central government, where they have no voice.

But he insists that race classification remain the basis of the political system and that blacks should not dominate whites.

Decision still secret

President Kaunda, asked if the Frontline states — Zambia, Angola, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Mozambique and Botswana — believed the time was now right to negotiate with Pretoria, said the summit had taken a decision. But he declined to say what it was, adding that the Frontline states would report to the Organisation of African Unity committee on southern Africa, which will meet in Harare on August 21.

Leaders of the ANC had privately opposed a meeting between President Kaunda and Mr de Klerk. Their conditions for dialogue were that the South African Government must free political prisoners, lift the state of emergency and also bans on political organisations.

President Kaunda said President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos of Angola had briefed the summit on efforts to end the civil war in Angola between government forces and the Unita rebels.

He said the eight African nations which launched the Angolan peace process in May would meet in Harare on August 22 to review progress.

He added that the mediator in the Angolan peace process, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, had sent a message telling the leaders of new developments "favourable to the Angolan people".

Angolan government and Unita officials have been meeting in Kinshasa to try to salvage a peace plan and ceasefire agreed by President dos Santos and Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi in June.

Each side has accused the other of breaking the ceasefire.

Angolan diplomats said President dos Santos was expected to travel to Kinshasa today to discuss the peace process.

In Lusaka, President Kaunda said the Frontline summit had supported efforts by President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique to negotiate peace with right-wing Renamo rebels.

President Chissano briefed the summit on talks in Nairobi between Renamo and Mozambique church intermediaries acting for the government.

Mr Sam Nujoma, president of Swapo, told the conference of Namibia's progress towards independence.

President Kaunda said this issue would also be discussed at the OAU committee meeting in Harare.

Mr de Klerk visited Mozambique three weeks ago and called on Renamo to abandon the 14-year-old war.

In June he toured five European countries to try to halt sanctions. — Sapa-Reuter and Political Staff.

Another anti-CP consumer boycott

Star 11/8/87

Political Correspondent

A new black consumer boycott against Conservative Party businesses has erupted — this time in Parys.

Though Parys is not CP-controlled, boycotters have identified CP businesses and begun to withdraw their custom.

A list surfaced in Parys this week identifying about 36 businesses — including a medical practice and two or three legal practices — as owned by CP supporters.

Residents say the list has been circulating in the black areas of Parys.

Managers of a pharmacy named on the list said yesterday that several black account-holders had this week closed accounts.

The managers were convinced the NP was responsible for drawing up the list. NP election workers denied this. But one said: "That's what should happen — boycott the Right people."

Officials at the CP election office said the boycott was "a clear sign that the CP was winning the election in Parys and that 'certain instances' were trying to disadvantage the CP".

NP sources said they had heard that black taxis "had not bought a drop of petrol" from one garage after it had been named on the list.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

CIVIL RIGHTS 304

New vigilance

Civil rights groups warned this week that anonymous violent attacks against extra-parliamentary opposition figures are increasing. This, together with what they claim is an "unhappy" police record of investigation into the attacks has prompted the formation of an Independent Board of Investigation into Informal Repression.

Writer Achmat Dangor, spokesman for the Congress of SA Writers (Cosaw), says the attacks (so far unsolved except for one, according to the board) may be spreading to include literary figures. Last week two grenades exploded in the home of the militant township poet, Mzwakhe Mbuli, narrowly missing injuring his wife and eight-year-old daughter. Dangor says he and fellow writer Don Mattera have also received threats.

He says a "sinister element" in the Mbuli attack is that it followed soon after the publication of his booklet of prose poetry, entitled *Before Dawn*, which Dangor says is "uncompromisingly critical of apartheid." The book sold out an initial 5 000 print run.

The vice-president of the SA Council of Churches (SACC), Sheena Duncan, says the aim of the board is to investigate attacks in such a manner as to deter the perpetrators and to ensure that prosecutions are forthcoming.

Earlier this year Wits anthropologist and civil rights activist, David Webster, was assassinated soon after completing a report on "informal repression."

Duncan insists that the board will set out with an "open and honest mind." A lawyer on the board, Peter Harris, says the only successful prosecution to date resulted in six Ciskei police officers, including two generals, being jailed for periods of between two and 12 years for the death of Idasa fieldworker, Eric Mntonga.

Harris says police investigations will also be monitored, and where the board believes it can detect inertia, it will lobby for the police to reveal their methods and results.

Duncan says the board will seek to ascertain the extent and pattern of attacks, and will investigate specific incidents where evidence is available. It has retained a law firm to conduct investigations, and will also hire private investigators. Experts in fields such as ballistics and chemical warfare will also be retained.

Initially the board will investigate the chemical poisoning of SACC secretary-general, Frank Chikane. This is because the board has "definite leads."

The spraying of chemicals on the walls of the Cosatu offices in Rustenburg and at Regina Mundi hall recently will also be investigated.

□ Members of the board are well-known civil rights figures such as former Transvaal Supreme Court Judge Laurie Ackerman, national director of Lawyers for Human Rights, Brian Currin, Idasa executive director Alex Boraine, and cleric Allan Boesak. ■



SACC's Duncan . . . looking into informal attacks

NP ELECTION CAMPAIGN 304A

Taking their pic

Glenn Babb, the NP's hope of demolishing DP co-leader Wynand Malan in Randburg, had nothing to do with his party's "dirty tricks" department's efforts to discredit Malan with its anti-ANC advertising campaign. In fact, the NP propaganda machine may have embarrassed the former Foreign Affairs deputy director-general by publishing a photograph featuring Malan and DP economic adviser Sampie Terreblanche sitting next to ANC militant Joe Slovo.

Only days after being nominated as the NP's Randburg candidate, Babb told the *FM*: "On my part, I can promise a clean fight." He said this realising that some of his camp may try to make political capital from precisely such matters as the picture featuring Malan with Slovo. He would stick to politics, said Babb (*People* May 12). But, evidently, not his party.

In the end, it was not Babb's supporters who hammered Malan on the now almost legendary photograph, but the NP Information Service which placed the advert in last Sunday's newspapers under the tendentious headline: "Are these men planning your future?"

Babb is sticking to his intention to run a clean campaign. Asked whether he had known about the party's intention to use the Slovo photograph in such an advertisement, he told the *FM*: "Unfortunately not. The picture would not have been part of our communications plan. It comes from the national council of the party." While Babb is adamant that he had nothing to do with the planning or publication of the ad, he refuses to criticise the NP for doing so.

Babb and Malan were due to face each other in a TV debate as the *FM* went to press. Before the "telepellation" was broadcast, Babb said that while the subject of negotiations formed part of their pre-recorded debate, he never once referred to the photograph.

Meanwhile, publication of the controversial picture has had other fall-out. *Vrye Weekblad* editor Max du Preez is now threatening to sue the NP for a breach of copyright. The picture was taken by *Vrye Weekblad* journalist Elsabe Wessels in October last year at the Leverkusen conference of academics, politicians and high-ranking ANC officials.

Du Preez says the NP had no right to use the picture without his newspaper's permission. "This is the second time they have done so without permission. In a previous edition of *Die Nasionalis* (official mouthpiece of the NP's Information Service), the picture was also used. Because it only came to my knowledge later, we decided to let it go. But, using the picture without permission for advertising purposes, is to my mind a flagrant infringement of copyright."

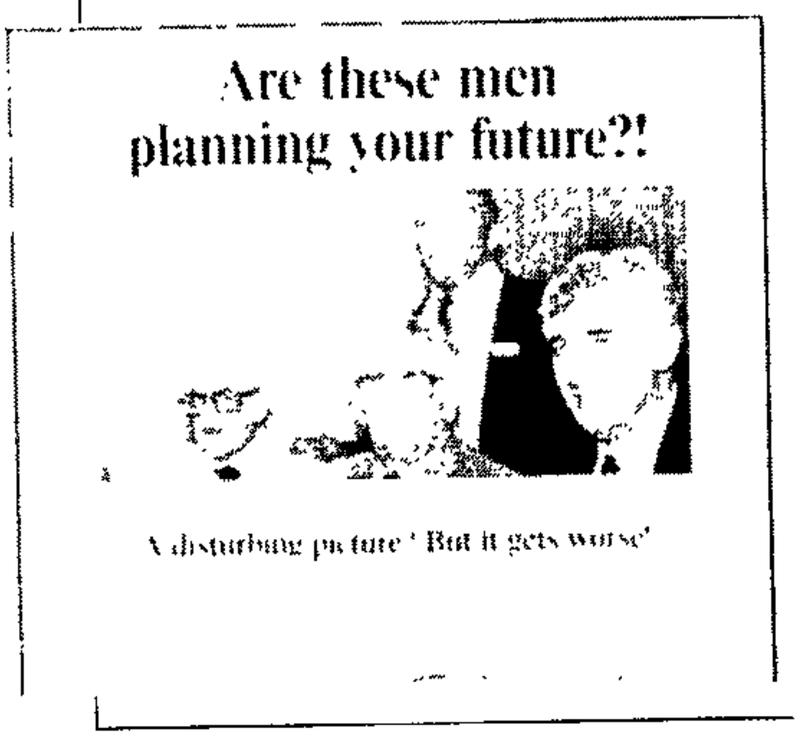
Ironically, Du Preez was earlier found guilty on charges under the Internal Security Act after publication of a report on the Leverkusen meeting by political researcher Mark Swilling, who quoted Slovo. The Slovo-Malan picture was used in that edition of *Vrye Weekblad*.

The NP, however, seems unperturbed by Du Preez's threats and the lawyer's letter which has been sent to them. "They are welcome to try to go to court," NP information director Con Botha was quoted as saying in *Beeld*.

"Botha's comment is typical of a good Nationalist — unbelievably arrogant," replies Du Preez. "And that coming from someone who made these laws."

Du Preez says he is in contact with his attorneys to discuss further action in the light of Botha's comment. He compares the situation to that of the company marketing Lexington cigarettes, which asked the Conservative Party to stop using the slogan "NP action, ANC satisfaction", as it could be seen as a play on the cigarette ad.

"As much as you dislike the policies of the CP, they at least had the decency to adhere to the request. That is more one can say about the NP," Du Preez says. ■



ECONOMIC POLICY

We don't need this nonsense

304A
Fmail 11/8/89

It is good to see that the opposition has at last seized on economic mismanagement as a key election issue — as the *FM* has been exhorting it to do for years. And it's typical of National Party arrogance that the moment it's touched on a sore spot, it cries foul and claims our economic problems are all the fault of the communist-inspired international bankers.

Absurd as that may be, it is at least more plausible than the recent claim that P W Botha "saved" us from hyperinflation. And that in turn was more convincing than Barend du Plessis' effort this week to deny that we have any economic problems, anyway.

Inflation of 15% (if only that was what it actually was!) "is not too high for our own comfort," he told an election meeting. Is this the same man who only a few years ago called inflation the biggest problem we faced and pledged to bring it down to single digits by the early Nineties?

The fact is, that 15% inflation halves the value of money in just under five years and destroys the fabric of society. Du Plessis (and other parliamentarians and civil servants who can protect themselves) may be able to afford the impact of that on their standard of living; few in the private sector can.

He went on to say that the four independent homelands cost less than if they were part of SA and accused the CP of misleading voters when it says people are not receiving income tax refunds because government is bankrupt. On the contrary, he claims, "We have too much money."

Do we need such asinine ravings from a minister of finance? Even more alarming, is this the man who came within a handful of votes of being Nat candidate for the presidency?

If voters have any lingering doubts about the National Party's ability to run even the proverbial whelk stall, statements like this should allay them. ■

DP adverts shock popcorn-munchers

Star 12/8/89

304A

IT IS impossible to bypass the heated build-up to next month's elections — the hottest campaign yet — with its intense party sloganeering and mud-slinging.

Now movie-goers have been introduced to a typically American election strategy from the Democratic Party.

The DP message is conveyed in two 70-second commercials in English and Afrikaans at 182 cinema screens countrywide.

And the DP did not have to fork out a cent to produce the two ads, "Homeless" and "Jobless", which are scathing attacks on the National Party and have evoked widespread shock by audiences as the sad state of the economy unfolds before their eyes.

No cost

The ads were made by people in the movie industry, who were willing to participate in the production without being paid.

The idea came from film producers Mike MacCarthy and Rod Stewart, who flew to Cape Town in June to meet DP co-leader Dr Denis Worrall, and offered to produce the commercials free.

"Top creative people in the film industry drew up the story board and more than 100 people, from the most junior positions to the most senior, participated in the venture in their spare time at no cost," said Mrs Melanie Stewart, wife of Mr Stewart and DP spokesman for the ad.

Mrs Stewart said the film took an estimated 800 man hours to complete. Had the DP commissioned it, the commerical would have cost a whopping R160 000 to produce.

To pay for the commercial to be distributed to 182 cinemas, the promoters organised a gala dinner at the Carlton Hotel, charging R1 000 a head.

The commercials are being screened at cinemas in all major cities and small towns where the DP have put up candidates. Screening in the Transvaal include diverse areas such as Boksburg, Vereeniging, Roodepoort, Pretoria, Verwoerdburg, Randburg and Nelspruit.

So far the commercials have evoked mixed responses from cinema-goers, depending on the area, but there has been an overwhelming response of shock, from people of all sides of the political spectrum.

American-style electioneering at SA cinemas

JANET HEARD

Cinema-goers in Pretoria reported half the cinema booed while the other half cheered; in Alberton, a cinema-goer said there was a "stony silence" during and after the ad. In Hillbrow the audience cheered and clapped.

In Johannesburg's Kine Entertainment Centre, where the Saturday Star viewed the commercials, "Jobless" held the audience captive and thoughtful, while "Homeless", sent ripples of laughter and chatter in the final shot.

Both commercials portray powerful messages which are designed to shock white voters and coax them into voting for the DP. Both use simple shots and themes with no dialogue but a voice-over describing how the NP's policies have ruined the economy and resulted in misery and a decline in living standards for South Africans.

"Homeless" shows how a young couple and their two children are forced to pack up and move out of their home after being unable to afford their bond repayments, which have been increasing over the years, and in a voice-over, the commentator says: "Isn't it time the Government was sent packing?"

"Jobless", which is based on a true story, starts off with the words: "It takes a special kind of incompetence to destroy the economy of South Africa", and depicts a white man standing with a placard at the side of a road.

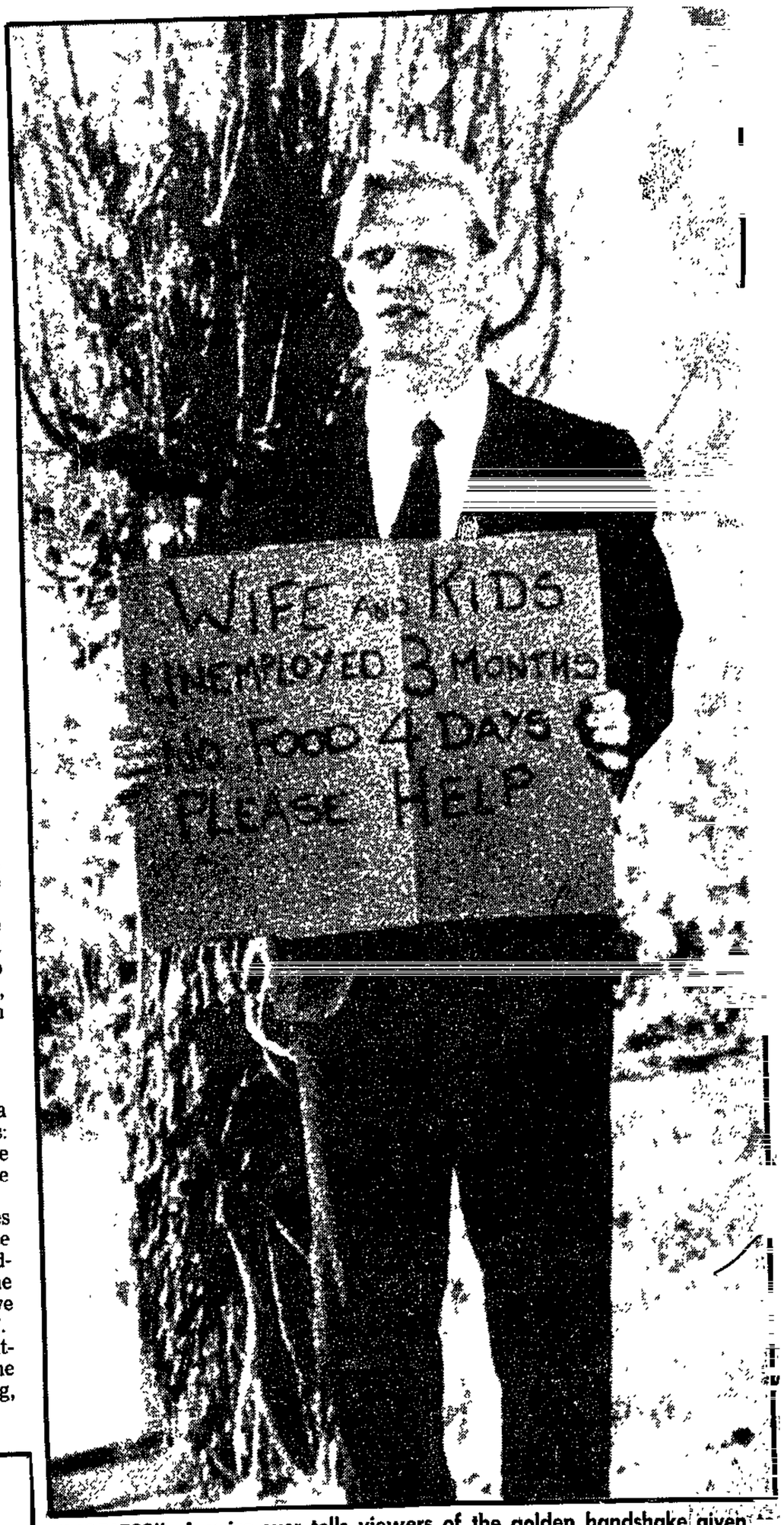
No food

After a few seconds, the camera zooms in on the placard which reads: "Wife and kids, unemployed three months, no food four days. Please help."

As a car stops and a motorist passes a R5 note to the destitute man, the commentator details the golden handshake given to Piet du Plessis by the Government and says: "Isn't it time we put the Government out on the street".

Only as the ads end is the DP punted, with a setting sun, followed by the DP logo and a voice-over echoing, "Vote DP ... Vote DP ..."

(Report by J Heard, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



"JOBLESS": A voice-over tells viewers of the golden handshake given former Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis.

Pietersburg emotions run high

Star 12/8/89 (304A)

DIRK NEL

ECONOMIC issues have dominated campaigning in the Pietersburg constituency.

The CP's Dr Willie Snyman has laid strong emphasis on the plight of pensioners, alleged corruption in Government circles, the high inflation rate and the alleged impoverishment of whites.

Dr Nick van Oudtshoorn (NP) has countered with charges that the CP has a one-eyed view of the economy because it doesn't tell voters about the effects of sanctions and prolonged droughts on the country's financial situation.

Two recent incidents in the constituency stirred up emotions considerably, and appear to have put the CP on the defensive.

This week it became known that Mr Burger Lategan, Dr Snyman's former election opponent, was going to sue him for R75 000 for alleged libellous remarks over a long period, and particularly during a recent public meeting in Pietersburg.

Town councillor Mr Koos Kemp, who is Dr Snyman's election agent, allegedly said at an NP house meeting that the CP had successfully used untruths to win votes.

(Report by Dirk Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert St, Pietersburg)

Poster war hots up

DIRK NEL

PIETERSBURG — The poster war in Pietersburg has been a feature of election campaigning.

The CP kicked off with a slogan "Barend maak ons arm" (Barend is impoverishing us).

The Nats countered with "Die KP gogga vreet voorspoed — Stop hom" (The CP gogga eats up prosperity — Stop him).

The CP used posters saying "De Pontes, De Beer, Du Plessis, De next? Vote CP." The Nats responded with "De Boksburg, De Carletonville, De KP, De Einde, Vote NP."

The NP spread the word: "The CP offers you nothing." They used a cartoon of a tortoise robbed of its shell. The CP came up with "It's not in the shell, it's in the head."

The CP lined up a selection of posters on a steel fence outside the old magistrate's court. The Nats reacted by putting theirs on a fence lining the new, unfinished magistrate's building across the road. "They live in the past — we are looking to the future," said an NP worker.

Surprisingly, no one has been charged yet with the removal of or defacement of posters.

(Report by Dirk Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg).

Cabinet braces

Star 12/8/89 (304A)

● FROM PAGE 1.

The party was insisting the planned meeting on August 28 between Mr de Klerk and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, which sparked the crisis, had to go ahead for two reasons.

The first was the importance of the meeting for possible peace moves for the region and secondly because Mr de Klerk had to show he was strong enough to stand up to Mr Botha.

President Botha, who is understood to have cancelled an engagement last night so he could receive rapid reports on Mr de Klerk's speech in the Free State last night, apparently called the Cabinet meeting after Mr de Klerk called his own meeting for Wednesday.

The major question mark, however, remained why President Botha had reacted in such a public manner for his own party.

The party sources are saying this was the final straw and President Botha could no longer expect any sympathy from the party after it had to endure a year of pique from the President.

Senior government sources also indicated last night that President Botha had been informed of the proposed meeting between Mr de Klerk and Dr Kaunda at the earliest opportunity.

It had never been intended that Mr de Klerk should meet Dr Kaunda before the elections, but because of developments souring peace talks between Unita and the MPLA government it was felt a meeting should take place as soon as possible.

Arrangements for the meeting had been rapidly concluded by diplomats and President Kaunda announced the meeting before Mr Pik Botha could inform President Botha.

However the sources said the President had been informed before the announcement was published by the South African media.

Soon after the statement was issued Mr Pik Botha received a telephone call from a furious President Botha.

This and a number of other rows seemed to indicate at one stage yesterday that the Foreign Minister may have been forced to resign. However, his colleagues and Mr de Klerk backed him as a result of which President Botha apparently issued his public statement sparking the crisis.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban).

Star 12/8/89 (304A)

Cabinet braces for showdown with PW

DURBAN — The National Party leadership was closing ranks today as it faced a major constitutional crisis which will see the entire cabinet linking up against President P W Botha on Monday.

With President Botha summoning the Cabinet into an extra-ordinary session in Cape Town on Monday, senior members were due to meet again today in Pretoria to discuss the deepening crisis.

There was widespread concern last night among members of the Cabinet that President Botha may attempt to fire members of the Cabinet with the name of Nationalist Party leader, Mr F W de Klerk, and Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, being mentioned.

Members of the Cabinet warned last night that if President Botha attempted to dump any Minister, the entire Cabinet was likely to resign or attempt to force President Botha's resignation, sparking what would be one of the most serious constitutional crises to face the country.

BRUCE CAMERON

Mr de Klerk was facing a major test of his leadership and with only 25 days to go until election day the party itself was concerned about the damage if Mr de Klerk did not win the day.

Mr de Klerk tried to control the damage to his party by lashing out at the Opposition at a meeting at Bothaville last night "for hysterical" efforts to exploit the incident.

Political Correspondent Peter Frabricius reported that Mr de Klerk, speaking at a National Party meeting, explained the row and said that he was busy calling a meeting as soon-as possible to consider the matter.

Senior party members said last night that Mr de Klerk could not afford to be seen to be backing off at all to the obdurate President Botha.

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Nats in crisis

Showdown looms for PW and party

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AN angry and suspicious President P W Botha has plunged the National Party into a pre-election crisis by precipitating a public row with his heir-apparent, Mr F W de Klerk, over the NP leader's proposed meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda.

After an unprecedented breakdown in communication and trust in the top echelons of government yesterday, Mr De Klerk has called "an urgent meeting" of all NP ministers for today in Pretoria in a bid to consolidate his position and contain the damaging row.

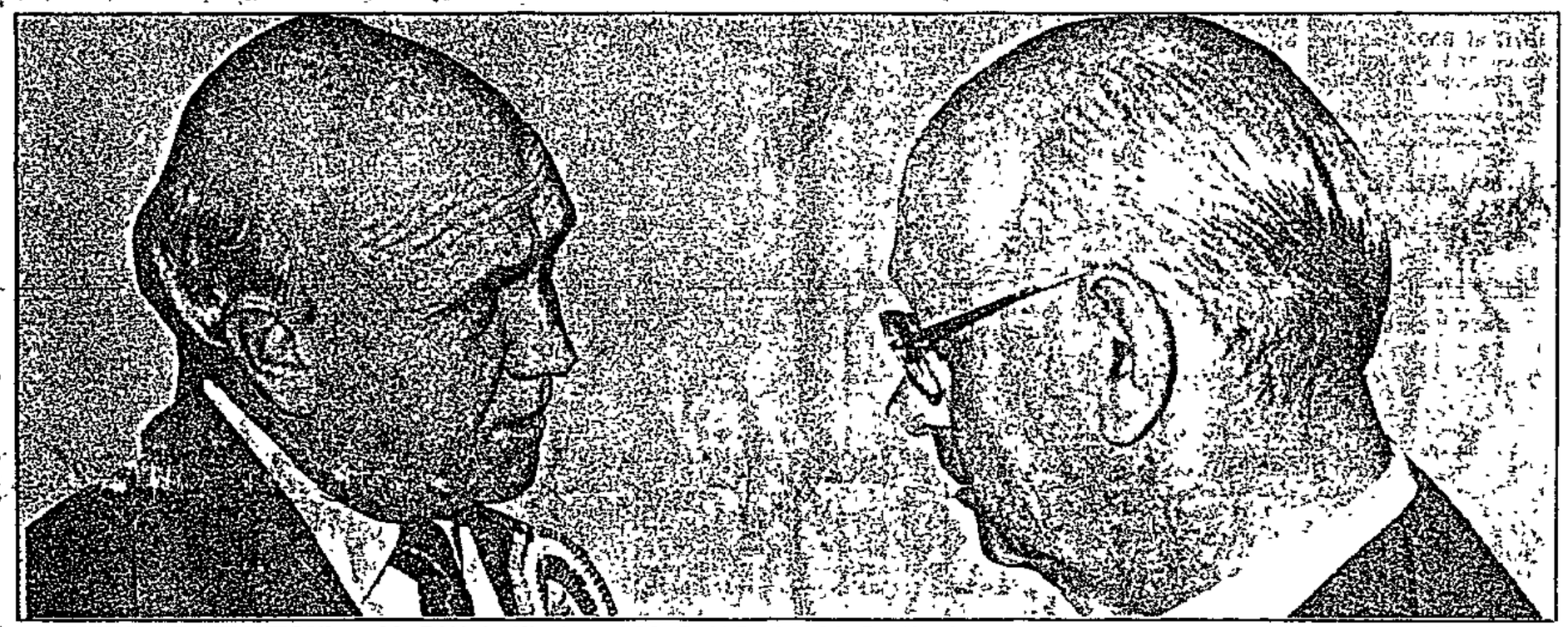
Urgent meeting

However, a bruising face-to-face showdown between Mr Botha and his ministers is looming for Monday when the cabinet has been summoned to Tuynhuys for an 8.30am meeting — two days early.

The hastily arranged flurry of high-level meetings took place in an atmosphere of high political drama yesterday as President Botha first publicly repudiated Mr De Klerk and Mr Pik Botha over their announced meeting with President Kaunda on August 28.

Then Mr Botha, who directly contradicted his foreign minister's earlier statement that he had been "consulted" on the meeting with the Zambian leader, blocked efforts by his "flabbergasted" cabinet colleagues to set up an urgent meeting yesterday to defuse the embarrassing row.

Last night top government sources said the De Klerk-Kaunda meeting, which the NP was hoping to hail as a major diplomatic breakthrough shortly before the election, was in the balance.



'DIFFICULT SITUATION' ... Mr F W de Klerk and Mr P W Botha. Mr De Klerk last night described the crisis in the NP as a "difficult situation".

● See leading article — Page 4.

It is reliably understood that South Africa could also push for a postponement of the meeting because of tactical problems that may flow from a possible presentation by President Kaunda of an ANC package for consideration at the announced Livingstone meeting.

Concerned senior Nationalists said yesterday that President Botha's bombshell statement was as far as could be established "not factually correct" and that the State President might have suffered "a memory lapse".

One top source said he was not sure what Mr Botha was trying to achieve by his actions as "only the Conservative Party can benefit".

However, other Nationalists believed that an angry President Botha may have decided to publicly embarrass his cabinet colleagues because a misunderstanding had led him to believe they were not fully informing him about the progress that had been made in planning the Kaunda-De Klerk meeting.

Another source said that Mr De Klerk and Mr Pik Botha has been slapped down because they had not properly followed the "Guidelines to Ministers" which spelled out the procedures in terms of which cabinet members wishing to travel abroad had to "seek and receive" permission from the State President.

Opposition parties expressed shock and amazement at the developments.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said President Botha's assertion that he was not aware of the announced meeting between Mr De Klerk, Mr Pik Botha and President Kaunda was 'a shocking revelation indicating a situation of total chaos" within government.

"These events are a public spectacle reflecting on the ineptness and credibility of the current government, which is clearly no longer capable of maintaining orderly administration. The government's credibility is now seriously in question," he said.

DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said the events in the NP had become "pefectly bizarre".

"Poor Mr De Klerk looks more confused and inept by the day. One wonders whether the Nats know even more than we do about how badly the election is going for them."

Terse statement

The DP's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Colin Eglin, said the latest crisis in government revealed "not only the depth of the rift in the NP, but is also a strong indictment of the new NP leadership".

Mr Eglin said Mr De Klerk appeared to be "ignoring the rules" and "behaving as if he has already taken over as State President".

The remarkable row in the NP appears to have been set in motion by President Kaunda's surprise announcement on Thursday evening that the Livingstone meeting would take place later this month.

The timing of the announcement appears to have taken South Africans who have been working behind the scenes by surprise, and Mr Pik Botha was apparently unaware of the date when he briefed President Botha earlier in the day, sources said.

However, the Department of Foreign Affairs nevertheless went ahead to confirm the meeting on Thursday night, noting that after consultation with the State President, Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha would meet President Kenneth Kaunda in Zambia on 28 August 1989.

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30 Aug

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Sapa reports that there was "stunned disbelief" when Mr De Klerk's office was approached for comment on President Botha's statement.

The first the NP leader heard of developments was when a fax copy of the Tuynhuys statement requested from Sapa was presented to him in Pretoria yesterday moring.

The shock message resulted in the roughly half-a-dozen available ministers in the Union Buildings and Pretoria being summoned by Mr De Klerk for urgent deliberations.

Mr Pik Botha, who was working in his Westdene constituency, was traced and, according to a statement subsequently issued, he supplied information from which "it appears there may possibly be a misunderstanding".

As the row mushroomed, Mr De Klerk said in an extraordinarily frank statement issued during the lunch-hour: "Efforts by ministers to arrange an urgent meeting with the State President in order to clarify the matter have thus far proved unsuccessful.

"As a consequence, I am currently convening an urgent meeting of all NP ministers for the earliest possible moment in order to consider the matter."

While his stunned cabinet colleagues were attempting to secure Mr Botha's co-operation in defusing the row, the State President was at his Tuynhuys office — apparently uncontactable.

The State President's press liaison officer, Mr Jack Viviers, responded to all inquiries by saying: "The State President has nothing to add to his statement of this morning."

Later, when questioned about the De Klerk statement, he confirmed to Sapa that its contents were known to the SP's office. The President had nothing further to add and the President was at the office.

"But ministers have been trying to get hold of him, is he there?"

Mr Viviers: "Yes."

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Mr De Klerk, speaking last night at an NP election meeting in Bothaville in the Free State, told opposition parties not to exploit the "difficult situation which had arisen as a result of a misunderstanding" between himself and President Botha.

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At the Conservative Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein last night, Dr Treurnicht said the National Party would mourn the date of August 11.

He compared the event to a case where two boys played mother and father off against each other, as to who had said they could borrow the car. He said that the fact that the State President had had to reprimand "Pikkie and Frikkie" for not acting in terms of the rules, was a clear indication of the total disorder in the present government. Loud applause greeted this statement.

[Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.]

They're doctors but that's all they have in common

Star 12/8/89 (3044)

DIRK NEL
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — It's 'the doc versus the doc' in the Pietersburg constituency on September 6, but that's about all the two candidates have in common.

The Conservative Party's Dr Willie Snyman, a medical practitioner, has represented Pietersburg in the House of Assembly for 14 years, and is the CP's national spokesman on health matters.

He joined the party when it was formed in 1982, shortly after he had won the Pietersburg seat in 1981 as a Nationalist.

Dr Nick van Oudtshoorn, the National Party candidate, has gained prominence as a town councillor for his spirited attacks on the CP majority in the Pietersburg town council. A dentist, who is considerably younger than his seasoned opponent, Dr van Oudtshoorn is a distinct threat to Dr Snyman.



DOCTOR: Dr Willie Snyman, CP candidate.



DENTIST: Dr Nick van Oudtshoorn, NP candidate.

Several analysts recently pointed out that Pietersburg was one of several Transvaal seats the NP could win back from the CP (the others mentioned were Roodepoort, Carletonville, Barberton and Delmas).

In 1987 Dr Snyman gained 8 346 votes to the 7 195 by Mr B Lategan (NP) in a 76,54 percent vote. Traditionally there has always been a very high percentage poll in Northern Transvaal constituencies (Waterberg 77,41, Potgietersrus 81,57, and Soutpansberg 81,48 in 1987).

Nationalists in Pietersburg base their optimism on an assumption that CP support has reached its ceiling, and that Pietersburg's dynamic growth, with a corresponding influx of people from the commercial and industrial sectors, will favour their party in the election.

Given the facts that the constituency has almost 22 000 voters, and that Dr Snyman will at least match his 1987 performance, the Nats are looking for a percentage poll of over 80 percent, if they are to have a chance of victory.

A substantial number of keen independent observers (those who will not be voting for either of the two parties) say the CP will win again, but by less than a thousand votes.

What does make the Pietersburg constituency particularly interesting and unique, is that 70 percent of the voters live in town, making it somewhat urban in nature.

But any assessment of the possible election result, must take into account that the constituency lies in a strongly conservative region.

(Report by Dirk Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg).

Nats in crisis

Cape Times 12/8/89 (30M)

Showdown looms for PW and party

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

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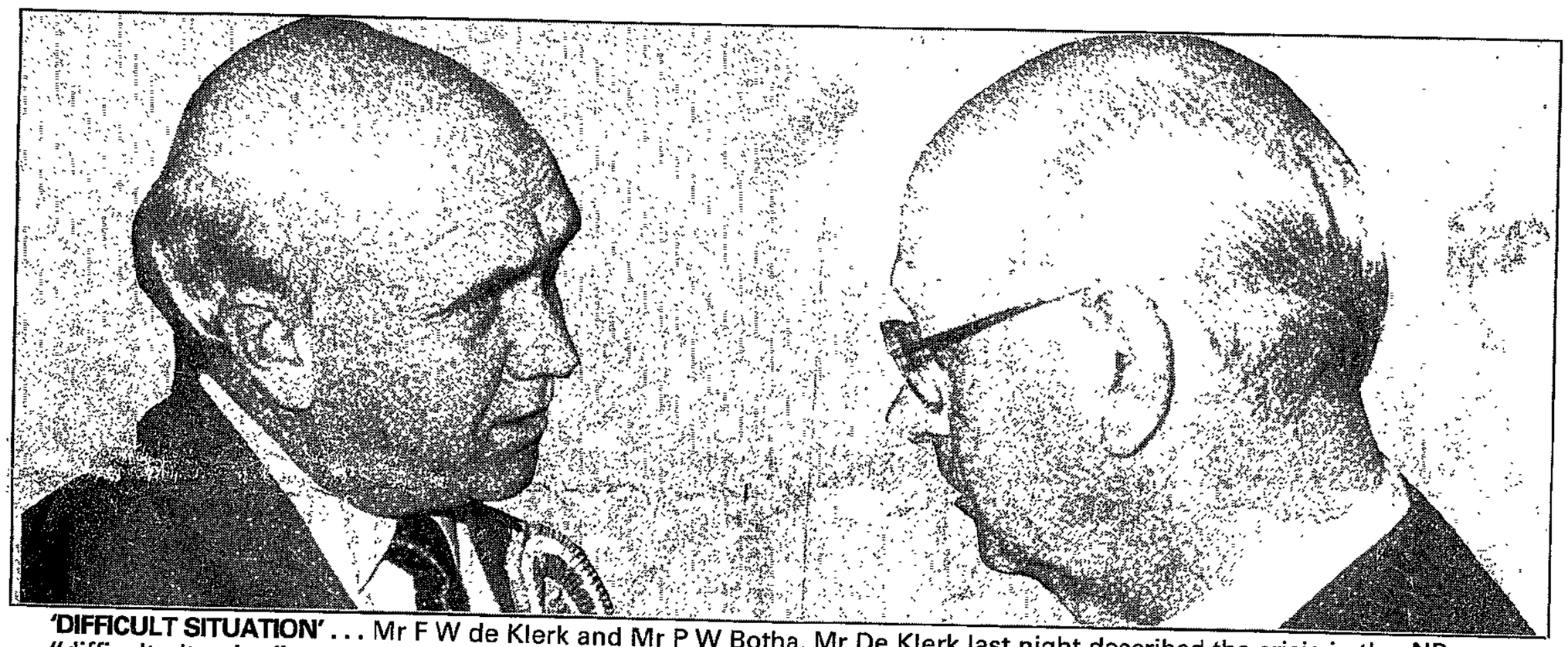

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(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

■ PW threatens to sack Pik? ■ Kaunda meeting in balance

NAT SHOWDOWN

(cont-) w/t Argus 12/8/89 30 KA



Weekend Argus Political Staff

AMID the Nationalist upheaval over the De Klerk-Kaunda meeting it emerged today that President Botha might well have threatened to sack Mr Pik Botha as Foreign Minister.

The new turn, confirmed in Nationalist Press reports, came as Nationalist Ministers met in Pretoria today in apparent preparation for a fullscale showdown with the President when the full Cabinet meets him early on Monday in Cape Town.

A phalanx of Cabinet Ministers, including all four provincial leaders of the NP, arrived at the home of NP leader Mr F W de Klerk, in Brooklyn Pretoria, in a steady stream this morning to attend the crisis talks, which started at noon. There was no indication how long the talks would last.

Each official car was awaited outside Mr de Klerk's home by a bevy of local and foreign press men and TV crews, and security officials Most Ministers arriving stern-faced and tense, had a terse "no comment" as they entered the house.

Asked whether the whole cabinet was against President Botha, Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, who arrived talking on his car phone, said "No comment".

Meeting to be discussed

Meanwhile, Mr F W de Klerk's proposed meeting with President Kaunda seems in the balance. A spokesman for Mr Pik Botha said it was not correct, as claimed in some reports, that it was off. But the matter would be discussed at today's meeting and also at Monday's meeting with President Botha.

The confusion and disunity in government ranks, slated by opposition leaders as shocking and bizarre, have left Nationalist organisers fearful of further severe damage to their already struggling election effort.

Monday's face-to-face confrontation with President Botha and the weekend's preparations for it have become a major test of strength for Mr de Klerk, whose relationship with the President has become increasingly strained since his election as leader of the National Party.

It is a severe test also for Mr Pik Botha, whose credibility is at stake following President Botha's assertion, contrary to the Foreign Minister's claims, that he had not been duly consulted before the De Klerk-Kaunda meeting.

W/E Aeous

12-8-89

Botha accused of conniving

National sources quoted in the Cape National's local paper, Die Burger, today claimed he had been accused by President Botha of "conniving" with Mr de Klerk behind his back.

This was because of the Foreign Minister's involvement in Mr de Klerk's earlier meetings with European leaders and Mozambique's President Chissano which President Botha also did not like but which he reluctantly approved.

Today's meeting in Pretoria followed a snap meeting Mr de Klerk had in Pretoria's Ou Raadsaal yesterday with senior government members, including Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis and Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The atmosphere at the meeting was described by insiders as grim. In a statement afterwards Mr de Klerk said Mr Pik Botha had reported to them and that from his information it seemed there had been "a misunderstanding".

The National Party leadership is closing ranks behind Mr de Klerk, but there appears to be serious concern about what might happen at Monday's meeting with the President. "It is so unpredictable. It's a chess game," said one.

There are even fears that the President might attempt to fire members of the Cabinet, with the names of Mr de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha being mentioned. Senior Government sources warned that if Mr P W Botha attempted to dump any Minister the entire Cabinet was likely to resign or attempt to force Mr Botha's resignation, which would spark a serious constitutional crisis.

One top source said the "chances are pretty good" that Monday's meeting would see a final break between Mr Botha, his Cabinet and the ruling NP, after months of static between them.

Some party sources were saying this was the final straw and President Botha could no longer expect any sympathy after it had to endure a year of pique from the President.

President Botha's press secretary, Mr Jack Viviers, said today there was no further comment from the President after his statement yesterday. A Cabinet meeting had been arranged for Monday and that was where the matter stood at present.

Asked about reports quoting Mr Pik Botha as saying that Mr de Klerk's proposed meeting with President Kaunda had been cancelled because President Botha had not given permission for it, Mr Viviers suggested that Mr Pik Botha be asked about this.

Mr Pik Botha was not available for comment and no confirmation of his reported statement could be obtained from Foreign Affairs officials close to him.

(Compiled from reports by F Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street; B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban; and A Dunn, Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Smile! Candidates switch to videos to canvass votes

☐ CHARIS PERKINS and DOUGLAS GORDON look at the glitz behind the hustings

ELECTION campaigning '89-style has much of the razzmatazz of a Hollywood blockbuster.

And the stars of the show are none other than your favourite candidates on both sides of the political fence.

They've been coached on how to perform and will probably have budding careers in TV if they don't make it to Cape Town.

So it's goodbye to the days of sombre manifestos and long-winded speeches.

Electioneering has hit the silver screen with the launch of two Democratic Party cinema advertisments in Ster-Kinekor theatres countrywide.

■■■

And the latest hot releases on the video scene include a batch of National and Democratic Party videos.

And, not to be outdone, individual candidates in various constituencies have become the stars of their own productions.

You can watch the NP candidate for Rosettenville, Johannesburg, Mrs Sheila Camerer, chatting animatedly to voters; a serious Mr Barend du Plessis discussing the economy; or NP Randburg candidate Mr Glenn Babb being grilled by TV hosts Tony Sanderson and Arnold Geerdts.

The DP's new video stars include North Rand candidate Mr Louis de Waal and Mr Martin Brink, from Pretoria's Waterkloof constituency.

A clip of Mr De Waal with his young family at the breakfast table tells voters this candidate is a family man.

The punchline of Mr Babb's cassette is wife Brenda and 12-year-old daughter Lauren cuddling up to daddy.

"Electioneering videos reflect our arrival in an electronic age," said Mrs Camerer.

"Besides that, videos are a wonderful way to reach voters. It means you can get to more people than you would ever be able to reach in person — and a personal touch is important. You feel far better acquainted with someone you have seen in your own home."

An important new campaign innovation is reflected in the DP's cinema advertisements. They were initiated and sponsored by advertising and entertainment people outside the party.

Film director Mike McCarthy and photography director Rod Stewart felt it was time to express their political convictions by using their talents to make cinema advertisements for the DP.

"It has been very exciting," said Mr Stewart's wife, Melanie.

"We approached various people in the advertising and entertainment media to help, and the response was overwhelming. About 100 people pitched in their talents and money and we got the advertisements made in no time at all."

■■■

The advertisements — costing about R500 000, and screened at Ster-Kinekor cinemas countrywide three times a week — hit out at the NP's mismanagement of the economy. One focuses on a young family who must move out of their home because they can no longer afford the rocketing bond rates.

The other is of a young white man begging at the roadside. He holds a poster saying: "Wife and three kids. No work for three months. No food for days."

Mrs Stewart said: "People's response to the advertisements has been more than enthusiastic.

"At Johannesburg's Rosebank Mall cinemas the audience has burst into spontaneous applause."

Natal University's contemporary cultural studies unit director Professor Keyan Tomaselli sees the DP's cinema advertisements as an important development.

"This is the first time the entertainment industry has made a principled political stance. It reflects the more intense verbalisation of interests in South Africa. Ordinary people are concerned about their futures."

The NP's chief director of federal information services, Mr Con Botha, interprets the new razzmatazz campaigning style differently.

"A very sizeable percentage of the electorate is under 35. There is a big tussle between the parties for their vote — they're a plum market segment.

"And the best way to reach young people is through electronic media — it is where they are at," he said.

Cinema advertising and videos aren't all the DP has up its election sleeve. It also has a rousing song entitled Getting There Together. It was first played at the DP's launch, but since then hundreds of copies — on both video cassette and tape — have been distributed countrywide.

Advertising people are full of praise for the new campaigning style.

■■■

Mrs Denise Stamm, managing director of Stamm Miller and Associates, said the NP and the DP were using their money more effectively than ever before.

"The best way to sway doubtful voters is by using the same laws as you would when selling a product," she said.



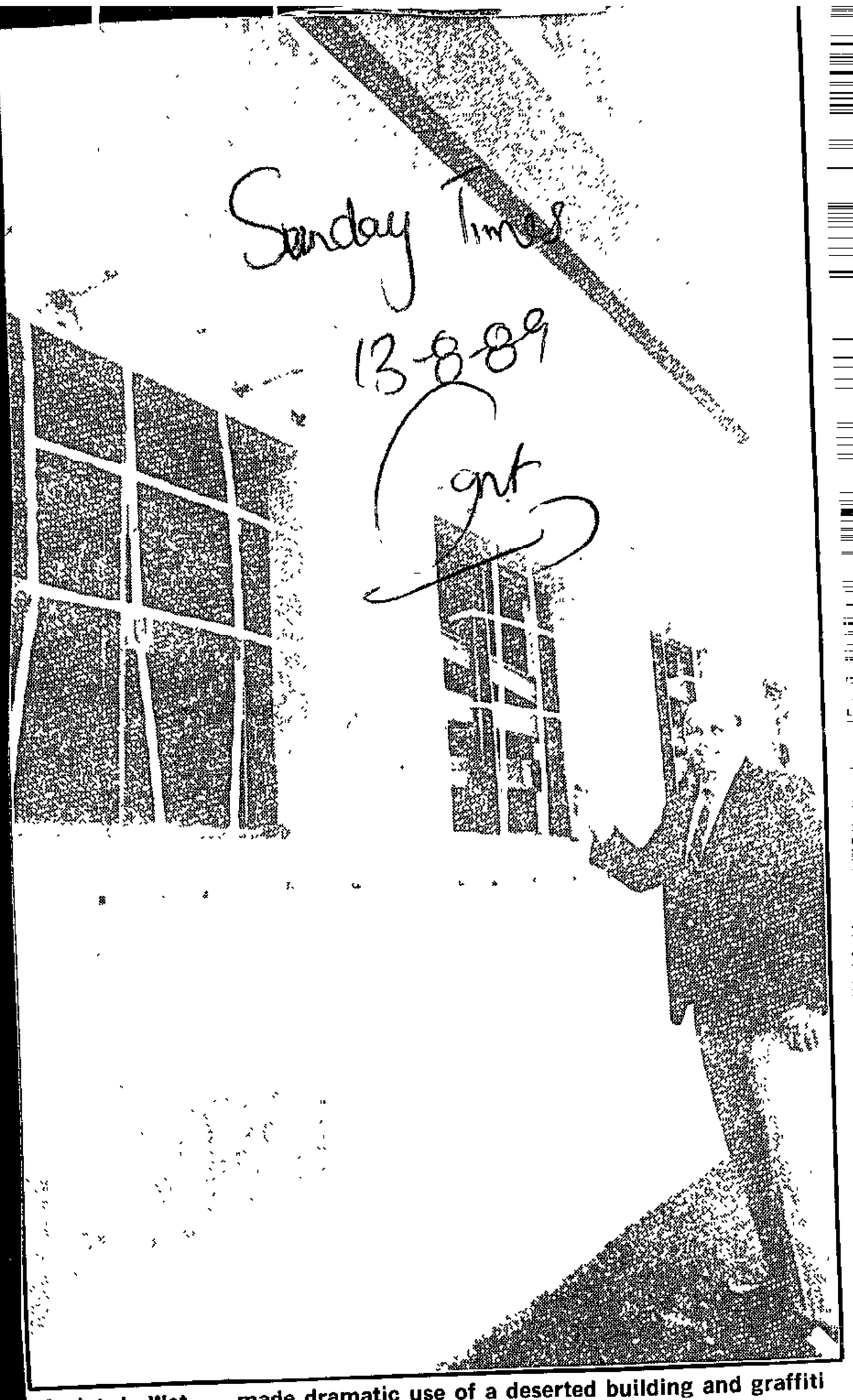
Glenn Babb cuddles up to wife Brenda and daughter Lauren on his video

Can you play it again, Sam?

CONT → 3044

S/Times 13/8/89

Sunday Times
13-8-89
gnt



André de Wet . . . made dramatic use of a deserted building and graffiti

Denis Worrall addressed a meeting in nearby King William's Town — one of eight speeches he made in the Border area in 36 hours this week — the candidate there, Mr Pat Rogers, was introduced by Mr Brian Nel, who opposed Mr Rogers in 1981 from an HNP platform.

Mr De Wet says: "There is no doubt in my mind that financial mismanagement is what is uppermost in everybody's mind. Everybody remembers the corruption which centred here."

And there is strong evidence for his claim. In last year's city council election not a single NP candidate was elected.

However, Mr De Wet's NP opponent, Mr Billy Nel, believes the DP is making too much of the corruption issue.

Voters, he says, realise it could be even worse under a black government — the consequence they fear from DP policy.

Down at the Dog and Duck, two blocks from the harbour, there is evidence for both points of view.

But the Dog and Duck regards itself, according to a sign at its entrance, as a "gentleman's retreat" — thus its lunchtime habitués prefer anonymity.

One says: "When they take a bloke's house away, he doesn't care about the reasons and the statistics and all that.

"There is just a feeling of despondency. No ways can you motivate that guy again. And now the same is starting to happen with cars."

"We don't talk much politics here," offers another regular. "But what you do hear about a lot is all these fraud cases and how the rand's now worth **** all."

Nevertheless, a betting slate hung next to the snooker scoreboard shows none of the gentlemen in the retreat gives the NP any higher hope than retaining 90 of the 120 seats it now holds in Parliament.

Report by L J Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

Sunday Times 13-8-87

By LESTER VENTER: Political Correspondent

Albany awakes from sleepy years — DP

COMFORTABLE armchairs look out from the 1820 Settlers Memorial, high on an Eastern Cape hill, over the historic and normally sedate Grahamstown. But now, down in the valley, the settlers' descendants are beginning to stir.

For the last decade they have allowed their parliamentary constituency — Albany — to vacillate between the NP and the opposition. Right now it is held by the NP.

This time, say campaign workers in the DP's office, the clouds of lethargy are being blown away.

Professor Ian Macdonald, campaign manager and an opposition veteran, says there are unprecedented offers of help from voters wanting to pitch in with the DP's nationwide bid — now at a level not seen in opposition ranks since the '50s — to win Government-held seats.

The candidate, Mr Errol Moorcroft, says he has so far held 20 meetings where he might have held four or five in the past.

And the spur in the voters' sides is SA's rapidly worsening economy, according to Mr Moorcroft.

It's hurting particularly the many elderly people in the settler community, which includes retirement hamlets like Port Alfred and Kenton on Sea.

The NP's candidate, Mr Jan van de Vyver, disagrees. The DP is "exaggerating" economic hardship, he says.

Worried

A retired couple who will be turning out for Mr Moorcroft are Mr Cyril Sewray, 70, a former council worker, and his wife, Margaret, 67.

They are living on Government pensions of R251 and R262 respectively, supplemented by interest on their savings.

Last month their water and electricity account for their MOTH cottage was R85.

"I used to go to the bank to draw R50 a week for us to live on," says Mrs Sewray. "Then it became R100. Now it's R200. We're pulling in our horns and cutting out the luxuries. At the moment we're all right, but we're very worried about the future."

Mr Sewray says the answer is "to get the bureaucrats out.

"The way these blighters are lining their pockets is shocking. We need a change. These blighters are ruining the country."

Mr Van de Vyver says the voters are more frightened of the DP's policy of a common voters' roll for blacks and whites than economic hardship.

Mr Moorcroft accuses Mr Van de Vyver of "twisting" DP policy, saying further aspects of the policy — like federalism, a bill of rights and proportional representation — will defuse the consequences voters fear from equal voting rights.

North of Albany, in the East London City seat, the same balance of majority rule fears against the fears of further economic hardship is overlaid by the issue of corruption in Government.

It's hard to miss the point in the seat of the disgraced former MP, Mr Peet de Pontes, the central Government figure in the Palazzolo scandal.

A banner across East London's main business street urges: "Fight corruption — vote for the Democratic Party."

DP campaigners claim this issue, added to others, is driving many Nationalists to switch allegiance.

Their candidate, ex-Springbok lock forward André de Wet, is himself a former NP man.

When DP co-leader Dr

Two top verligte Nats face tough fights — including a three-way battle

TWO Deputy Ministers. Two of the most verligte members of the National Party caucus. Two of the most intriguing and hard-fought battles of the election campaign.

In the East Rand constituency of Geduld, Mr Sam de Beer is fighting off a two-pronged onslaught from both the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party.

Across the Reef, in Krugersdorp, his colleague, Mr Leon Wessels, is defending his slender 55-vote majority in a rematch against the CP's Clive Derby-Lewis.

In both contests, all protagonists claim to have the edge at this stage of the race. The truth is that it is too close to call and nobody will know for sure until the results are announced in the early hours of September 7.

The battle for the soul of Krugersdorp began where it left off in April 1987 ... in court.

At issue was the question whether an NP advertisement correctly reflected Mr Derby-Lewis' views on birth control and "compulsory sterilisation" for blacks.

The court vindicated Mr Wessels. It went even further, stating that the CP candidate's views fitted the dictionary definition of "racist".

The laid-back, almost casual style of the deputy Minister of Law and Order hides a seasoned and aggressive campaigner who loves few things more than an old-fashioned political scrap.

When the going gets tough, Leon Wessels is only limbering up.

Aggression

"I sense a new determination and aggression among Nationalists in Krugersdorp," he says.

"Sure, we know we are with our backs to the wall, but less than one year of CP rule in the town council has put them on the defensive as well."

Although not yet in the same league as their colleagues in Boksburg and Carletonville, rightwing rule in Krugersdorp has already produced its own series of racist and absurd decisions.

A banquet to honour Police Commissioner General Hennie de Witt could not be held in the city hall; neither could a party for the town's competitors in the Comrades Marathon.

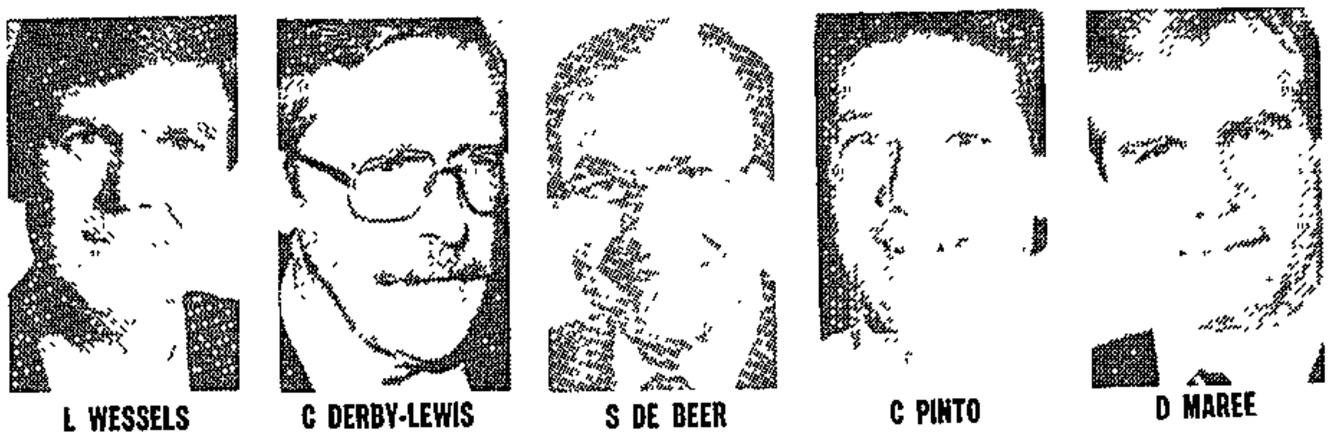
One reason only for these decisions: The guest lists included black people.

In spite of election promises to the contrary, the CP-run town council has already increased rates and taxes.

"They've succeeded in antagonising almost every interest group in the constituency," says Mr Wessels.

National issues are not really playing a major role in the campaign. Of far bigger importance are local politics and the quality of the candidates.

Mr Clive Derby-Lewis is certainly no pushover candidate. In 1987 he came within a whisker of causing one of the biggest upsets in the election. This time around he is looking at turning the tables.



L WESSELS | C DERBY-LEWIS | S DE BEER | C PINTO | D MAREE

By DRIES VAN HEERDEN

Mr Wessels is one of the new breed of Nationalists whose star may be on the rise in the post-Botha era.

He prides himself on being a constituency MP. He grew up in Krugersdorp, he knows the town and its needs inside out.

Mr Sam de Beer is an intense and passionate man. A workaholic who spends every available hour in his Geduld constituency when he is not burning the midnight oil as deputy Minister of Education and Training.

Mr De Beer has always worn his strongly verligte views on his sleeve.

"I believe strongly in accelerated reform. With new leadership and a new commitment we will have to step up the pace of political development for all people in South Africa," he says. And this is the message he spreads throughout Geduld.

Geduld is perhaps not the easiest constituency in the Transvaal to talk about political rights for blacks or changes to the Group Areas system.

It is something of a patchwork constituency, with an area almost as large as the whole of the East Rand. Wedged between Springs and Benoni, it stretches to the north, past Bapsfontein, to the outskirts of Pretoria.

In population it is a cross-section of white South Africa.

High-income areas through the middle-class to lower-income suburbs — miners, professional people, railway workers, small businessmen, farmers, civil servants.

Confused

Mr De Beer's majority of 1 700 is under siege from both the CP and the DP.

The latter's decision to enter the fray has been controversial from the start. Why oppose one of the most verligte members in the NP and possibly hand over the seat to the CP on a platter?

Mr De Beer has no hesitation in calling the DP spoilers. "They have no organisation, no infrastructure, no visible support outside of a limited area," he says.

The man in the middle of the controversy, DP candidate Chris Pinto, is somewhat confused about what the furore is all about.

He sees his candidacy as a long-term investment. "We may not win this time round, but we are using this opportunity to establish an organisation on the ground," he says in his office in the neighbouring constituency of Benoni

But what the youthful transport consultant may lack in organisation he more than makes up for in idealism.

A former Nat, Mr Pinto says he became disillusioned with the party when it failed to deliver on its reform promises.

"They continually tell us how they are going to change the country, but when pressed for details, they always ask for more time."

The criticism that his candidacy may benefit the CP does not faze him. "That is how a democracy works. People should be allowed to vote for parties that represent their real beliefs and values," he says.

But, in the final analysis, the real battle will be between the NP and the CP. And it promises to be one of the humdingers of the election campaign.

Like Mr Wessels, Mr De Beer believes local issues are overshadowing the larger, national picture.

Geduld is in the centre of an area in which CP-controlled town councils took over after the municipal elections last year. And the policies implemented in places like Boksburg have proved disastrous for the whole region

"The voters of Geduld have seen what a future under CP control would be like and they don't like it one bit," says Mr De Beer.

CP candidate Mr Dawie Maree disagrees strongly with Mr De Beer's arguments. "The NP is exaggerating what has happened in Boksburg. It is playing political cricket on petty issues, trying to score cheap runs by drawing attention away from its own policies," he says.

Mr Maree belies the traditional image of a CP representative on the East Rand. He is certainly no rabble-rousing demagogue, but a serious young man with an almost lifelong passion for politics.

Options

The former senior official in the Johannesburg City Council is a graduate of RAU, where he excelled in sport.

"The choice available to voters is fairly easy," he says. "They can either vote for the CP's policy of partition and the retention of white government over white people ... or they can choose eventual black majority rule by voting for either the NP or the DP."

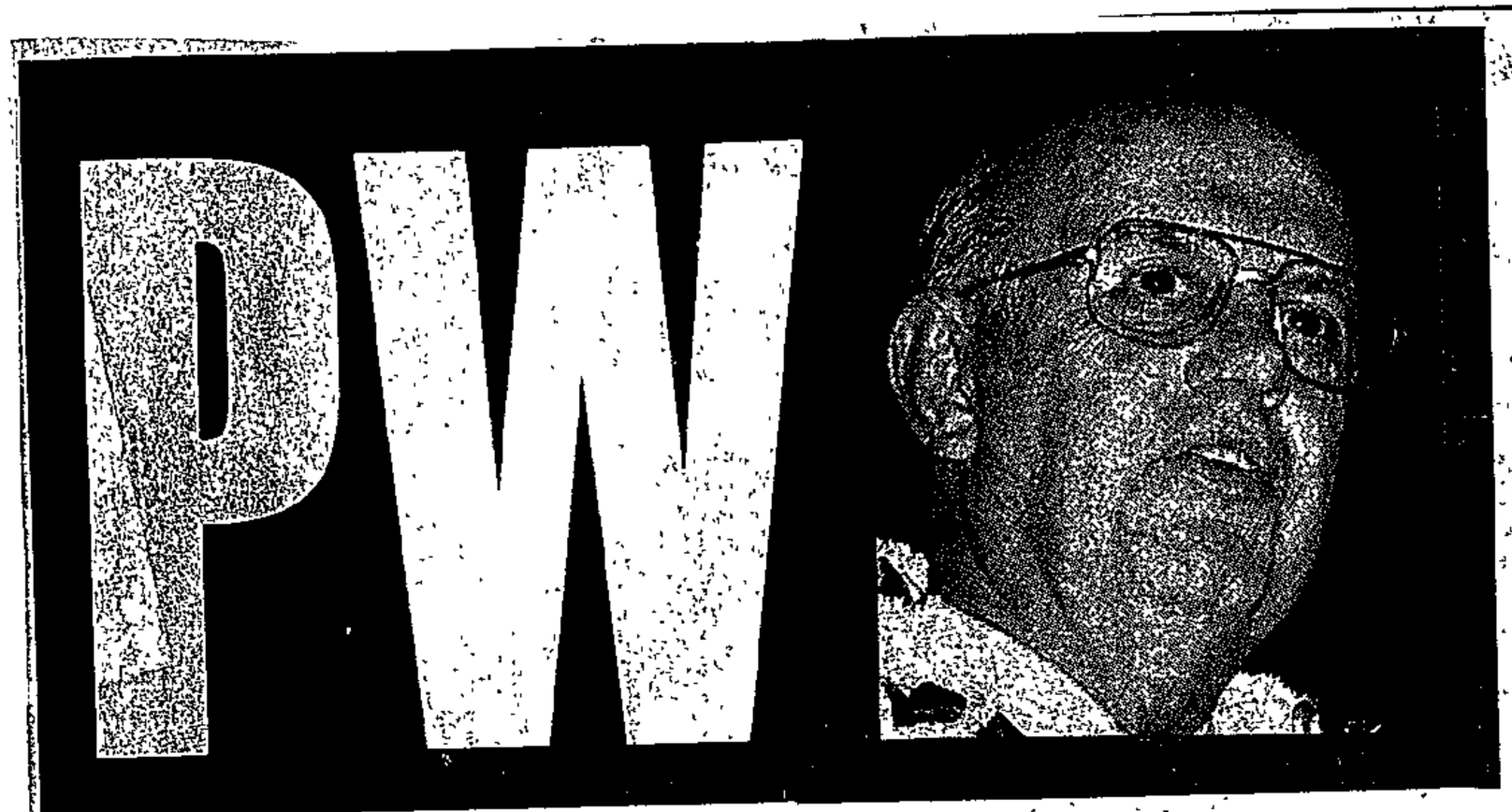
Mr De Beer, too, believes the options are obvious. The voters, including those inclined to support the DP, must decide who would best represent their interest in Parliament.

"I am a senior member of the Government with a proven track record of service to Geduld over 15 years," he says "I believe I have already made significant contribution to political reform and will continue to do so if elected"

Report by A van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Sunday Times

13-8-89



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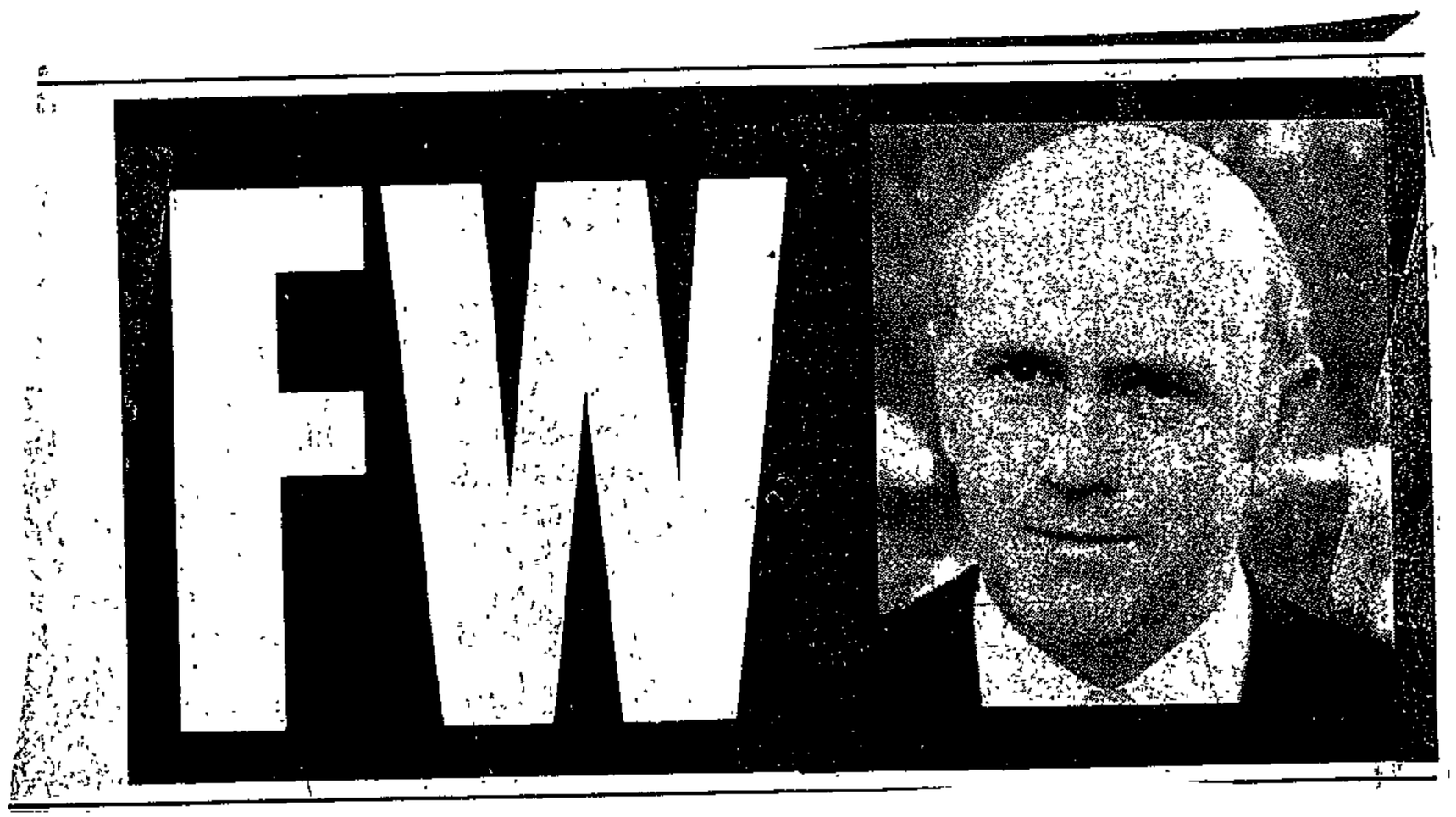


Cont-

President's memory is blamed

CP press

Special Correspondent 13-8-89

TENSION between State President PW Botha and National Party leader FW de Klerk flared again on Friday when Botha threatened to fire his Foreign Minister over a planned meeting between De Klerk and Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

De Klerk called for an emergency meeting with all available ministers in Pretoria yesterday after the President and the Foreign Minister Pik Botha had an altercation.

The President, in turn, called for an extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet at Tuynhuys in Cape Town tomorrow morning.

NP sources said he was angered by what he saw as a public and political snub.

While the Foreign Minister was expecting sacking orders, Cabinet members warned that if the President tried to dump any minister, the Cabinet was likely to resign en masse or else force the President's resignation.

Meanwhile, the Foreign Minister denied that the Kaunda-De Klerk meeting had been called off, and a spokesman for his office denied newspaper reports that the meeting had been vetoed.

The Foreign Minister, a long-standing presidential confidante, bore the brunt of what was seen by senior people in NP circles as anger against De Klerk.

The President's threats were made in the light of what he felt was the Foreign Minister's failure to inform him fully of the intended meeting with Kaunda.

On Friday morning the President issued a statement which read: "I am not aware, in terms of the rules governing overseas journeys by ministers, of the discussions to be held on August 28, as announced by Dr Kaunda."

The statement caused political uproar. De Klerk called an urgent meeting of ministers as "attempts to clarify the position with the President had been unsuccessful".

Later De Klerk said it seemed that there had been a misunderstanding.

According to sources, the drama started on Thursday after a high-ranking South African

■ To Page 4

Botha's head could roll

Cont

Special Correspondent

STATE President PW Botha had been consulted about all past and future visits to foreign leaders by National Party leader FW de Klerk, *City Press* has learnt.

This follows conflict between the two leaders about some visits which could see the entire Cabinet linking up against Botha at an extra-ordinary Cabinet meeting tomorrow.

The State President could be asked to resign.

PW Botha gave his approval for the visits to foreign leaders, although he expressed his reluctance about them, *City Press* has learnt.

De Klerk visited five heads of government during the past two months.

■ Although all these visits had been cleared with PW Botha, he accused Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who was closely involved in the arrangements of these visits, of "plotting" with De Klerk behind his back.

■ Shortly after the Angolan peace conference in Gbadolite in Zaire, and before De Klerk's visit to Europe, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia indicated he would like to

■ To Page 4

13/8/89 C. Press

FROM PAGE 1

FW vs PW showdown plunges NP into crisis

envoy returned from Lusaka with the news that Kaunda had agreed to meet De Klerk at Livingstone on August 28.

Although De Klerk intended to visit Kaunda only after the general election on September 6, it was believed in diplomatic circles that an earlier meeting would be in South Africa's interest because of developments within the Frontline states and the Commonwealth.

It was established that the Foreign Minister telephoned the President late on Thursday to tell him him Kaunda had discussed the meeting with Frontline states and agreed upon a date, and that Kaunda would announce it at a news conference in Lusaka.

It was learned from impeccable sources that the President had expressed no objection to the meeting. "You'd better plan your own travels," he was alleged to have said.

After talking to the President, the Foreign Minister issued a short statement confirming that the meeting would go ahead.

Several hours later, after watching a television report on the intended meeting, the President telephoned his Foreign Minister, accusing him of not discussing the meeting date with him.

An argument about the earlier conversation ensued. The President apparently threatened to dismiss the Foreign Minister from the Cabinet. On Friday morning the President publicly aired the argument by issuing a statement to Sapa.

Senior NP office-bearers felt that the President's memory might have been to blame.

It is not the first time confrontation between the two leaders has exploded in public.

The initial indication of animosity was the President's failure to congratulate De Klerk on his election as NP leader; then in June the President embarrassed De Klerk by refusing to attend a banquet in his honour.

In a bland statement after the emergency meeting yesterday, De Klerk said ministers were unanimous on how the matter should be handled during discussion with the President. He did not elaborate, but added that the NP did not underestimate the seriousness of the situation.

The only two ministers not to attend the meeting were Economic Affairs Minister Danie Steyn and Constitutional Development Minister Gene Louw, but no political significance was attached to this.

As the Foreign Minister left the meeting, he denied suggestions that the President had suggested he resign from the Cabinet.

De Klerk said: "I am appealing to people to remain calm and I warn everybody who would make all kinds of inferences that they could regret it."

■ By LF Oosthuysen, 204 Eloff St Ext, Selby and D van Zyl, 514 First National Bank building, Church Square, Pretoria.

PW's head could roll tomorrow

meet De Klerk in his capacity as new NP leader.

Pik Botha then sent Director General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden to meet Kaunda.

Van Heerden returned to Pretoria with the message that Kaunda would like to become acquainted with De Klerk as a person.

Immediately after his return from Europe, De Klerk and Pik Botha discussed Kaunda's invitation with PW Botha.

It has been said that PW Botha expressed his dislike of Kaunda to them, and proposed they first consult President Mobuto Seso Seko of Zaire and Dr Jonas Savimbi of Unita about the invitation.

Mobuto had no objection to De Klerk visiting Kaunda. Savimbi apparently had objections. De Klerk then decided to postpone the meeting until after the general election on September 6.

■ PW Botha was apparently annoyed with Pik Botha because he and De Klerk visited President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique at the end of last month.

After the visit PW Botha took Pik Botha to task for arranging the meeting.

■ A highranking South African envoy was sent to Zambia this week to negotiate the meeting between Kaunda and De Klerk. The date was set for August 28.

It was decided that PW Botha would be informed in the usual manner.

■ When the news of a possible meeting between De Klerk and US President George Bush was published, PW Botha took De Klerk to task because, as he put it, he had to learn about the visit through the media.

(SEE PAGES 22 & 23)

AUGUST 13 1989 PRICE R1,55 + 210 tax

President out on a limb as angry Ministers unite to halt boiling Nat squabble



De Klerk set to lay it on the line to PW: Stop the insults and the meddling

SHOWDOWN!

304H

S/Times 13/8/89.

By DRIES van HEERDEN

PRESIDENT BOTHA will tomorrow face a united Cabinet determined to stop him interfering in government affairs.

National Party sources predict an acrimonious showdown. Mr Botha and his successor, Mr F W de Klerk, will face each other across the table in a fight that has been boiling up for months.

The row erupted after President Botha rapped Mr De Klerk over the knuckles for arranging a meeting with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda without following procedures acceptable to Mr Botha.

If Mr De Klerk — facing a critical election in three weeks' time — fails to take a tough stance after months of snubs and slights, he is likely to lose considerable stature within the party After a lengthy meeting in Mr De Klerk's Pretoria home yesterday, members of the Cabinet decided to confront President Botha at a full meeting in Tuynhuys, Cape Town, at 8.30am tomorrow.

Earlier a number of Ministers — many of them in defiant mood because President Botha had precipitated a severe crisis on the eve of a crucial election — indicated that they would not back down.

Some Ministers even threatened to resign.

However, after a three-and-a-half-hour session attended by all but four members of the Cabinet, Mr De Klerk issued a surprisingly bland holding statement in which he merely emphasised the seriousness with which the party regarded the situation, and claimed there was unanimity on the way to handle it.

Observers said it probably indicated that he wanted to postpone the showdown until he could confront the President face to face and deliver an ultimatum: Keep quiet until your retirement.

Isolated

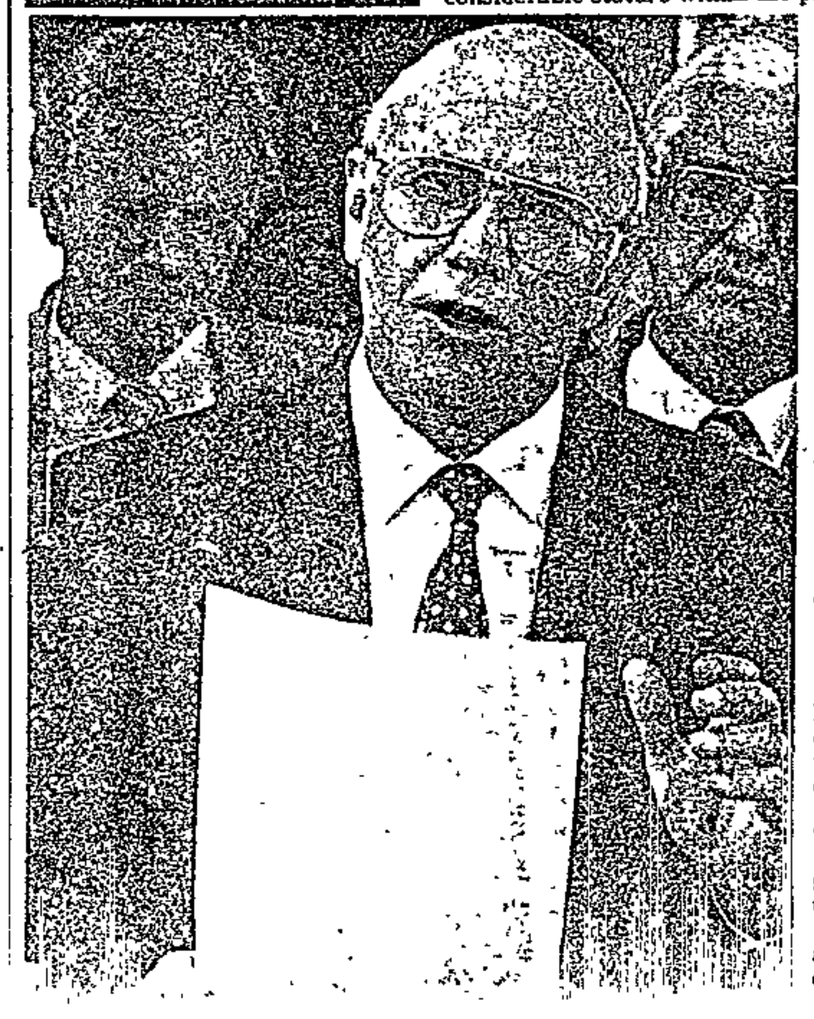
Since the row burst into the open on Friday, NP offices have been flooded with calls from confused supporters baffled by what they regard as an unseemly clash only three weeks before polling day.

The dramatic turn of events could throw the result of the election wide open.

There are already indications that the ruling party is shedding massive support to left and to right

Unless Mr De Klerk, as party leader, is able to assert his paramountcy over an essentially lame-duck head of state who is

We know what has to be done, says FW after talks





24 rugby stars on way for SA tour

By JOHN REASON: London

THE first contingent of a "very strong" World XV will arrive in South Africa on Tuesday.

More than 20 top international players are this weekend slipping out of Paris, London and Sydney and heading for Johannesburg.

They will form the squad for the opening match on Saturday at King's Park. But the party will be at least 30-strong when the first Test gets under way at Newlands on August 25.

By yesterday, 24 players had agreed to join the World XV and more were changing their minds by the minute.

Apart from the French, whose names were leaked, the rest of the confirmed players — all internationals — are keeping a low profile.

There are six from Australia, four from Wales, five from England and one each from Ireland and Scotland.

The seven Frenchmen are centres Philippe Sella and Denis Chauvet, French captain Pierre Berbezier, fly-half Franck Mesnel, forwards Pierre Garuet and Marc Cecilon, and the "Iron Man of Dax", mighty No 8 Laur-

□ To Page 2

The vital Factor!

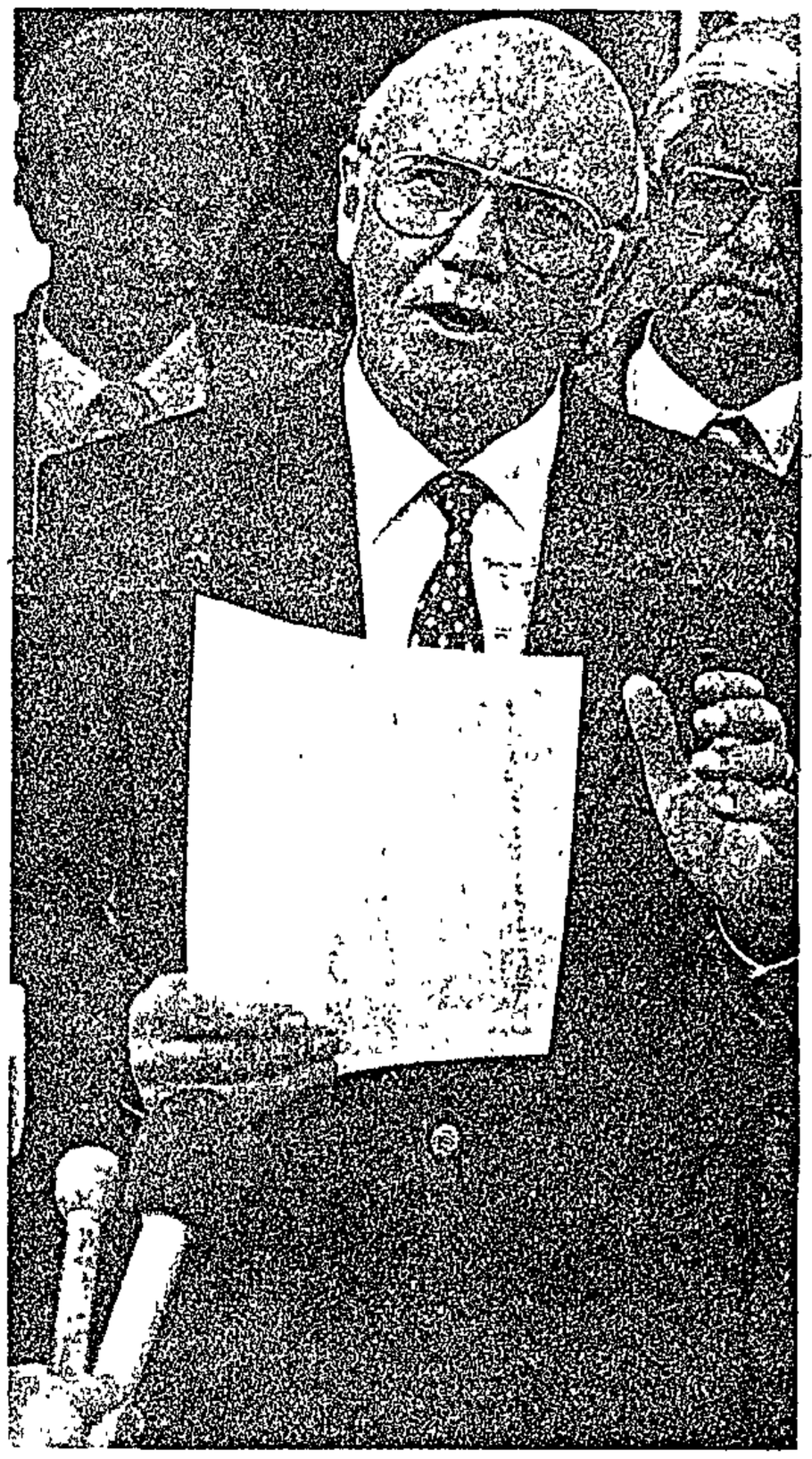


AS TONY GETS SET TO BE A DAD AGAIN: See Page 12

Sex-for-food girl says: I hate him! SEE PAGE 5

ARCH SA FOE FOR TOP JOB See Page 11

R325 000 TO BE WON! See Business Times today



F W de Klerk reading the statement Picture: HERMAN PAINCZYK

Klerk's Pretoria home yesterday, members of the Cabinet decided to confront President Botha at a full meeting in Tuynhuys, Cape Town, at 8.30am tomorrow.

Earlier a number of Ministers — many of them in defiant mood because President Botha had precipitated a severe crisis on the eve of a crucial election — indicated that they would not back down.

Some Ministers even threatened to resign.

However, after a three-and-a-half-hour session attended by all but four members of the Cabinet, Mr De Klerk issued a surprisingly bland holding statement in which he merely emphasised the seriousness with which the party regarded the situation, and claimed there was unanimity on the way to handle it.

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Isolated

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The dramatic turn of events could throw the result of the election wide open.

There are already indications that the ruling party is shedding massive support to left and to right

Unless Mr De Klerk, as party leader, is able to assert his paramountcy over an essentially lame-duck head of state who is serving out the last weeks of his Presidency, the defection of supporters could turn into a flood

The President, fuming and largely friendless, was isolated in his official residence in Cape Town yesterday.

He refused to make any comment as the palace revolt swelled into a looming confrontation.

Mr De Klerk is said to be at the end of his patience in the face of successive insults from his predecessor, who has never publicly congratulated him on his election, who refused to attend an official party farewell and is known to resent his travels to Europe.

The row led to a stormy telephone conversation between President Botha and Mr Pik Botha on Thursday night, after which the Foreign Minister considered resigning.

Senior party officials were also reported as being unanimous that Mr Botha's memory was "letting him down" — not for the first time.

Senior Cabinet sources told the Sunday Times yesterday: "The Cabinet are united as never before in our opposition to the President's actions.

"We will not back down this time. Either he does — or we go," he said.

Constitutional experts said yesterday that there were few — if any — legal options available to dislodge Mr Botha from office, whether through impeachment or by forcing his resignation.

Ready

The present crisis started early Thursday evening when Foreign Minister Pik Botha received word that President Kenneth Kaunda had agreed to a meeting with Mr De Klerk in Livingstone on August 28.

The Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Mr Neil van Heerden, had earlier been sent to Lusaka as a special emissary.

Although the Cabinet had agreed to such a meeting, no one expected it to take place before the election. However, when — after a meeting of the Frontline states — Mr Kaunda indicated he was ready to talk, Mr Pik Botha decided to inform the State President immediately

This telephone conversation was followed by a statement that the trip had been planned in consultation with the President. The Foreign Minister took extra care to credit President Botha with

□ To Page 2

Drama as ill Tambo is flown to London

S/Times 13/8/89

By PASCAL FLETCHER
Lusaka

OLIVER TAMBO, president of the African National Congress, has had a stroke.

He has been flown to Britain for treatment.

Sources close to the movement said yesterday that the 71-year-old ANC leader had a stroke on Wednesday in Lusaka and was flown to Britain on Friday in a jet belonging to British multinational company Lonrho.

ANC spokesmen were not immediately available to give details of Mr Tambo's condition or where he was being treated.

Mr Tambo was absent on Thursday from a summit meeting in Lusaka of the presidents of southern Africa's six Frontline states and leaders of the ANC.

His non-appearance surprised many as he had been in Harare until Friday the week before for consultations with President Mugabe in preparation for the summit.

Strains

"Last week in Zimbabwe he looked extremely well and if he has had a stroke it's undoubtedly because the pressures and strains upon him have been unbelievable lately," said a source close to Mr Tambo.

The Lusaka summit discussed whether the time was right for Frontline states and the ANC to drop confrontation with Pretoria and negotiate an end to apartheid.



OLIVER TAMBO
Missed meeting

ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo represented the movement at the meeting. Asked to explain Mr Tambo's absence, ANC spokesmen said then he was on holiday and having a short rest.

Mr Tambo has been the president since 1967 and has lived since then in Zambia.

As the undisputed leader of the ANC, he is widely seen as a moderate, although he firmly advocates armed struggle as part of the group's overall campaign to eliminate apartheid.

ANC sources confirmed yesterday that the ageing ANC chief had suffered a stroke four or five years ago although this had never been made public.

Pressure

He had been under medication ever since and had strict orders from his doctor in London to rest during the middle of the day. However, pressure of work often made this impossibe.

In London, a spokesman for Lonrho confirmed that a company jet flew Mr Tambo, accompanied by a doctor and a nurse, to London.

"Our company jet was in Lusaka on business and was coming back to Europe ... with a little rerouting, we were able to be of assistance to Oliver Tambo," the spokesman said.

A question of zinc

Sunday Times Reporter: London

CASANOVA'S sexy secret is out — he maintained his legendary libido with a plentiful supply of zinc. According to Professor Derek Bryce-Smith of Reading University near London, the metal is essential to male sex drive and fertility — and promiscuity causes massive losses. Casanova kept his supplies up with zinc-rich oysters — as many as 50 a day.

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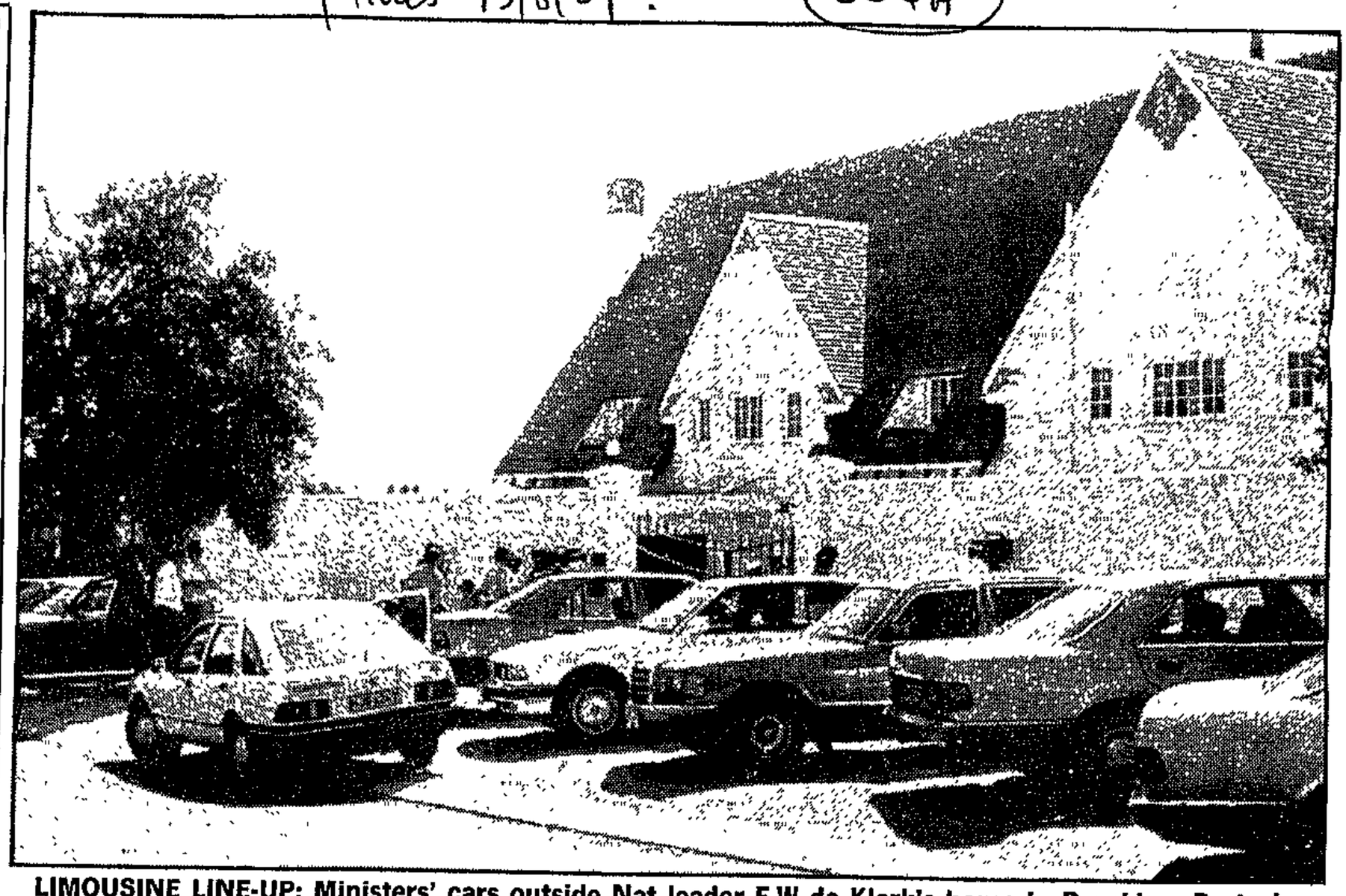
S/Times 13/8/89. (304A)



LIMOUSINE LINE-UP: Ministers' cars outside Nat leader F W de Klerk's home in Brooklyn, Pretoria

□ From Page 1

Showdown as FW and PW lock horns

taking the lead in the Africa initiatives.

This statement was carried on the 8pm television news. Then "all hell broke loose", the Sunday Times was told.

President Botha telephoned his Foreign Minister almost immediately, demanding to know why he had to learn about the meeting from the TV news.

Mr Pik Botha's insistence that, on the contrary, he had indeed kept Tuynhuys fully informed, could not calm President Botha down.

"He denied that such a conversation had taken place," a senior Government source said yesterday. "This was tantamount to calling Mr Pik Botha a liar."

Nor did the telephone calls end there. Several senior Ministers received angry calls up to 2.30am on Friday.

At 9.30am on Friday President Botha went public. He issued a terse statement to the SA Press Association declaring that he had not been informed of the Livingstone meeting announced by President Kaunda.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk himself called an urgent meeting of senior NP members in his office in Pretoria.



GRIM: Magnus Malan, Stoffel Botha and Kobie Coetsee arrive for the meeting

ELECTION NEWS: P10

Rebellious

Mr Pik Botha rushed back from his Westdene constituency, and he and Mr De Klerk were joined by Mr Barend du Plessis, General Magnus Malan, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Mr Adriaan Vlok, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe and Mr Roelf Meyer.

According to sources, the mood at the meeting was "rebellious". Various options were discussed on how to handle the crisis.

One option was the possibility that the President would dismiss either Mr Pik Botha or Mr De Klerk — or both — which would have resulted in resignations en masse from the Cabinet.

The possibility of asking President Botha to resign as head of state — as well as the question of impeachment — is said to have come up.

Highly placed sources said senior Ministers then phoned President Botha asking for an urgent meeting.

The President refused point-blank.

Mr De Klerk issued a carefully worded statement saying that, according to information supplied by Mr Pik Botha, it appeared as if a "misunderstanding" had arisen.

According to sources, a copy of Mr De Klerk's statement — together with a covering letter in which he reiterated that he and Mr Pik Botha stood by their version of events — was faxed to Tuynhuys.

President Botha countered by calling an extraordinary meeting of the Cabinet for 8.30am tomorrow.

Cabinet members expressed surprise at this move, since the President had allegedly earlier called off all Cabinet meetings until September 6.

Constitutional experts said yesterday it would be very difficult to oust President Botha from his powerful position.

Only the Electoral College could remove him from office, and then only if it could be proved that he was incapable of fulfilling his duties adequately, said Stellenbosch Professor Willie Breytenbach, who had a major role in drawing up the constitution.

The main problem was that the Electoral College is an instrument of Parliament — and only the President himself has the power to convene Parliament.

Complicating matters further is the fact that Parliament has been dissolved by Mr Botha and, in strict legal terms, the three Houses no longer exist.

According to Unisa constitutional law expert Professor Marinus Wiechers, there are very few legal options available to the Cabinet to force the President into resignation.

Even if the whole Cabinet resigns en masse the President can rule the country by himself until his term expires after the election.

He said a president could, however, be declared mentally incapable of continuing his duties, in which event the Cabinet would choose an acting State President to reconvene Parliament.

In political circles yesterday it was said that President Botha's latest explosion was "the boiling-over of a deeply rooted aversion to Mr De Klerk".

"It is an open secret that Mr Botha did not want the Transvaal leader as his successor and was extremely bitter when the caucus chose him," said one official.

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

It's not who to vote for, but whether to vote at all

S Times 13/8/89

By NORMAN WEST

AS election day September 6 hurtles closer, extra-parliamentary forces are stepping up their campaign to ostracise candidates for the (coloured) House of Representatives and the (Indian) House of Delegates.

In the forefront of this campaign is what Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok describes as "the faceless so-called Mass Democratic Movement".

The Minister has publicly called the MDM "nothing else but a UDF-ANC-SACP alliance bent on the violent disruption of the elections".

But MDM spokesmen have openly stated they have no violent intentions.

Nevertheless they will make their objections felt by civil disobedience, demonstrations, sit-ins and marches.

[redacted]

This campaign is apparently set to culminate in a national day of defiance on August 20, the anniversary of the founding of the United Democratic Front in 1983.

But Mr Vlok will find it is not only the "forces of evil" who are against voting for the tricameral Parliament, from which black South Africans are excluded.

Some opponents are, in fact, solid god-fearing souls, just like Mr Vlok.

One of them, Imam Ali Gierdien, is a prominent Cape Town property developer and acting chairman of the Muslim Judicial Council, an Islamic tribunal with jurisdiction over 80 mosques and more than 200 000 Muslims in the Western Cape.

"There is no way I or my congregants will cast a vote for a discredited apartheid institution like the House of Representatives," said Mr Gierdien.

He said all 80 mosques falling under of the MJC had urged their congregations "not to touch a ballot paper for the tricameral Parliament" because it would be "un-Islamic".

All Muslims participating in the election, whether as voters or candidates, face being ostracised by the Muslim community and banned from Mosques falling under the MJC, he said.

Mr Faried Essack, a member of the UDF executive and national co-ordinator of the Call of Islam, a movement for Muslim liberation theology, said reform could only come from those community forces that had demonstrated their disdain for apartheid".

"I am most determinedly not going to vote simply because I don't believe the tricameral system has the morality or the viability to bring about any kind of meaningful change in South Africa," he said.

Mr Franklin Sonn, president of the Cape Teachers Professional Association (CTPA) and the Union of Teachers Associations of South Africa (Utasa), said his 26 000 members had decided at a recent national conference that they would not take part in the elections.

As far as teachers were concerned participation in an ethnically-based parliament had entrenched separate education, he said.

When Mandela and all political prisoners were freed, people's organisations unbanned and exiles allowed to return as free South Africans only then could real negotiations between equals take place, he said.

Mr Henry Abdol, chief of liaison officer at the University of the Western Cape, said the campus was unanimous against participating in the elections.

The campus, with a student population of close to 12 000, believed the tricameral system was was "politically irrelevant in the stuggle towards a non-racial democratic future", he said.

Mr Abdol said UWC Rector Professor Jakes Gerwel had publicly dedicated the university "to provide an intellectual home for the left".

The left was those "institutions and organisations seeking and working for a fundamental transformation of the settler-dominated order which prevails in South Africa today", he said.

Mr Joseph van den Heever, an ex-school principal who won the Grassy Park seat for the Labour Party in September 1984 with only 781 votes — a majority of 196 in a 10,1 percent poll — is one of the few who openly support the election.

Mr Joseph, now a member of the parliamentary education committee, said:

"We have opened so-called coloured schools to all races. Black children from the riot-ravaged schools in the townships find a safe haven in our schools.

[redacted]

"Even whites are studying at 'our' universities and Technikons.

"Through our participation computer education is available for 90 000 pupils in 120 primary schools and 20 000 pupils in 27 high schools," he said.

But apathy towards the elections can be seen in the fact that so far 15 candidates for the House of Representatives have been returned unopposed.

Mr Carter Ebrahim, leader of the House of Representative's official Opposition Democratic Reform Party (DRP), has advertised in 13 newspapers countrywide inviting virtually anyone to stand for the six-member DRP.

Mr Ebrahim admits the advertisement campaign was a flop.

Report by N West, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.

SA youth must ring in change

By CHARIS PERKINS

STUDENTS, young professionals and business people were challenged yesterday to become involved in bringing about real change in South Africa.

"It is up to the younger generation to make things happen," said Idasa national co-ordinator Mr Wayne Mitchell, at the organisation's national conference in Johannesburg this weekend.

The theme of the conference — "securing the future" — sparked widespread interest and more than 50 people had to be turned away at the registration tables because there was not enough room to accommodate them.

Debates raged over political and economic options in a post-apartheid society, the role of business and the role of the international community.

Wrapping up the conference last night, Mr Wayne Mitchell said a prominent feature of South African politics was an "anticipation of change".

"For whites, the waiting for change is accompanied by the fear of losing status and privilege. For blacks, anticipated change brings the hope of relief from poverty and powerlessness.

"But change will not occur until the government realises that failure to take bold steps towards a settlement will produce unacceptable political consequences."

Only in South Africa do we lose — no matter who wins

ST Tues 13/8/89

304 P

by Dries van Heerden

ONLY in South Africa would a government in trouble blame its woes on the opposition.

Only in South Africa (and perhaps, also in Cloud-Cuckoo Land) would decades of mismanagement, bad planning and incompetence be ascribed to "events beyond our control".

And where else would any government have the *chutzpah* to appeal to voters to give them five more years to continue the damage?

Only in South Africa would a member of the ruling party complain about the price of a loaf of brown bread on TV without explaining that it was his government which more than trebled that price in the past decade.

Only here (and then, only before an election) would a government which has allowed prices to go through the roof, taxes to cripple the middle class and interest rates to spiral, shed a few crocodile tears over the plight of the "ordinary man".

And then ask for a mandate to continue its policies.

Blame

Only in South Africa would a government condemn local authorities for imposing petty apartheid but keep the Separate Amenities Act on the statute books; talk about property rights while retaining the Group Areas Act.

Only here (with possible exception of Never-Never Land) would spokesmen of the ruling party wax lyrical about freedom of speech, assembly and the Press without mentioning the state of emergency, Press censorship and detention without trial.

And where else would the voters swallow it hook, line and sinker?

Only in South Africa would a government blame everything and everybody — the opposition, the outside world, the weather, sunspots, troublemakers from Mars — for the failure of its own policies.

Only here (and in weird nightmares) would opposition parties who dare to put up candidates to oppose these policies be called "spoilers" and "connivers".

Exposed

And where else would an electorate allow them to get away with it?

Only in South Africa would a party which brought insecurity, world hostility, boycotts and poverty to this country put up election posters exhorting the electorate to vote for security and prosperity.

Election 1989 has in one vital sense been a timely eyeopener: It exposes the inability of politicians of all shades and opinions to present the electorate with clear-cut ideas about which direction this country should be heading.

The Right wants to go forward into the past; the Left backwards into the future; and the Centre doesn't have the faintest clue of where it's going.

And so absurdities abound and no one seems to notice the glaring inconsistencies in the arguments:

- Talking to the ANC is fine when it's done by the State President or a Randburg Nat councillor, but not when the DP visits Lusaka.
- Petty apartheid is dandy when imposed by the Nat-controlled councils of Pretoria and Vereeniging, but not when the CP follows the example in Boksburg and Carletonville.
- Consultations are dubbed "negotiations", failures are trumpeted as successes; policies rejected time and time again are revamped and presented as "new action plans".

And we are left with a world where words have lost their meaning and the nightmarish predictions of Geroge Orwell have finally come true.

Only in South Africa will a NP victory on September 6 be proclaimed as a victory for democracy and freedom.

And, oh yes, pigs will fly, horses will sprout horns and Dracula will be appointed head of the blood transfusion service.

Quote
Mthodu: Lion
Sermon: Introduction / Inclusive

It's a Bread and Butter election

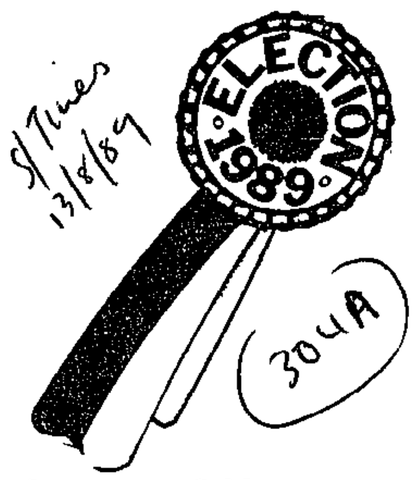
FOR probably the first time in 50 years, since the recession in the early '30s, South African voters are placing non-ideological issues at the forefront of the election campaign.

Under the impact of the increasing complexity of state management problems, rapid urbanisation, sanctions, disinvestment, and a slow redistribution of wealth from white to black, questions of constitutional and racial policy appear to have receded as the largest, most easily identifiable national political issues of concern to white voters.

Of keynote importance now is the performance of the Government.

Even at the constituency level, voters expect candidates to grapple with economic and welfare problems of concern more readily than they expect them to deal with any of the major political issues.

In other words, this may be emerging as a grievance election *par excellence*, intensified by an economic downswing, in which the ruling National Party is likely to suffer a loss in support because of exceptions that are very difficult to address in election campaigns of a traditional kind.





Lawrence Schlemmer and Richard Humphries, of Wits Centre for Policy Studies, in the third of their special reports, look at the broader issues that surfaced during their canvassing . . .

Powerful

Political issues have not been displaced, however, and voters' views of "policy" needs introduce some major constitutional issues.

This, and other evidence from the Sunday Times survey of five key constituencies across South Africa, suggests a strong underlying commitment to reform, more powerful than evidence of a fearful retreat from positive change.

The importance placed on economic and other non-constitutional issues emerged from responses to the following question: "What do you think ought to be the major national issue, during the election campaign, which the political parties ought to consider?"

The results, aggregated for all five constituencies, showed that 30 percent of all respondents pleaded a case for a variety of economic, financial and taxation issues.

Security

This was followed by 15 percent identifying race relations and racial problems; followed by 9 percent arguing that political reform, giving blacks a say in government and negotiations, were the most pressing national issue. Then came apartheid issues (8 percent), group areas and beach facility issues (5 percent), the general uncertainty over the future (3 percent) and the future of whites (3 percent).

Security issues are seen as a minor factor, mentioned by only 1 percent of voters. The lack of concern over security represents a dramatic shift away from the voter consciousness of 1987, soon after the 1984-86 unrest.

Asked which specific economic policy issues should be addressed, respondents in all five constituencies generally spread their answers evenly across tax-related issues, government expenditure, inflation, bond and interest rates, the national debt and the low value of the rand.

The dominance of economics came out once again in response to a question as to which constituency issues the candidates ought to address in their campaigns.

Here 19 percent mentioned economic, welfare and pension issues; followed by political reform, racial harmony and issues of equality (12 percent); and municipal issues (11 percent).

As one would expect, there are marked differences between the political parties on preference given to particular national issues and problems. The table reflects some of the trends.

Another powerful index of the relative importance of issues is the reasons for changes in party allegiance since 1987.

Positive

When people in the five barometer constituencies were asked about specific policy changes they considered necessary, they tended to place less emphasis on daily grievances and concerns about standards of living. Among NP supporters, some 55 percent were worried about the pace of reform and only 25 percent favoured apartheid or the status quo.

CP supporters, as one would expect, included more than 60 percent who argued for a return to, or the maintenance of, apartheid and segregation. The balance were concerned with grievances.

Among DP supporters, well over 80 percent argued for political and social reform.

Lower

Respondents were asked a series of questions about the different parties and their leadership. The results of questions on the DP leadership were reported last Sunday (showing a clear preference amongst DP supporters for Dr Denis Worrall).

In the case of the new leader of the NP, Mr F W de Klerk, respondents were asked what effect they thought his accession to the leadership of the NP would have on the party.

Not unexpectedly, the majority of respondents felt he would have a positive effect, yet the extent of this positive image is perhaps lower than the NP would like. This is especially so since, in some quarters, this September election is being cast as an "F W de Klerk election", or one in which he should be given a chance to prove himself.

Amongst respondents in all parties, 41 percent felt that he would have a positive impact; 14 percent said he would have no impact; and 12 percent felt he would have a negative impact; the rest were uncertain.

Among NP supporters, his positive rating improved fairly substantially — to 57 percent. For the CP and DP it was 18 percent and 42 percent respectively — the latter figure being surprisingly high.

Respondents were also asked about the principle of negotiation. The results show the following distribution:

- 30 percent clearly opposed to talks and negotiation;
- 20 percent had ambivalent and negative views;
- 40 percent supported increased or broader efforts to commence negotiation.

Bolder

Hence, the white consitutency is more or less evenly balanced on the issue of negotiation. Among NP supporters, less than a quarter strongly oppose attempts to negotiate.

The clear emphasis on grievances — and the equally clear negative reactions to what is perceived as a situation of uncertainty and confusion in the country — signal the greatest difficulty the NP faces in this election.

It is always easier for opposition parties to promise they will reorganise the affairs of the country than it is for a government in power. Further, cost increases and administrative problems which surface before the election will only serve to

NATIONAL ISSUES PERCEIVED AS MOST IMPORTANT

Economic problems	
Problems in race relations	
Group Areas	
Apartheid in general	
Uncertainty regarding the future	
Negotiation	
Law and order	

Cont

Sunday Times 13-8-89



Harald Pakendorf

NP dances a boere toyi-toyi on its race platform

THE National Party seems to have realised what is at the heart of its problems — but it does not know how to get out of the corner into which it has boxed itself.

Race, the NP has found out, is not an acceptable base for policy. Race is what makes the NP's policy repugnant to the majority of South Africans and has made the country the international outcast it is.

Yet the bottom line for the National Party remains its group-based approach. This means groups as defined by the Population Registration Act — that is, group by race.

Or is it still unalterable NP policy?

There have been at least three public pronouncements by senior Nationalists which seem to indicate a desire to move away from this, but without any clarity as to what it all means. On this issue the party seems to be guilty of ad hoc ideology.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee explained the party's new approach in the Pretoria City Hall during the federal congress in June.

What the NP was looking for, he said, was the right of national groups to protect their identities and values. One national group had to be prevented from dominating another. If that could be achieved, he argued, a democracy with all its consequences would be acceptable.

[redacted]

"This is not racism because the participating groups do not exist to protect a race and are not based on race," Mr Coetzee said.

The choice of a group had to be voluntary, he added.

Taken at face value, this has certain consequences, some of which were put a month later at the Johannesburg Press Club to NP information man and MP Con Botha: Does this mean, he was asked, that all Afrikaans-speaking Calvinists would fall into one group with all Portuguese-speaking Catholics in another?

That would be reading too much into Mr Coetzee's speech, he replied. But, when pressed, he admitted it might become possible in the future.

And then there was Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe who, in his TV debate with Dr Denis Worrall, referred to cultural groups and to value groups, stating clearly that groups would not be based on race.

According to Mr Van der Merwe, the NP is moving away from existing race groups, away from rigidly defined groups — and people could in future define themselves into an open group.

In fact, he thought that Dr Worrall should have been more appreciative of this development.

What does all this mean?

[redacted]

Clearly the NP is trying to undo the Population Registration Act without undoing it. It seems to want people in groups which don't have race as a basis, but still shies away from what this means.

If race is not to be the base and people can voluntarily decide to which group they want to belong, there does not seem to be too much of a reason left for classifying people anyway. Certainly not in law.

This begs the question: Why does a Zulu have to be told by a law he is a Zulu, but an Afrikaner not?

The reason, of course, used to be that an Afrikaner, being white, had the right to vote. And a Zulu had to know who he was because how else would he get to live in KwaZulu?

[redacted]

But that is all going to go by the board — at least according to a friendly reading of the NP's five-year plan, which talks of universal franchise, no domination, a bill of rights and all those liberal values usually not associated with the NP.

Or will it?

Perhaps the situation is best described as a boere toyi-toyi — one can see there is movement, but it is difficult to make out where it is all going.

	SUPPORTERS NP %	CP %	DP %
.....	39	39	46
.....	27	21	16
.....	6	15	4
.....	10	15	15
white survival.....	7	27	4
.....	8	2	14
.....	3	1	1

compound the NP's problems.

Generally, while conservative opposition to reform clearly remains powerful, given the sentiments of the majority of NP supporters, the NP would seem to have no choice but to re-emphasise its reform agenda.

Indeed, given the strength of grievances and uncertainties as a factor in the election, it is perhaps crucial that the NP emerge with a bolder statement on change or negotiation than those containend in its five-year plan.

Star 14/8/89.

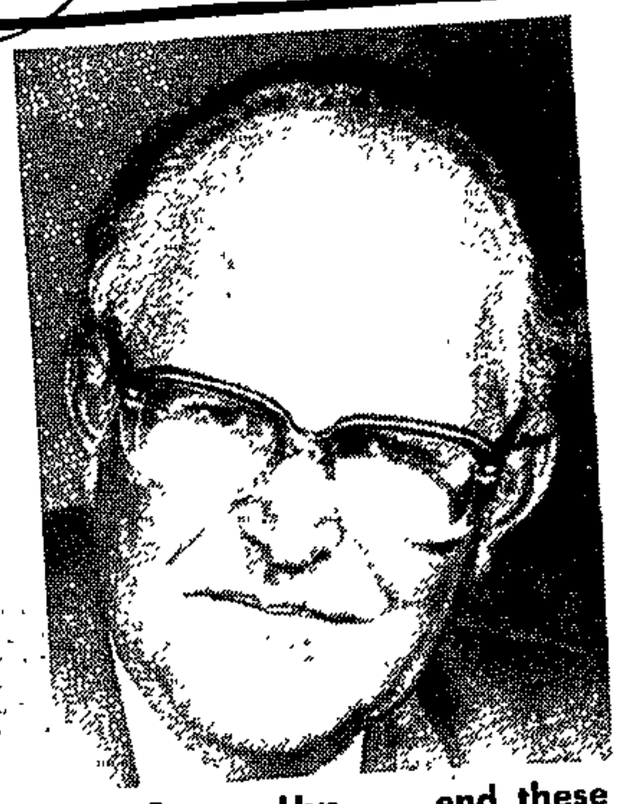
304A



Mr Tom Langley . . . UN Resolution 435 "capitulation".



Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg . . . even De Klerk, PW can't share.



Mr Casper Uys . . . end these dangerous experiments.

CP congress glee over FW-PW melee

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The brawl between President Botha and his Cabinet was the unofficial theme of the Conservative Party's seventh Free State congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall at the weekend.

The row was referred to gleefully by several speakers including CP leader Andries Treurnicht.

Officially the main discussion points were the NP's power-sharing policy, its alleged mismanagement of the economy, the Namibia question and the Government's attempts to create confusion over the CP's implemention of its policy at local government level.

Deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg combined the main official and unofficial congress themes when he said the NP row was a "spectacular demonstration of the NP policy of power-sharing".

"If P W Botha, the former leader of the NP, and F W de Klerk, the present leader, cannot share power, how can they expect the leaders of 13 different *volke* in SA to sit in the same Cabinet and share power?" he asked.

Dr Treurnicht, in his opening address, told the tale of the "naughty boys, Pikkie and Frikkie" who wanted to borrow their father's car but could not when he said he had not given them permission.

More seriously, in his closing remarks he said that by calling members of the Cabinet together to decide how to deal with Mr Botha, Mr de Klerk was inciting a "rebellion" and a "first-class palace revolution" which would entitle the President to fire him.

Dr Hartzenberg said the CP was not prepared to give up the fatherland which its forefathers had sacrificed so much for, and "We will defend it with all the power and strength at our disposal".

NO OTHER GROUP 'GOOD ENOUGH'

He said the CP had nothing against other groups and claimed an independent survey had shown that CP supporters had better attitudes to other races than did the NP. But no other group was good enough to rule over the whites.

Overvaal MP Mr Koos van Merwe said the Boksburg affair had opened the split in the NP between those who believed with the CP in separate facilites and the "integrationists".

He said the CP was building bridges to the segregationists in the NP and invited them to join the CP.

Soutpansberg MP Mr Tom Langley said the Government had simply caved in by allowing UN Resolution 435 to be implemented in Namibia.

Barberton MP Mr Casper Uys focused his attack on State spending, which he said was the main cause of high taxation. He called for an end to "dangerous experiments to influence bank interest rates", which had led to many insolvencies, and "deliberate Government attempts to redistribute wealth", which were impoverishing whites and causing bankruptcies.

The congress itself was attended by only a few hundred as branches had been asked to send only one delegate each to allow others to man election offices.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.)

4 high-risk scenarios will decide govt's future

break

Cape Times 14/8/89 (30vA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

TODAY's high-stakes cabinet encounter at Tuynhuys could mark the final break between President P W Botha and the party that angry Nationalists believe he has betrayed after 50 years of faithful service.

Top Nationalists were adamant yesterday that the damaging battle between the increasingly unpredictable President Botha and senior ministers has to come to a head today — even if this involved an all-out confrontation.

But even as some ministers met at Mr F W de Klerk's Pretoria home yesterday to fine-tune their battle plans, NP spokesmen admitted that they had little idea what tactics the isolated but still all-powerful president would rely on for his showdown with the party.

'Behind FW'

Although NP sources did not want to go into detail on how the cabinet, which is said to be "100% behind FW", would tackle today's meeting, certain possible scenarios were mentioned:

● Should President Botha resort to "complete confrontation", the National Party may attempt to "bypass" the resulting constitutional crisis by effectively disowning him and "distancing ourselves from the president as a party in the election campaign".



ISOLATED POWER . . .
President P W Botha

● Mr De Klerk may resign from the cabinet but remain NP leader, thereby ending his cabinet accountability to President Botha and freeing him up to conduct the election — and any foreign visists — with less presidential interference.

● Should President Botha fire either Mr De Klerk or Mr Pik Botha for their involvement in the proposed visit to President Kenneth Kaunda, the entire cabinet is likely to resign in sympathy — isolating President Botha even further and possibly mobilising sympathy for NP ministers among white voters.

● Given "serious doubts" in Nationalist circles about President Botha's ability to continue governing the country effectively, some senior Nationalists feel that the best way to resolve the current crisis would be for the president to step down immediately so that an acting president could be installed until after the election.

Although President Botha has all the power (but no party-political power base) in the looming confrontation, one top government source was adamant yesterday that "we cannot come back as losers".

Another said confidently that "there is no way he (President Botha) can win this", but then admitted: "There are so many possibilities."

But, bolstered by their anger at the damage President Botha is doing to the party ahead of the election, Nationalists were unanimous that the crisis could not be allowed to drag on.

Losing face

One senior source, who described the public row precipitated by President Botha as "unseemly, unexpected and despicable", said it would be "politically criminal" to allow the uncertainty in government to continue beyond today's meeting.

This was particularly the case given the large number of undecided voters in seats around the country.

"The eventual outcome is not as important as a speedy resolution," he said.

A major problem facing the NP today will be to fashion an end to the crisis without either President Botha or Mr De Klerk losing face.

To page 2

P.T.O.

ow tuning in to sensi- scans the airwaves until it picks | which were ... services, were available
ss and financial infor- up a live conversation.

From page 1

One Nationalist frankly admitted: "I don't see how it can be done."

However, President Botha only had himself to blame as he had taken a "big risk" in going public in his row with Mr De Klerk and Mr Pik Botha.

"If you commit yourself to a foolhardy course you must suffer the consequences," he said of President Botha's actions.

But some Nationalists were still hopeful yesterday that the crisis could be resolved without today's cabinet meeting degenerating into an acrimonious row.

Sources said President Botha would be given a fair opportunity to explain himself, but the party leadership would insist that he admit that he had made a mistake by going public on his differences with his cabinet colleagues.

The two major protagonists in today's political drama were tight-lipped yesterday.

A spokesman for President Botha's office said he had nothing to add to Friday's statement. Mr De Klerk said he did not wish to add to the statement he issued after a four-hour emergency meeting with Nationalist leaders at his home on Saturady.

Symbolically flanked by his cabinet colleagues after the meeting, Mr De Klerk noted that "the NP does not in the least underestimate the seriousness of the situation" that had developed in government.

He said that the implications of the events of the past few days had been discussed fully and in depth at the meeting and the party was unanimous on what the approach should be in future discussions with President Botha.

From Johannesburg, **MIKE ROBERTSON** reports that it emerged yesterday that the crisis was unwittingly provoked by Dr Kaunda announcing the date of the meeting earlier than had been expected.

Initially, Mr De Klerk and Foreign Affairs officials believed it would be best if the NP leader met Dr Kaunda after the election, when he had become president.

However, Dr Kaunda again extended an invitation and Foreign Affairs officials felt it could be intepreted as a snub if a meeting was not scheduled before the election.

Given the peace initiatives taking place in Angola and Mozambique, it was also felt that South Africa had to be seen as taking part "hearbeat by heartbeat". It was decided that a meeting with Dr Kaunda, given that he is head of the frontline states, would be opportune and could also have positive effects internally.

However, the South Africans did not plan on Dr Kaunda announcing the meeting so soon.

When Mr Pik Botha was contacted by the media to confirm a Reuters report quoting Dr Kaunda as saying the meeting was going ahead, he phoned President Botha to inform him about the meeting.

(Report by Anthony Johnson, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and Mike Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Too late for ...

● United ministers to face isolated P W today

Final

Run-up to crisis situation in the NP

14/8/89

In the early hours of January 18, President Botha suffered what officials termed a "mild stroke" at his official residence, Westbrooke, on the Groote Schuur estate in Cape Town's suburbs.

The setback was to unleash a devastating chain of events in the National Party.

Here is the sequence of events since January 18:

January 24: Mr Botha left 2 Military Hospital, Wynberg.

February 2: He wrote a letter to a stunned NP caucus announcing his resignation as party leader. He also said he would stay on as president, splitting the offices of NP leader and the State President.

In a three-round session of voting that day, Mr F W de Klerk emerged as the 69-61 victor for the leadership over Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

February 17: Mr Botha made his first public appearance as he left for his holiday home at Wilderness to recuperate.

February 23: He slipped into Tuynhuys to see colleagues and do some paperwork before returning to Wilderness. By now a feeling in the caucus that Mr Botha should retire, and Mr de Klerk should succeed him as president, had taken root.

March 1: Retired Cabinet Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman said Mr Botha should step aside — "South Africa wants Mr F W de Klerk for State President."

March 2: Mr Botha returned to Cape Town for talks with senior colleagues. He had still not publicly congratulated Mr de Klerk on his election as party leader.

He issued a statement saying he would return to his desk after Easter, and resume the presidency. Many in the caucus were dismayed at the announcement as it heightened uncertainty within a party hankering for an early election.

March 4: Mr de Klerk said time was fast approaching for "thorough" talks with Mr Botha on the implications of his resignation as NP leader.

March 9: Mr de Klerk and his NP caucus discussed the ... Discontent was aired, and a delegation of NP leaders saw Mr Botha at his office.

Today's emergency Cabinet meeting called by the State President follows events last week in which Mr P W Botha bluntly told National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk that he did not have his permission to meet Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on August 28. The NP faces major damage in its election campaign as a result of the showdown. ALAN DUNN, of the Political Staff details the growing signs of conflict within the NP leading to the latest crisis.

Shortly after the team reported back to the caucus, Mr Botha issued a letter to acting president Mr Chris Heunis, preempting any move by Mr de Klerk, saying he would retake the reins on March 15. He further asserted control by saying he expected the entire Cabinet for a formal meeting at Tuynhuys on the Wednesday morning.

March 12: Mr Botha appeared in a surprise interview on television, recorded at Wilderness the previous afternoon, to show South Africa he was recovering and to rule out the possibility of a general election this year. He also left open-ended the question of whether or not he would again seek the presidency after an election next year.

Soaring support

March 13: Mr de Klerk, responding to his soaring support in the NP and caucus groans over Mr Botha, turned to the NP's highest body, the Federal Council.

At 7 pm, the council met. It then reported to the NP caucus and, at 9.45 pm, Mr de Klerk telephoned Mr Botha at Westbrooke to tell him that the party had decided that the offices of president and NP leader should not be separated — the NP wanted Mr de Klerk at the country's helm. Mr Botha's supporters were clearly disgruntled at the party's treatment of him.



NP leader Mr F W de Klerk .. publicly rapped over the knuckles.



Mr Botha ... claims he was not officially informed of Kaunda meeting.

March 15: Mr Botha returned to work full time. The NP mouthpiece in the Cape, *Die Burger*, said it would be "a nightmare" if the situation in the NP should drag on until an election had, by law, to be held next March.

March 17: Mr de Klerk said in Parliament there was no leadership crisis in the NP. "It is my and my party's sincere wish that our relationship with our retired leader be warm, fond and healthy to the core, and will stay that way."

March 20: Behind-the-scenes talks with Mr Botha, aimed at allowing him to back down without losing face, were arriving at agreement that he should announce an early election and ease out of the deadlock that way, at least seven months earlier than he had intended.

March 21: Mr Botha and Mr de Klerk clinched a deal ensuring dignity for all.

March 23: Newspapers learnt that Mr Botha would address the NP caucus and Parliament on April 6, Founders' Day.

April 6: Mr Botha announced a general election sometime between late July and early September, suggesting obliquely that he would then vacate Tuynhuys.

April 24: *Beeld*, the NP-supporting newspaper in the Transvaal, urged Mr Botha's immediate retirement.

May 4: Mr Botha announced September 6 as election day.

June 20: Mr de Klerk left for a European tour, and talks with leaders there.

June 27: A triumphant Mr de Klerk returned, claiming successful talks with those he saw, including Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher. Talks with President Bush in Washington were a possibility, but fell through days later.

June 22: It emerged that Mr Botha would not attend a NP farewell banquet for him in Pretoria on the eve of the NP's federal congress.

June 26: Mr Botha flew to Pretoria to chair a Cabinet meeting, amid talk that Mr de Klerk had been holding informal meetings with Cabinet colleagues in the absence of any formal Cabinet sessions, which can be called only by the President.

June 28: Cabinet meeting took place in Pretoria. No traces of animosity surfaced.

Nelson Mandela

June 29: NP unveiled its five-year "Plan of Action" at its federal congress at the Pretoria City Hall — without a courtesy visit or message from Mr Botha.

July 5: Mr Botha met African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela at Tuynhuys, an encounter Mr de Klerk later said he knew of and endorsed.

July 19: Mr de Klerk had talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo. Government let it be known there were other trips to African states in the offing — Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and others wanted to see him — but they would take place after September 6.

July 22: Mr Botha bade the Cape NP a warm farewell, attending its congress with Mrs Elize Botha. He referred repeatedly to "loyalty" in a carefully phrased acknowledgement of the tribute given him by the party's new Cape leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Still Mr Botha did not publicly offer congratulations or wish his successor, who was seated at the main table, luck. Mr de Klerk approached Mr Botha at tea afterwards, shook his hand, and wished him well as newsmen looked on and listened.

August 10: Zambian President Kaunda announced, after a summit of the Front-line heads of state in Lusaka, that he would meet Mr de Klerk in Livingstone on August 28. Later that evening the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, confirmed that he and Mr de Klerk would meet President Kaunda at the end of August.

After Mr Pik Botha's announcement on "Network" President Botha apparently telephoned him to object to the visit as they did not have his permission.

August 11: Mr Botha issued a statement that he has not been officially informed of the Kaunda meeting. "I am not aware, in terms of the rules governing foreign journeys by Ministers, of the discussions to be held on August 28, as announced by Dr Kaunda."

Mr de Klerk issued a statement that he had called a meeting of Cabinet Ministers to discuss the clash with President Botha, but it is understood that President Botha refused to see a delegation of Ministers to discuss the "possible misunderstanding". It emerged that President Botha had called an emergency Cabinet meeting for today in Cape Town.

August 12: Mr de Klerk held a meeting with most of his Cabinet, including all the provincial leaders, at his house in Pretoria, to decide how to handle what has now become a crisis in the party.

After the meeting Mr de Klerk said the meeting was unanimous on how the matter should henceforth best be handled, and how it should be handled during discussion with President Botha.

"The NP does not in the least underestimate the seriousness of the situation.

"True to its tradition, the NP will act in a responsible fashion in the best interests of South Africa and its constituents," said Mr de Klerk.

(Report by A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Four years on, Rubicon ripples reverberate still

Star 14/8/87

304A

A plunging rand, the flight of capital, multinationals' disinvestment — all this and more can be traced to what could have been a turning point for South Africa, reports BRUCE CAMERON.

Tomorrow is the fourth anniversary of President Botha's Rubicon speech and, like a serious earthquake, its aftershocks continue.

The debate has raged for years about what happened on August 15 1985, when the world waited for a momentous announcement that the National Party was to break with apartheid and was met with a speech that left them puzzled if not totally confused.

The effects were almost immediate, with the rand plunging the next day to 38c. And the speech is blamed as the starting gun of the flight of foreign capital.

The speech was made before an audience of more than 2 000 in the Durban City Hall, and the biggest battery of television cameras ever seen at a meeting in the country relayed it around the world.

President Botha described the speech as his manifesto, a manifesto that would take South Africa across the Rubicon but which was seen by the rest of the world and local black leaders as a damp squib.

Questions continue to be asked about whether a really enlightened speech was rewritten or whether there never was another version.

Dr Denis Worrall, who was Ambassador in London at the time, is openly saying in the current hustings that there was another version and that current NP leader Mr F W de Klerk was responsible for rewriting it.

Major reform

It was the NP which created the expectations of the announcement of major changes with the word being selectively leaked, particularly overseas, that great things could be expected when President Botha officially opened the NP Natal congress in Durban.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha was the man named as the person responsible. He denied this within days, saying he had only told people what was in the speech and claiming that the speech was underrated.

No one has officially confirmed whether there were in fact ever two speeches but in most political quarters, including in the NP, it is accepted that there were.

As with most speeches President Botha delivers, his various Ministers make contributions. He then accepts or rejects what they say and puts together a final speech. What is thought to have happened is that the strongly reform-minded Mr Pik Botha, knowing the demands of the international community, prepared a draft speech that went as far as he thought the NP could be taken.

This then became the basis of the selective leaks and NP hype. Opinion then diverges in the NP on what happened next. Some say President Botha blew his notorious fuse and rewrote the speech himself. Others say he came under pressure from the more conservative members of his Cabinet, such as Mr de Klerk.

With strong rumours of major divisions in the Cabinet over what had happened, it was mainly the verligtes who tried to defend the speech.

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, watching a plummeting rand, which has continued to fall and fall, said the drop was temporary.

He felt that when the full impact of the speech was realised by people who were in the know about South Africa; the rand would settle down and economic factors would lift the currency on international markets.

President Botha himself predicted a day later that South Africa would come through the crisis and hoped reasonableness would prevail, saying that if South Africa was brought to its knees he would be "prepared to pay the highest price".

Not only was the content of the speech a source of contention, the manner in which it was delivered — more to an NP congress than as a statesman on a world platform — left critics astounded.

The language used had former United States Assistant Secretary for State Dr Chester Crocker commenting that it was difficult to understand because it was "written in the coded language of a foreign culture".

The speech was very similar to the one President Botha made at the opening of Parliament earlier in 1985, and in terms of the NP of a year previously, it was confirmation of a significant change of direction.

White minority

But in world terms it showed a South Africa that was committed to negotiation on the terms of a dominant white minority which did not want to relinquish power and, with finger-wagging emphasis, would hold on by force if necessary.

The speech is very similar to the ones being delivered now by Mr de Klerk — a type of open-ended commitment to negotiation without any indication of how or even with whom the Government would be negotiating to bring peace to the country.

The only major difference between now and then is that Mr de Klerk puts far more emphasis on the adherence to what he calls the "group concept".

The President's speech spelt out the duality of the NP policy which was to be the platform of its election campaign two years later — "Reform yes, surrender no".

The Government would do everything to stimulate the economy to create growth, which in turn would create socio-economic development for blacks. But all this would be done within the terms of firm law and order.

Four years later, NP critics' predictions that South Africa still has to cross the Rubicon, if peace is to be achieved and the country is to regain international acceptance, prove to be valid. NP claims that the speech was a temporary setback have proved to be wrong.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

'Time for nicer es is past'

Cabinet 'will not give an inch' to PW

PRESIDENT P W Botha will be faced today by a united Cabinet which has decided the time for niceties is over and is not prepared to give an inch in the showdown with him over NP leader F W de Klerk's meeting with Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda.

There were further meetings between senior Cabinet Ministers yesterday to finalise a unified strategy to counter any move by Botha today.

"The time for niceties has passed: if there has to be confrontation, then so be it. We did not start it," a senior NP source said yesterday.

A Cabinet source said if Botha attempted to fire either Foreign Minister Pik Botha or De Klerk, the rest of the Cabinet would resign as well.

It was also suggested De Klerk could resign from the Cabinet to free himself



● P W BOTHA



● F W DE KLERK

MIKE ROBERTSON

from the constraints Botha has placed on him.

After Saturday's meeting of ministers and deputy ministers convened by De Klerk, there was unanimity among those present that they had to take a strong stand against Botha, who says he was not consulted about the Kaunda meeting.

"The impression that the State President can dictate to Cabinet when he sees things one way and the rest see it in another way cannot be allowed to persist," one Cabinet source said.

Another source said the Cabinet would demand that he back down and admit making a mistake.

The immediate issue at today's meeting is whether Foreign Minister Pik Botha's version of events on Thursday is correct.

But the larger issue is the confrontation between Botha and De Klerk.

De Klerk has Cabinet and party backing, but Botha, with no power base, has almost unlimited power.

While he can dismiss the entire Cabinet if he chooses to, it can only take action against him if Parliament is sitting. Parliament can only sit if Botha calls a sitting.

This is not the first time Botha has tried to slight De Klerk. He has still, it is reported, not congratulated De Klerk on being elected party leader. But while NP members have been prepared in the past to

☐ To Page 2

August 14 1989

Star 14/8/89 (304 A

Boraine says blacks are engine-room of change

'MDM is dominant force'

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

The Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) had become a dominant force in the September 6 general election campaign, according to Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Through its anti-apartheid defiance campaign, the MDM was applying pressure on the National Party Government, which would not otherwise realise the need for genuine negotiations or accept the preconditions for negotiations set by extra-parliamentary forces.

Dr Boraine was speaking at a two-day Idasa conference in Johannesburg at the weekend at which leading parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politicians, businessmen and academics examined the political and socio-economic options for a secure, prosperous and democratic future.

Two scheduled speakers could not address the conference. Trade unionist Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had to attend a special meeting of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, while the government refused to lift restriction orders on Port Elizabeth activist Mr Mkhuseli Jack.

Next month's general election drew frequent remarks from the speakers.

Dr Boraine said the election was "the theatre of the absurd" since only 15 percent of South Africans could participate.

However, the MDM's defiance campaign had had a significant impact on the campaign.



Dr Alex Boraine ... MDM is forcing Government to take notice.

"We are witnessing the determination of oppressed people to participate in their own liberation."

In a disguised criticism of the Democratic Party, Dr Boraine said white people, despite their political power, economic muscle and good intentions, played a small part in bringing about a new dispensation.

"Blacks must be seen as the engine-room for change. It is time for those people who say 'if only we were in power' to take a more modest view of their own importance."

Stellenbosch academic and DP economic advisor Professor Sampie Terreblanche said the majority of whites were still unwilling and unprepared to support the fundamental changes which were necessary to bring a final end to apartheid.

Most whites had a vested interest in the maintenance of the status quo and felt that small and gradual adaptations will suffice to perpetuate the social, economic and political structures in South Africa.

Professor Terreblanche said indications were that at least 70 percent of whites and 90 percent of Afrikaans-speakers would support parties in favour of the maintenance of apartheid in one form or another.

Even the more liberal English-speaking business community was probably not prepared to take the initiative for a final dismantling of apartheid.

While DP MP Mr Roger Hulley urged whites to support the fledgling party on September 6, Mr Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the restricted United Democratic Front, reiterated the MDM's view that whites would not be asked to boycott the elections, but said that white MDM members would not vote.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)



Mr de Klerk . . . Cabinet united behind him.

Solid backing for FW

President, Cabinet 'eyeball to eyeball'

Star 14/8/84

304A

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and the rest of the Cabinet confronted President Botha at Tuynhuys this morning in a showdown with unpredictable consequences for the National Party and the country.

No one — except perhaps President Botha — seemed to know how the critical emergency Cabinet meeting which started at 8.30 am would turn out, and who would win.

But it was clear the Cabinet was determined not to back down and that if President Botha also stood fast, the results could be explosive.

A constitutional impasse could arise which could bring government to a grinding halt

The NP caucus was placed on standby until Saturday evening but was not called because the meeting at Mr de Klerk's home gave a sufficient demonstration of the party's solidarity behind Mr de Klerk.

NP soures said today the caucus could still be called together if today's meeting went badly.

"I really don't know what to expect I hope and pray that whatever happens will be for the good of South Africa," a senior Cabinet Minister said early today.

After Saturday's meeting at Mr de Klerk's Pretoria home, where the NP's approach to today's meeting was agreed, the Cabinet members met in Cape Town again last night to finalise strategy.

Senior NP sources could not confirm that go-betweens had passed messages between President Botha and the Cabinet over the weekend to try to defuse the crisis.

President Botha called today's Cabinet meeting on Friday and the ball seems to be very much in his court If he backs off from his controversial Friday statement that "in terms of the rules" he did not know of the planned visit of Mr de Klerk to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on August 28, then the crisis will have passed.

Ready 'for anything'

The Cabinet insists that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha did inform him and it is hoping President Botha will agree there was a misunderstanding and withdraw

But it is clear the Cabinet has come ready for anything, including President Botha firing Mr de Klerk and the Foreign Minister.

Senior NP sources said last night Mr de Klerk, and the Cabinet that is clearly united behind him,were in "no position to budge".

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

They said that if the NP was seen by the electorate to lose this battle, the consequences at the election on September 6 would be disastrous

Today's encounter is likely to be the showdown that has been put off ever since the NP made it clear it wanted its new leader to be State President, a decision which Mr Botha has never really accepted.

The NP sources concede that, constitutionally, President Botha has all the trump cards.

The constitution gives him almost unfettered power legally to withstand anything that the NP might throw at him. The NP is thus forced to rely on moral persuasion.

It feels that "morally" it is in a stronger position. This seems to imply that it will try to persuade Mr Botha that what he is doing is bad for the NP.

'Memory lapse'

"However, if all moral persuasion fails, then it will become bloody," one senior NP source said.

If Mr Botha does not agree to sit quiet and take a back seat, which is essentially what is being asked of him, then the NP seems to be ready for a confrontation.

It fears that if it does not do it now, then another ugly, even more damaging, incident might blow up closer to the election.

The possibility of impeaching President Botha appears to have been ruled out; for one thing, it would drag on until the election.

Some NP sources are saying they believe that President Botha "forgot" he had been informed of the Kaunda meeting and suggest that this was not the first memory lapse since his stroke in January.

It is not known if the NP will try to persuade or force Mr Botha to step down on medical grounds if all else fails.

● Background to conflict — Page 13.

Be strong, De Klerk urged

The Afrikaans daily newspaper *Beeld* today in an editorial urged Mr F W de Klerk to show his muscle, saying few leaders received such an opportunity so early in their careers to do this.

Nobody expected Mr de Klerk to play the role of a subordinate, *Beeld* added Star 14/8/84.

The newspaper also called on President Botha not to destroy all that he had achieved in a long and fruitful career. (304A)

The editorial asked: "Do you really want to be remembered for the unpleasantness which you have now forced on your Cabinet and party — on people who have, through all the recent months and all the unpleasantness (of which you are fully aware), remained loyal to you?"

Earlier, the editorial said *Beeld* had asked Mr Botha to resign and hand over the reins to Mr de Klerk since February.

This call had been made not only for the benefit of Mr de Klerk and the National Party, but also for the benefit of the State President himself, because it was at the time already clear to "all with even the most superficial political feeling" that a situation existed in which there were all the ingredients for clashes and misunderstandings.

Beeld also called on National Party voters to support Mr de Klerk, ensuring that he came out of the election stronger than when he went into it.

ANC's Tambo has 'fatigue'

Star 14/8/84

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The health of African National Congress president Mr Oliver Tambo (71) was described yesterday as being "uncertain" after conflicting reports that he had either suffered a stroke or was fatigued.

The ANC has denied Mr Tambo had a stroke before being flown to London on Friday on an aircraft belonging to Lonrho, the multinational company.

Reports in Sunday's newspapers said he had come for treatment in Britain after a stroke last Wednesday.

The ANC's head of foreign affairs, Mr Thabo Mbeki, has explained the reason for Mr Tambo being flown to London and was reassuring on his condition.

Mr Mbeki's comments have been cut from this report as he is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa in terms of the Internal Security Act.

Mr Tambo works mainly at the ANC headquarters in Zambia, but is a frequent visitor to London, where his wife Adelaide lives A family friend said she had described his health as uncertain.

Reports yesterday said Mr Tambo was being treated in a private London hospital.

Mr Tambo has been president of the ANC since 1967 and has lived since then in Zambia. He has continued to travel extensively in spite of his age.

His illness comes at a time when the ANC is being encouraged by some Frontline states to moderate its objections to meetings with Pretoria.

The ANC has agreed that if anything should happen to Mr Tambo, then Mr Alfred Nzo, secretary-general, would take over.

● Gentle giant of ANC — Page 13.

Solid backing for FW

President, Cabinet 'eyeball to eyeball'

Star 14/8/89
304A

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By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

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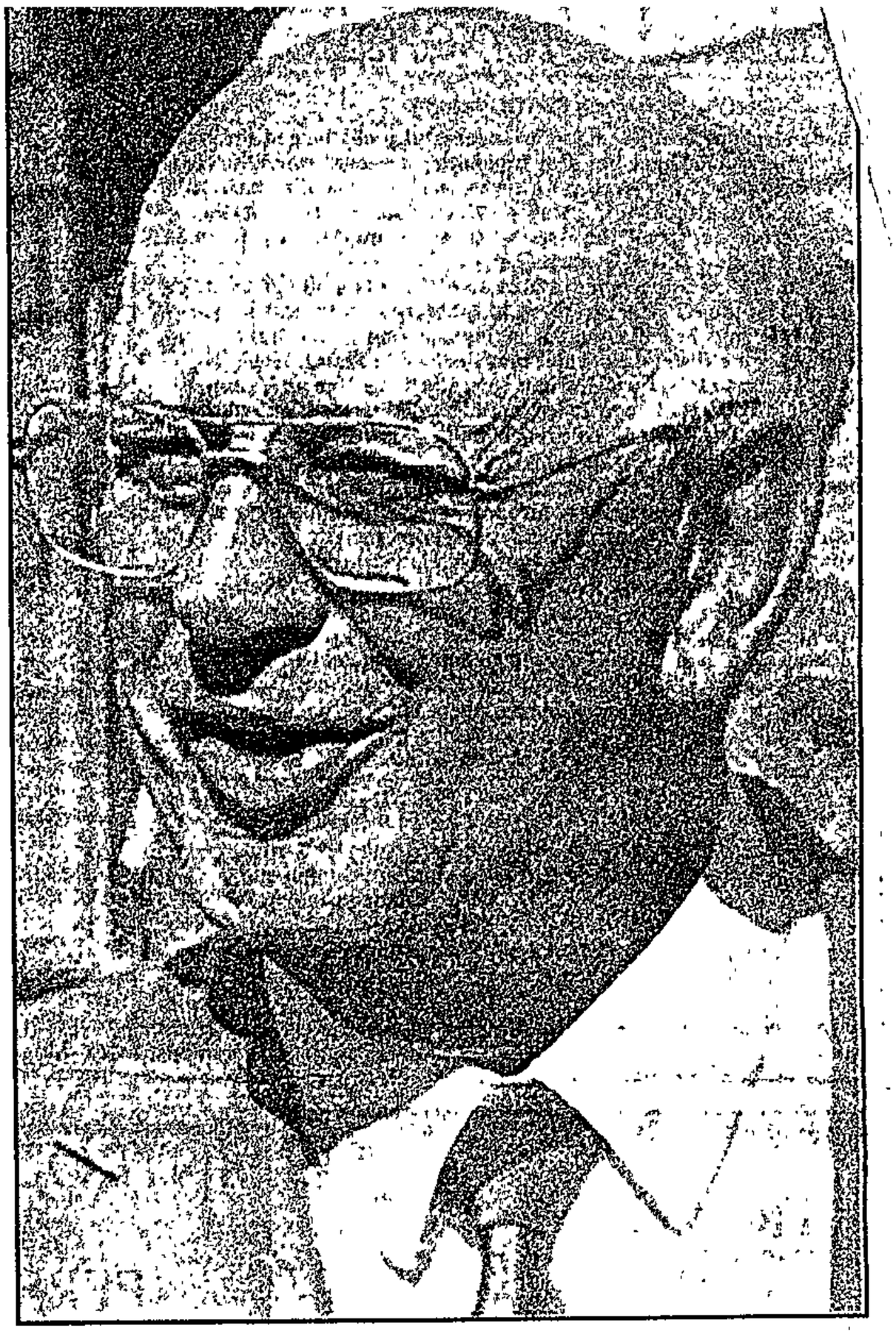
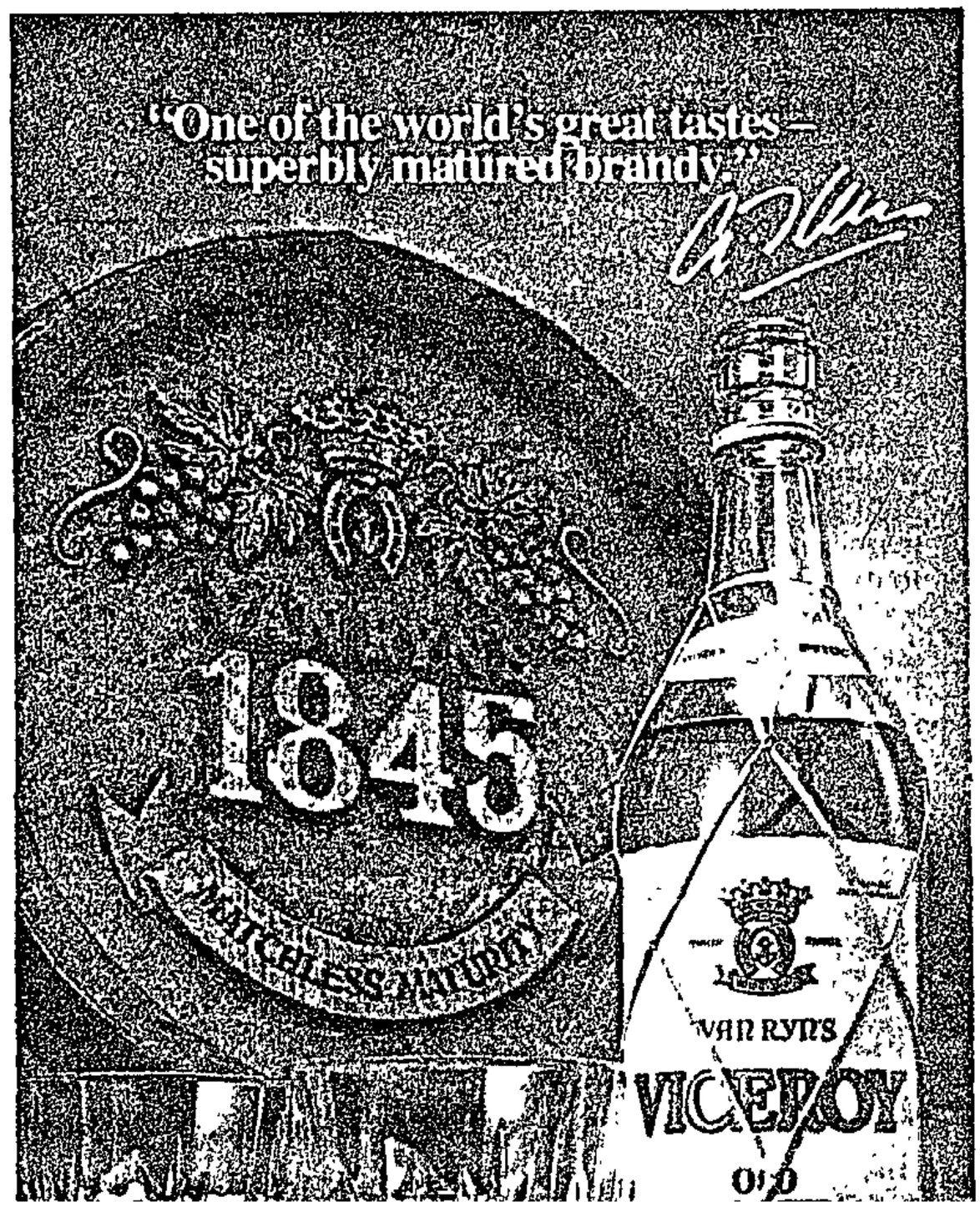


President Botha . . . ball is in his court.



Sowetan 14/8/89

'No peace until apartheid goes'

HARARE - As long as apartheid existed in South Africa, then Zimbabwe and all other countries in the region would not experience any peace, said Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, yesterday, *Ziana National News Agency* reported.

He was addressing more than 35 000 people attending celebrations in honour of Zimbabwe Defence Forces Day at Rufaro Stadium, Harare.

"Our message to South Africa is simple and clear: Instead of sponsoring bandits to sabotage our routes to the sea, instead of mounting clandestine missions to destabilise her neighbours, and this at great expense, she should completely revise and abandon her apartheid theory.

". . . South Africa must engage in direct and meaningful dialogue with the authentic leaders of the black majority in that country," he said.

The president called for the release of all political detainees and exiled leaders without any pre-conditions.

Mugabe, who is also commander-in-chief of the Zimbabwe Defence Force, also called for increased vigilance among people living along the borders with Mozambique.

MONDAY AUGUST 14 1989 LATE FINAL

PW'S LAS

Sowetan 14/8/89

304A

STAND

Nats squ up for figh



Ms Lydia Kompe of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee addressing the people of Oukasie at yesterday's prayer service to celebrate their victory against Government attempts to declare the township an emergency camp. See story on page seven.
Pic: ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

Sowetan 14/8/89

Eight killed in

By SOWETAN REPORTER

TODAY State President, Mr P W Botha, will face a political showdown which will leave him either publicly humbled or stranded without a Government.

That is the only likely outcome of one of the most extraordinary Cabinet meetings called in South Africa's political history, say senior National Party men.

Should Botha take any radical option, such as firing one or more of his Ministers, the entire Cabinet will probably resign, leaving him without a Government and South Africa in a constitutional dilemma which can probably be ignored until the election forces Mr Botha from office next month.

The historic cabinet was set to start at 8.30 at Tuynhuys and follows a weekend in which:

*Botha suddenly issued a terse statement to Sapa denying that he had any official knowledge of the announced meeting between Zambia's Dr Kenneth Kaunda, Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha;

*De Klerk announced he was calling a meeting of National Party Ministers;

● To page 2

Sowetan 14/8/89

heroic ad

PW's last stand

304A

● From page 1

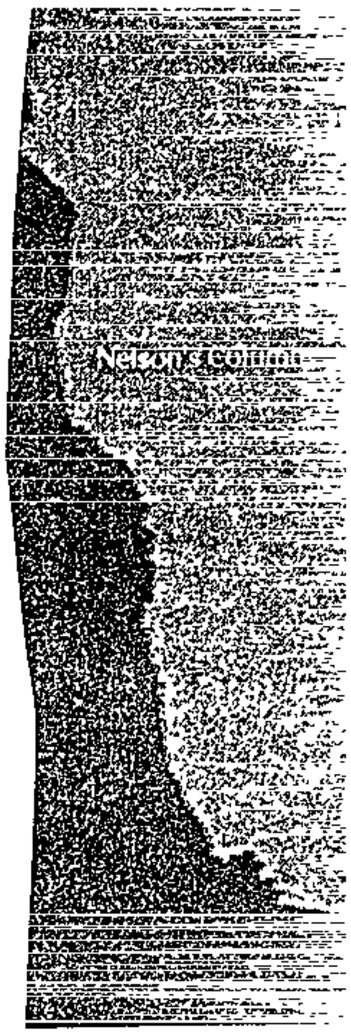
*Botha countered by announcing he too was calling the Cabinet for an urgent meeting today;
*De Klerk and his Ministers announced they were in total agreement on "how to deal" with the "misunderstanding" at today's meeting.

This later statement has left little doubt that Botha faces a determined team of men who are unlikely to settle for much less than a total backdown from him.

For De Klerk in particular the meeting will be the acid test for his leadership and a crucial election issue in which he may not be perceived to have lost.

Party stalwarts regard Botha's crippling public meddling in De Klerk's affairs three weeks from polling day, as unforgivable and a display of disloyalty to his party beyond their comprehension.

Senior National Party sources were yesterday confident that this time there would be no compromising with the man who has persistently presented his supporters with a string of public dilemmas since he suffered a mild stroke in January.





NP initiates Krugersdorp 'Indaba'

By Gien Elsas, West Rand Bureau

A group of about 30 Krugersdorp businessmen has met to form a Krugersdorp "Indaba" in which people of all races could meet to discuss matters concerning the community.

The meeting was initiated by Krugersdorp's National Party candidate in the forthcoming election, Mr Leon Wessels, Deputy Minister of Law and Order.

Among those present were Kagiso's mayor, Mr Eddie Moketsi, and deputy mayor, Mr David Modiba, representatives of the Krugersdorp Town Council, local Chamber of Commerce, businessmen and industrialists.

Mr Wessels said the idea had been born as the majority of South African communities lived a polarised existence.

Mr David Modiba said it was very necessary for Krugersdorpers to talk.

"I feel sorry for Krugersdorp and I pity Krugersdorp," said this Krugersdorp-born man.

"I used to be proud to say that I was born here, now I am embarrassed. We, the population of Kagiso, can emasculate this town financially if we stand together," he said.

Chamdor, he said, was an example of an industrial area that depended entirely on Kagiso for its labour force but Krugersdorp reaped the benefits in the form of taxes. He warned that Krugersdorp was an island on its own which could be completely isolated.

"Together we can build a beautiful country which is a home for all to live in peacefully. If South Africa is to survive we need to some serious thinking and communicate daily on a local community level," he said.

Mr Richard Josephs of the local Chamber of Commerce said it was time for the town council to stop its baby talk and to meet people, no matter what their colour was. The meeting ended on a positive note with the prospect of an organisation, similar to the now disbanded Regional Development Association, being established after the elections.

CABINET CRUNCH!



President Botha

It's PW versus the rest in historic Tuynhuys meeting

ARGUS 14/5/89 (304A)

By TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

THE emergency Cabinet meeting between President Botha and defiant Cabinet Ministers began at Tuynhuys at 8.30am today in an atmosphere of crisis as months of party tensions came to a dramatic showdown.

President Botha stood isolated against a united Cabinet and against the National Party which was falling in behind its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk.

The President was facing a demand to take a backseat in the running of the country or to retire right away.

Today's meeting was a culmination of months of tensions between him and party leaders since his illness

The ministers have worked out a number of strategies for today's meeting. They met again last night after most of them had arrived in Cape Town from Pretoria. Mr De Klerk has stated that the party is not underestimating the seriousness of the situation.

Ministers' choice

If Mr Botha decides to dismiss one or more of the ministers the Cabinet could unanimously ask him to resign or the other ministers could resign.

There is, however, no legal way in which the President can be made to go.

Grey clouds hung over Parliament this morning as Cabinet Ministers gathered for their meeting with the President.

A phalanx of journalists and television crews assembled in the rain outside Tuynhuys, but only a few ministers were spotted

Blackened windows on several cars entering the precints from Plein Street concealed the identity of the occupants.

They were followed by a car carrying a grim-faced Minister of Information Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

President Botha arrived at 8.34am, immediately after Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee waved as he drove in and the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Gene Louw, arrived for the meeting on foot.



...owns army copter

...ess is Mr Perezagua, on arrest, deni...
...id. A that he had brought down the ar...

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...onalist MPs today said a ...on "dangerous to the ...as a whole" was devel-

...said that, while it was ...assing for the National ...t also affected the elec... ...orts of all parties as at... ...was being drawn away ...e election campaign

...were grave misgivings ...Nationalist circles about ...e of President Botha's ...including his mental ...here were queries about ...ell he had recovered ...s stroke earlier this ...d suggestions that he ...ered a lapse of memo... ...h had led to the present ...here were also sugges... ...at he had suffered simi... ...es of memory on other ...s.

...ow has broken out be... ...resaident Botha main... ...t, in terms of the rules ...g overseas journeys by ...s, he was not aware of ...d discussions between ...Klerk and Zambia's ...t Kenneth Kaunda on ...28

Assurance

The leadership of the National Party accepts the assurance of Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that the President had been informed

Part of the row is about whether he was also told the date President Kaunda may have announced the proposed meeting before President Botha had been informed of this.

Weekend attempts by prominent people, including some not directly involved in politics, to defuse the situation failed. There were conversations with President Botha at Westbrooke but no solutions could be found

It was also reported that the presidential Cabinet had nearly finished packing at Westbrooke and that they could leave soon.

It is now being said in Nationalist circles that it would

(Turn to page 3, col 3)

ARGUS 14/8/89

Crunch time for Cabinet

(Cont from page 1) 3044

have been better if the Constitution had provided for the suspension of the President's term after a motion of no confidence from the Cabinet.

At today's meeting the ministers were likely to leave the first move to President Botha as he had called the meeting. They were not prepared to budge but there was the hope in Nationalist circles that a misunderstanding could be cleared up.

President Botha has for some time been resentful of the way in which Mr De Klerk, according to him, has been acting as if he is already President. The National Party leader's visit to Europe and his meeting with President Chissano of Mozambique upset him and he has had rows about this with Mr Pik Botha.

At the time of the recent meeting with Mr Chissano he complained about SABC reports which gave the impression that this was a new initiative from Mr De Klerk. He insisted that the SABC should make it clear he had previously met Mr Chissano.

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



Pictures: DANA le ROUX, The Argus.

CLOSED DOORS: A State President's guard stands at ease in front of the doors to Tuynhuys soon after the start of today's Cabinet meeting. Below: Some ministers walked to Tuynhuys, including Mr Gene Louw, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.



'I was ignored by my Ministers'

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha announced his resignation last night with the accusation that he was being ignored by his Ministers.

He also said that he would not approve a visit to President Kaunda by Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Botha said "On the appointment of a minister a copy of Guidelines for Ministers is presented to him. These guidelines have been applicable since January 19 1985.

"According to these guidelines Ministers are entitled to official visits abroad where such visits are deemed essential in the national interest, provided that prior approval is obtained from the State President. In view of the continuous nature of a Minister's responsibilities within the Republic the extent and duration of foreign visits should be kept to the absolute minimum and should be so arranged that Ministers are not absent from more than one Cabinet meeting.

"Essence of trust"

"It must furthermore be so arranged that a Minister and a deputy are not abroad simultaneously. Ministers must also furnish copies of their proposed travel programmes to the State President's office for distribution.

"These arrangements are not technicalities. In fact, it is the essence of trust between a head of state and ministers serving in his Cabinet. To attempt to brush this aside as technicalities is to play with the highest interests of the country.

"I had reason to address the following letter to the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, on June 2 1989. I quote from this letter:

"I am informed of policy statements that completely ignore the State President. I am also informed of proposed foreign visits announced by you without complying with the prescribed rules for Ministers in this regard.'

"I also wish to refer to a telephone conversation between colleague R F Botha and myself on Thursday, August 10. He phoned me that same morning from Pretoria to my private residence in Wilderness to inform me that friction had developed between certain African leaders. He then asked me whether he could contact me that same evening, that is Thursday August 10, in Cape Town. I replied that it would be possible from half past five at Westbrooke. He again phoned me at about six at Westbrooke to inform me that the discussions were progressing well and that it would not be necessary for Dr Savimbi to meet with me. I accepted that.

"Shortly afterwards, at eight o'clock, I heard on television news that President Kaunda had announced that Mr Pik Botha and F W de Klerk would visit Zambia on August 28 to meet President Kaunda.

"That had not been cleared with me in terms of the ministerial rules to which I referred earlier.

"I immediately called Minister Botha at the State guest house in Pretoria and referred to the statement by President Kaunda. He was surprised to learn about it and said that it would be rectified during the news broadcast.

"I contacted several Ministers on Thursday night but was unsuccessful in obtaining a satisfactory arrangement on these matters. I consequently issued the following statement on August 11 and I quote:

"In terms of the rules governing foreign journeys by Ministers I am not aware of the discussions on August 28 as announced by Dr Kaunda.'

"After this I received several telephone calls, inter alia from Ministers Botha and De Klerk. My viewpoint was that such a matter could not be settled telephonically.

"The ANC is being orchestrated from Lusaka. The ANC's head office, the NEC together with all the departments and sections represented therein, as well as the commanding structure of the military wing are permanently situated in Lusaka.

"Zambia is the centre where the ANC plans and coordinates its military and political acitivities against the RSA. Besides the ANC headquarters and the various departments of the ANC in Lusaka the ANC among others also has the following facilities in Zambia:

"Radio Freedom facilities in Lusaka for propaganda broadcasts against the RSA; a centre providing for the ANC's medical requirements and youth activities. This facility is also used as a transit base. The main logistic facility of the ANC, situated in the Luanda residential area of Lusaka.

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Important role

"President Kuanda rejects the political/constitutional development in the RSA and attempts to promote the institution of extensive economic punitive measures against the RSA. His action is evidently aimed at promoting the ANC's image abroad and at exerting pressure on the RSA government to transfer the power to the ANC.

"In this regard President Kaunda has on various occasions indicated that he would be willing to act as mediator between the RSA government and the ANC in order to reach a settlement in the RSA.

"President Kaunda played an important role during the visit of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to Southern Africa. President Kaunda furthermore uses his influence as chairman of the OAU and in frontline state context to advocate international pressure and punitive measures against the RSA.

"President Kaunda is currently playing a key role, in co-operation with other FLS leaders and the ANC, in attempts at finding a so-called solution to the RSA's 'problem'. The following is inter alia known in this regard:

"At the request of President Kaunda and President Mugabe the SNC compiled a document containing its viewpoint concerning negotiation with the RSA government which was reportedly discussed on August 10, 1989 in Lusaka at a summit meeting of the OAU.

"Last mentioned, inter alia, took place in preparation for a meeting of the OAU's subcommittee for Southern Africa under the chairmanship of Hosni Mubarak, new Secretary General of the OAU, at which an attempt is reportedly to be made to fomulate a 'United African Nationalist position' with regard to discussion/negotiation with the RSA government. The viewpoint will also be presented to the Non-aligned Movement.

"The above activities are mainly aimed at inter alia formulating a consolidated viewpoint with regard to discussion/negotiation in which the ANC and PAC can be accommodated in order to obtain the initiative for a possible negotiation process.

"The ANC is enjoying the protection of President Kaunda and is planning insurgency activities against South Africa from Lusaka. In view of the general election on September 6, 1989 I am of the opinion that it is inopportune to meet with President Kaunda at this stage.

Faxed reply to De Klerk

"On Friday, August 11, Mr De Klerk sent me a fax which reads as follows: 'Following my request this morning,' that was by telephone, 'it would be appreciated if you would meet a delegation of National Party Ministers on an urgent basis at a time and venue of your choice. My office will enquire late this afternoon at your office about a decision.

"In reply I faxed the following letter to Mr De Klerk: 'I am surprised to hear that you want to organise a delegation of Ministers. A meeting of the Cabinet is being called for Monday morning, 14 August 1989 at 08h30 at Tuynhuys.'

"I will not approve a visit to Dr Kaunda by Ministers at this stage.

"This morning I had discussions lasting a few hours with members of the Cabinet about my point of view. They all had the opportunity of putting forward their point of view. With their permission a tape recordng was made of the proceedings. Arising from their meeting on Saturday in Pretoria they proposed that I should depart for my private residence and appoint a caretaker president until after September 6.

"I asked them what reason I could offer for such a step. They replied that I could use my health as an excuse. To this I replied that I am not prepared to leave on a lie and I have consequently decided to [illegible] my resignation to the Chief Justice to-

day with effect from August 15.

"No choice but to resign"

"It is evident that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and for the government of this country I am being ignored by ministers serving in my Cabinet. I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation.

"I thank the thousands of friends of South Africa of all population groups who, through the years, have shown their goodwill towards me and my wife. We leave this post with memories of friendship and loyalty.

"I thank the public service. I thank members of our security services from the highest officer to the youngest members and their families. I thank all within and outside politics who have carried us with their loyalty and friendships through so many years.

"It is my sincere prayer that all wil be well with our country, its security and its peace."

Hung parliament 'real possibility'

Staff Reporters

UNIVERSITY of Cape Town academic Professor David Welsh said he had not previously considered a "hung" parliament as a real possibility, but this scenario had become highly possible after the "political guerillafare theatre" of last night.

"This is an unprecedented spectacle. I can't remember anything remotely like this in South Africa's history."

He said Mr Botha's resentment of Mr De Klerk was understandable in view of the fact that it was Mr De Klerk who had urged Mr Botha to tone down his original draft of the August 1985 Rubicon speech, which had been the first step in the retired President's decline and fall.

UCT analyst Professor Hermann Giliomee said: "It is obvious that Mr Botha took his revenge by casting the whole visit to Dr Kaunda in an unfortunate light".

He did this by not caring for the chances of the Nationalists during the election.

"It was tragic to see Mr Botha not only destroying himself, but going out on such a note."

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Tonight's meetings

● NATIONAL Party — Minister of the Budget and Works in the House of Assembly, Mr Kent Durr, in support of Simon's Town MP Mr Harry Dilley at the Fish Hoek Civic Centre at 7,30pm.

Deputy Minister of Water Supply in the House of Assembly, Mr Japie van Wyk, in support of the MP for Mossel Bay, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg in the Heidelburg town hall at 7,30pm.

● Conservative Party — MP Dr Willie Snyman in support of the candidate for Namaqualand Mr Nicolaas Burnett in the Kenhardt school hall at 7pm.

● Democratic Party — Green Point MP Mr Tian van der Merwe and Simon's Town candidate Mr Jannie Momberg in the Woodstock Town Hall at 8pm.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

ARGUS
15-8-89
Cont →

'It's time to go,' Ministers tell PW

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Staff

ONE by one President Botha's Cabinet Ministers seated around the horseshoe Cabinet table delivered the uncompromising message to him that his time was over.

"You've been a very, very good President, but it's time to go," was the unanimous message from each one of them, starting with National party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

At the end of it, President Botha said something like: "I can see that you've made up your minds."

President Botha had summoned his Cabinet to the meeting after publicly repudiating Mr De Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha for their proposed meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda on August 28.

In three hours of high drama at his official residence Tuynhuys yesterday, Mr Botha's Cabinet offered him no alternative but to go.

The only point for discussion was how.

The "softest" option was that he should retire to his Wilderness holiday home and appoint a caretaker President. When he refused that it became inevitable that he would have to go.

He agreed to resign and after he had done so he politely shook their hands one by one at the meeting's end and said goodbye.

The encounter was a "bit of a showdown" and a "bit emotional" but "nothing as bad as it could have been", said one of those seated around the horseshoe.

"He kept his cool fairly well. Someone said it was a dignified meeting and I would agree with that."

Mr Botha started off the meeting by giving each of his ministers a chance to say what was on their minds. When they had all aired their blunt ultimatums he spoke.

He told them much the same as he said on televison last night, that he believed that they were "playing with fire" by meeting President Kaunda and the ANC.

Mr De Klerk responded to President Botha's remarks by outlining his and Mr Pik Botha's position on the Kaunda meeting, apparently arguing that it was not connected in any way to the ANC.

He also told him that for the sake and good of the country and the party his presidency had to come to an end.

That message delivered, the Cabinet spent much of the meeting pondering ways for Mr Botha to depart.

There was at no stage any suggestion that he might dig in his heels and refuse to give into their demands.

"He eventually got the message. I suppose he hadn't realised until then how united we were."

Then the ministers hurried away from Tuynhuys to continue the pressing business of the elections, while President Botha took a final reflective stroll around the Tuynhuys gardens with naval Captain Ters Ehlers, his private secretary, and two plain-clothes bodyguards.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Protest leaders cynical about losing PW

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr P W Botha's dramatic resignation was greeted with cynicism by political leaders in anti-apartheid organisations.

Several spokesmen for the Mass Democratic Movement said the change of leadership would not bring about the necessary reform measures since Mr Botha and his successor, Mr F W de Klerk, were from the same mould.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, acting-general secretary of the restricted United Democratic Front, said "no oppressed South African" mourned Mr Botha's resignation because under his rule "the suffering of the people increased".

Mr Botha had introduced the emergency which resulted in the detention of thousands of people and the restriction of more than 30 organisations.

Mr De Klerk had been party to the "disastrous policies" of the government under Mr Botha's rule.

Kwazulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said it was tragic for Mr Botha to resign so unnecessarily over an issue such as Mr De Klerk's possible meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

"It's ironic that after South Africa sat with the USSR, Cuba, Angola and the United States to produce the Brazzaville Protocol there should be a problem about the president-elect of South Africa meeting Dr Kaunda, the chairman of the front-line states whose destinies and those of South Africa are so inextricably intertwined."

(Report by E van der Merwe and J Rantao, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

SIEMENS

304A

The evolution of an economic agenda

THE PW YEARS



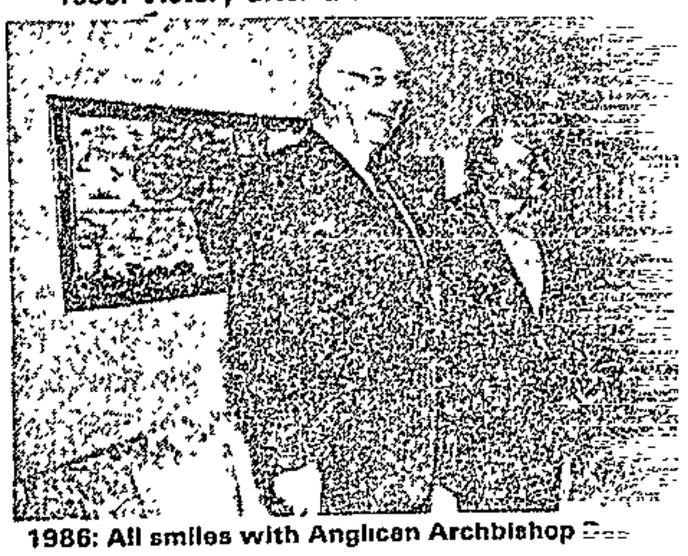
1978: Prime Minister Botha on the steps of Par...



1982: P W Botha meets President Kaunda of Z...



1983: Victory after the constitutional ...



1986: All smiles with Anglican Archbishop Des...

P W BOTHA moved economics to the centre of South African politics.

When he stood on the steps of Parliament in 1978 as Prime Minister, he was greeted with shouts of "We want Pik" from the assembled crowd. Pik was familiar; Botha foreboding.

He came to power with the image of a low-browed, technocratic party man noted for having successfully refashioned SA's defence capability; removed coloureds from District Six; and, with some bluntness, axed Connie Mulder for his role in the misspending of public money in the Info Affair.

In no time, having moved slowly and quietly (no sign then of the wagging finger) Botha was the golden man of white South Africa.

His early record was mixed. He spoke renewal, reform and reconciliation; questioned the Immorality Act; held hands in Soweto, and, like F W de Klerk, assiduously wooed business with promises of deregulation which are now being met.

But he also quashed Mr Justice Mostert's inquiry into Mulder-gate when it started inching near the Defence Force. He told voters what they wanted to hear: there would be reform and a clean administration.

Expectation

His second year had mixed elements: attempts to deny "radicals" publicity and the Nationalists' first by-election loss in 31 years — and talk about a southern African constellation of states, for which Botha sought private-sector backing — providing, in return, access for business to government.

So Botha gained the image of a reformer without actually changing policies, but emphases.

In a sense, Botha has probably set the agenda for successive governments, and the agenda's terms are largely economic.

By standards of South African politics, Botha was often strong, direct and brave in fundamental areas. Most of all, his early years were characterised by talking to people whom Nationalist Prime Ministers had seldom spoken to before with obvious pleasure.

ROBERT GREIG

Talking might not have had the substance of reform policy, but it created a climate in which reform might have taken place.

Not that Botha was short on action. His reign was marked by the removal of Section 16 of the Immorality Act and the whole of the Mixed Marriages Act, but not by the removal of Group Areas which would have been a logical consequence.

It was marked by the creation of structures of labour reform; by acknowledgement that the bantustan dream was impractical; by the creation of a climate of expectation for a streamlined civil service; small business opportunity; regional co-operation; and public-private sector co-operation in a free market economy.

The crunch issues of race remain.

But in Botha's reign, national issues became redefined in terms of economics and cost.

The definition would have happened anyway as part of a Western redefinition. And certainly, Botha's own Rubicon speech in 1985, which accelerated capital flight from the country, unintentionally accelerated the process.

For the first time in SA's history, it is possible that MPs might lose their seats not because they are soft on race, communism, defence or overseas opinion, but because their party is believed to have made voters poorer.

Botha's lack of achievement is more complicated in some senses and straightforward in others.

He could not or would not grapple with the economic consequences of political acts. The braggadocio surrounding the consequences of the Rubicon speech is one example.

His spasmodic switches from applauding free enterprise to seeking a price and wages freeze also indicate his tendency to blurt economic agendas without actually getting to grips with the economics.

Botha was a political technocrat. One is hard put to associate him with any considered political policy, but rather with a set of traditional responses, aversions and biases.

His "total strategy" and "total onslaught" conceptions happily married old-style Nationalist chauvinism with his technocratic ability and implied the existence of an executive leader.

His vision of SA and the world was entirely consistent with its Afrikaner nationalist sources: there are those within the laager who believe in us and those without, who will put us in a pot and eat us up.

However, given that fundamental view, Botha's policies and subsequent actions were logical. He assembled complicated structures of governance and government (which the white electorate approved) which co-opted "moderates" of all colours and relied heavily on the input of the military.

Controlling

He talked in terms of, not race, but economic co-operation (the regional co-operation plan came apart when Mugabe won in Zimbabwe). He planned an arrangement of the country not in terms of racial or geographical lines, but in terms of economic affinity — again, the plan came apart when King William's Town rejected an apparently natural alliance with the Ciskei.

The elaborate structures implied money and a directing intelligence. The need for money came at a bad time; the war in Namibia cost, at its height, R3m a day. The gold boom ended. Foreign investors were deterred both by township rebellion and by the Botha reaction to it. The Right was ascendant, which required buying off through rising civil service pay.

The controlling intelligence had to be Botha's Botha controlled: he did not delegate. It is a costly structure depending upon enforced compliance and ornate systems of payoff and privilege — "fruits of office".

It is a system which ultimately denies economics and thus the need to negotiate.

The economics have taken command; and, it could be argued, the turned back has been stabbed, clumsily and with some embarrassment, but stabbed nevertheless.

Report by Robert Greig 11 Diagonal St Johannesburg

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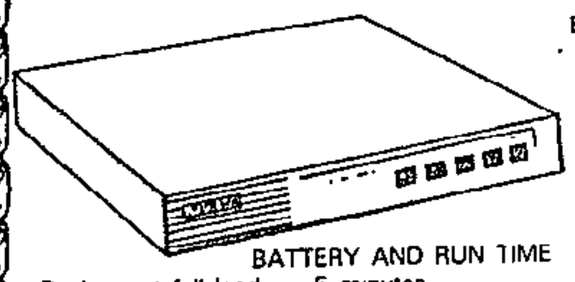

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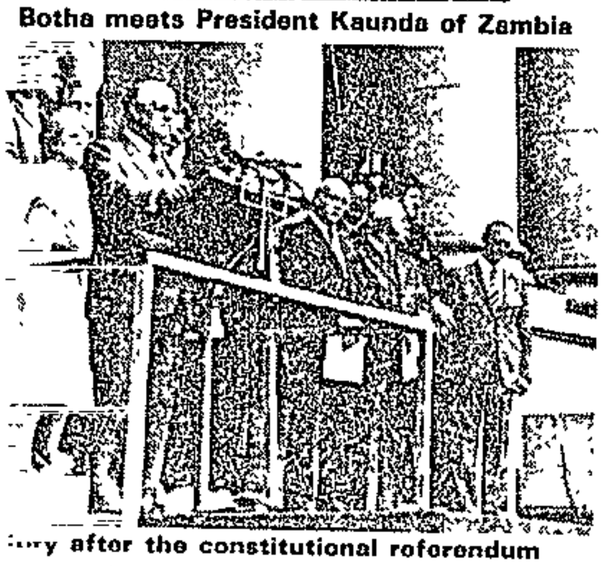
THE PW YEARS



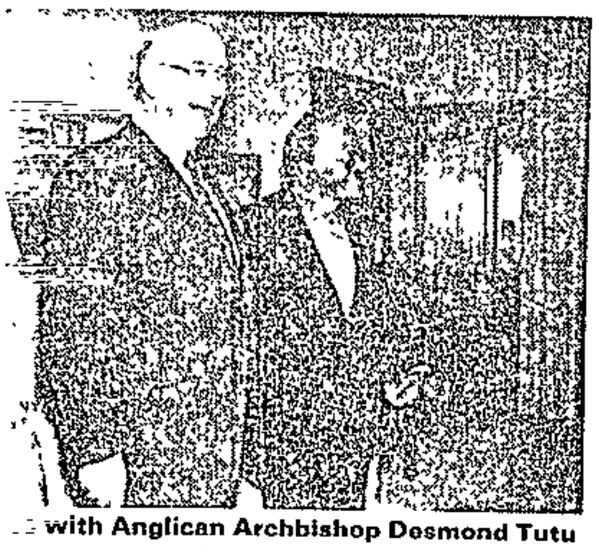
Minister Botha on the steps of Parliament



Botha meets President Kaunda of Zambia



...ry after the constitutional roferendum



... with Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu

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What Botha said on TV

CAPE TOWN — Here is the full text of last night's statement by President P W Botha:

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According to those guidelines, Ministers are entitled to official visits abroad where such visits are deemed essential in the national interest, provided that prior approval is obtained from the State President.

In view of the continuous nature of a Minister's responsibilities within the Republic, the extent and duration of foreign visits should be kept to the absolute minimum and should be so arranged that Ministers are not absent from more than one Cabinet meeting.

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Friction

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President Kaunda rejects the political/constitutional development in the RSA and attempts to promote the institution of extensive economic punitive measures against the RSA. His action is evidently aimed at promoting the ANC's image abroad and at exerting pressure on the RSA government to transfer the power to the ANC.

Settlement

In this regard, President Kaunda has on various occasions indicated that he would be willing to act as mediator between the RSA government and the ANC in order to reach a settlement in the RSA.

President Kaunda played an important role during the visit of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to southern Africa. President Kaunda furthermore uses his influence as chairman of the OAU and in Frontline state context to advocate international pressure and economic punitive measures against the RSA.

President Kaunda is currently playing a key role, in co-operation with other FLS leaders and the ANC, in attempts at finding a so-called solution to the RSA "problem". The following is inter alia known in this regard:

At the request of President Kaunda and President Mugabe, the ANC compiled a document containing its viewpoint concerning negotiation with the RSA government, which was reportedly discussed on August 10, 1989, in Lusaka at a summit meeting of the OAU.

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The above activities are mainly aimed at inter alia, formulating a consolidated viewpoint with regard to discussion/negotiation in which the ANC and PAC can be accommodated in order to obtain the initiative for a possible negotiation process.

Disruption

The ANC is enjoying the protection of President Kaunda and is planning insurgency activities against South Africa from Lusaka. In view of the general election of 6 September 1989, and the deliberate attempts at disruption, I am of the opinion that it is inopportune to meet with President Kaunda at this stage.

On Friday, August 11, Mr De Klerk sent me a fax which reads as follows: "Following my request this morning," — that was by telephone — "it would be appreciated if you would meet a delegation of National Party ministers on an urgent basis at a time and venue of your choice. My office will inquire late this afternoon at your office about a decision."

In reply, I faxed the following letter to Mr De Klerk: "I am surprised to hear that you wish to organise a delegation of Ministers. A meeting of the Cabinet is being arranged for Monday morning August 14, 1989, at 08h30 at Tuynhuys.

"I shall not approve a visit to Dr Kaunda by Ministers at this stage."

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Arising from their meeting on Saturday in Pretoria, they proposed to me that I should depart for my private residence and appoint an acting State President until after September 6.

I asked them what reason I could offer for such a step. They replied that I could use my health as an excuse.

To this I replied that I am not prepared to leave on a lie and I have consequently decided to submit my resignation to the Chief Justice today with effect from 15 August 1989.

It is evident to me that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and for the government of this country as well as the security of our country, I am being ignored by Ministers serving in my Cabinet. I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation.

Goodwill

I thank the thousands of friends of South Africa of all language groups who, through the years, have shown their goodwill towards me and my wife. We leave this post with memories of friendship and loyalty.

I thank the public service.

I thank members of our security services, from the highest officer to the youngest members and their families.

I thank all within and outside politics who have carried us by their loyalty and friendship through so many years.

It is my sincere prayer that all will be well with our country, its security and its peace.

Good night. — Sapa.

Report by Ben Maclennan and Geoff Dekenah, Press Gallery, Parliament.

The end of political tragedy as PW quits

Botha: the final curtain

304A 15/8/89

Mr P W Botha devoted his life to politics and the National Party, but when he resigned as President he stood isolated from the party he had worked for for 53 years. His stubborn refusal to step down in January when he was at the peak of his political career and confrontations with party leadership since then, led to the political tragedy which also has serious implications for South Africa. By **TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff**

President Botha's announcement that he is stepping down signals the end of what has been developing into a political tragedy which also had serious implications for the country.

At the end of a long career in politics he stood totally isolated from the National Party he had worked for for so long. His stubborn refusal to resign since his illness in January and confrontations he has had with the party leadership since then led to this.

At the time of his illness he could have resigned at a peak in his political career. He chose instead to resign only as leader of the NP which created an untenable position.

The NP under its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, decided that the two posts should again be united in one man, that the leader of the party should also be the President.

As President Botha refused to go, a face-saving formula was devised by which he could stay on until after the elections. It was clear that the party would not give him the nomination for the presidency again.

In spite of the fact that the party was going out of its way to make it possible for him to retire with some grace, he continued to behave ungraciously.



Mr P W Botha .. isolated from the National Party after a long political career.

At the time he appeared to resent the fact that Mr de Klerk was elected as his successor. Some Nationalists said he would have preferred Mr Barend du Plessis.

He never congratulated Mr de Klerk publicly on his election, he resisted moves to have an early election and was resentful of Mr de Klerk's visit to Europe and meeting with President Chissano of Mozambique.

He was upset because, according to him, Mr de Klerk was already acting as if he were President. At the time of the meeting with Mr Chissano he complained because some radio reports gave the impression that it was a fresh initiative of Mr de Klerk while he had met Mr Chissano last year.

He refused to attend a farewell dinner for him on the eve of the federal congress in Pretoria in June and, according to sources close to him, he was complaining that the party had rejected him.

The final straw was the dispute about the planned meeting between Mr de Klerk and President Kaunda of Zambia.

After the announcement of the meeting, planned for August 28, he issued a terse statement :

"I am not aware, in terms of the rules governing overseas journeys by Ministers, of the discussions to be held on August 28 as announced by Dr Kaunda."

His Cabinet colleagues, including Mr de Klerk, were flabbergasted by the statement as they had never been consulted about it.

Last Friday Mr Botha refused to speak to them about arranging a meeting to clear up what appeared to be a misunderstanding — he was apparently told about the plans for the meeting but Mr Kuanda made the announcement before he was told about the date Later in the day he called a Cabinet meeting for yesterday.

It appeared Mr Botha had had a lapse of memory and there was deep concern about his health.

Ministers held meetings, in Pretoria and in Cape Town, to plan a strategy for the Cabinet meeting. They faced him united, with the party rallying behind Mr de Klerk.

Among the options Mr Botha had was to dismiss Ministers such as Mr Pik Botha, in which case the whole Cabinet was ready to resign.

In the end, the argument that the National Party must not be harmed during an election campaign prevailed.

In a three-hour Cabinet meeting Mr Botha agreed to resign in order to end the untenable situation and so that Mr de Klerk could become the leader who also had the executive powers of the Head of State.

Mr Botha devoted his life to politics since the days in 1936 when, at the age of 20, he became an organiser for the NP in Caledon.

He became MP for George in the general election of 1948, a seat he was to represent until he became the first executive President under the new tricameral system in September 1984.

He became Deputy Minister of Home Affairs in 1958 and Minister of Community Development and Coloured Affairs in 1961. He became Minister of Public Works in 1964.

In 1966 he became Minister of Defence and he was largely responsible for the establishment of an armaments industry in the face of an international arms boycott.

He became Prime Minister on September 28 1978.

As Prime Minister and President he was responsible for many reform measures, among them the abolition of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act; the scrapping of the sex-across-the-colour-line clause of the Immorality Act, the recognition of the permanence of blacks in the part of South Africa outside the "homelands"; the scrapping of influx control and the pass system for blacks; a more realistic approach to squatting and urbanisation; the abandonment of the coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape; encouragement of the development of the informal sector of the economy including the scrapping of much of the red-tape regulations; the opening up of cultural facilities such as theatres and cinemas to all races as well as the scrapping of hotel apartheid.

It was on the question of black political rights that he appeared to get stuck.

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

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304A



Mr F W de Klerk . . . even NP is cynical about his aim of "changed SA".

Can FW live up to change?

Mr F W de Klerk, the new National Party leader who will succeed State President P W Botha, can well be described as a man for all seasons.

For he has lately been termed "Left" by the political Right, after being considered on the verkrampte side of the NP for years.

He has been accused of being "conservative" by the political Left, who frequently asks of him: "Will the real F W please stand up?"

Even the NP's verligte wing is suspicious of Mr de Klerk's ability, or willingness, to introduce meaningful reform.

This was demonstrated by the surprising support for Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis at the extraordinary Cabinet meeting in February where the NP had to choose a successor to Mr Botha.

Since his election as NP leader, Mr de Klerk (53) has provided South Africans and the world with the hope they so desperately looked for.

Group emphasis

In his first speech to Parliament in February, he smilingly, confidently and amicably revealed his vision of the future. He spoke of "a totally changed South Africa", a country "free of domination or oppression in any form".

But present throughout — and ever since — was an emphasis on "group rights" which has fuelled his critics' belief that he is a closet conservative, a technocrat with no particular vision.

His supporters, also waiting for a clear indication of the way ahead, cautioned that nothing more than good intentions could be expressed as Mr de Klerk impatiently waited for Mr Botha to hand over the reins.

The international world welcomed the new man cautiously but enthusiastically. His recent European tour was seen as a major victory and acknowledgement by world leaders such as Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

He was described as a sound, pragmatic man who inspired confidence.

In the months since his election as NP leader, he seems to have successfully consolidated the previously divided NP caucus. The entire caucus rallied behind their leader during yesterday's dramatic showdown with the President.

Mr F W de Klerk has been labelled "leftwing" by the Right amd "rightwing" by the Left, but it remains to be seen whether he will do any more than express good intentions in his quest to achieve a "totally changed South Africa". **By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter**

He has made it plain that he has taken the flickering reform torch from Mr Botha — who has never congratulated him on his election as NP leader — and intended to run with it.

But Mr de Klerk's real test still lies ahead. Undeniably in the power seat now, he will have to prove his ability to transform South Africa into the "totally changed" country he foresees.

Career

An attorney by profession, Mr de Klerk's political career got off the ground in 1972 when he was elected MP for Vereeniging.

In 1975 he became information officer of the Transvaal NP, and in 1978 he was appointed to the Cabinet as Minister of Posts and Telecommunications.

He subsequently held the portfolios of Social Welfare and Pensions, Sport and Recreation, Mining and Environmental Planning and Energy and Internal Affairs.

He became the NP's Transvaal leader in 1982 following the split in the NP.

In September 1984 he became Minister of Home Affairs and National Education, and in 1985 was appointed Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly whilst remaining Minister of National Education in the Cabinet.

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Picture by

NP still confident of victory

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Halfway through the election campaign, available pointers still suggest the National Party will lose seats to left and right, but predictions of a hung Parliament seem more muted now.

Though the Conservative Party still appears bullish about winning enough seats to deny the National Party an overall majority, there is no hard evidence for this.

The NP is prepared to concede that the CP could win up to 40 seats and the Democratic Party itself predicts about 32 for itself, which would still leave the NP with a comfortable overall majority.

Spokesmen for the main parties in the House of Assembly said today the main election issue was still the economy.

Other questions which parties have tried to make issues of — such as the meeting between former State President, Mr P W Botha and jailed ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — have not really grabbed the imagination of the electorate.

The DP claimed today that NP efforts to smear it by association with the Mass Democratic Movement were not working and that canvassed voters were not expressing concern about this.

Politicians today were unsure what effect the National Party's abrupt deposing of Mr Botha would have on the election.

All the indications are that the initial impact of Mr Botha's dramatic resignation on TV has been damaging for the NP. Phone-in polls to radio stations and newspapers have shown a clear majority of people who think he was shabbily treated.

But the NP believes this is short term and that the affair will turn to the party's advantage before the elections, because its campaign had become a lot more focused since Mr Botha quit.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216, Vermeulen St, Pretoria)

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'... statements that completely ignore the State President' — President Botha on TV last night

'... I am not prepared to leave on a lie' — President Botha on TV last night

'... I am being ignored by ministers serving in my cabinet' — President Botha on TV last night

'...it is inopportune to meet with President Kaunda at this stage' — President Botha on TV last night

A BITTER PW GOES

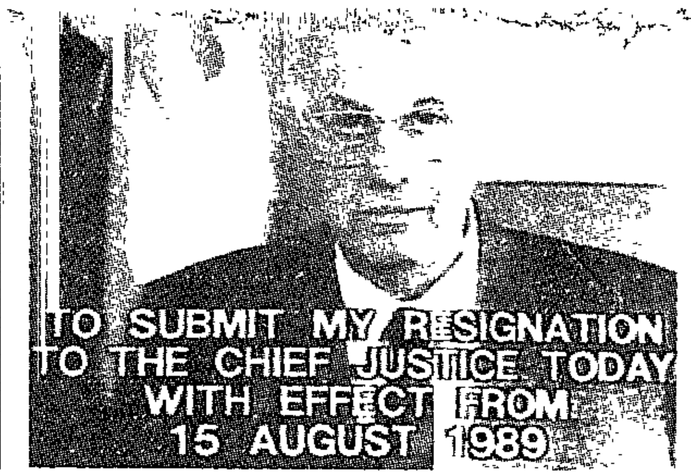
Cape Times 15/8/89 (3048) (whole page)



FW takes over as president



IN ... Mr F W de Klerk who will be sworn in as the acting State President today.



OUT ... President Botha on TV last night, announcing his resignation.

Underdog PW loses touch with the nation

By JOHN SCOTT

THE face was thinner, but neither of the hands holding the nine-page statement shook. The State President, who last night announced his resignation, looked in control of all his faculties — in spite of Mr Pik Botha's later claim that "with great respect, I think the president's memory left him in the lurch".

Mr P W Botha's 15-minute announcement was pre-recorded. Behind him were the South African flag and a bowl of red and white flowers. In front, on his desk, a little flag celebrating 40 years of something.

He stumbled over the wording of his statement only once, and added one sentence *not* in the text issued in advance to newspapers. That was after he had told the nation he did not approve a visit to Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia by ministers at this stage.

"That's still my standpoint," he said, ad lib.

Significantly, when Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha were later interviewed by Clarence Keyter (for 20 minutes), the Nationalist leader and, from today, acting state president, gave no indication whether the meeting with President Kaunda is still on. Presumably it is.

The situation was tailor-made for President Botha to evoke sympathy from his watching audience of millions. With the entire cabinet against him, he was the underdog. But on Page 6 of his statement he began losing them in the detail of his diatribe against the Zambian president.

It was the tell-tale sign of a man who had lost touch with the need to communicate with everybody, including his supposed enemies.

And then, after the bitterest thrust of all — "I am being ignored by ministers serving in my cabinet" — the characteristic lick of his lips.

"It's a very heartsore day," declared Mr De Klerk afterwards, talking about the need to negotiate while, in English sub-titles, the SABC twice misspelt the word as NEGOCIATE.

What effect would all this have on the election, asked Keyter.

Mr De Klerk chose to interpret this as referring to the mechanics. It would be "restful and calm", he predicted. But the opposition parties would try to "exploit the situation".

Shame on them!

Mr Pik Botha sat looking lost and abandoned until Keyter turned to him, and after that Mr De Klerk hardly got a word in edgewise. The Foreign Minister even quoted President Botha as saying, about talks with Africa leaders: "*Nou ja*, arrange your Africa visits as you see fit."

What did President Botha say to *that*? But unlike the other two, he wasn't in the studio.

What was now going to happen? asked Keyter. Mr De Klerk would become State President, replied Mr Botha The camera lingered long on a poker-faced Mr De Klerk, with only three weeks before he goes to polls in circumstances that have never before confronted a National Party leader.

● World rugby team shapes up — PAGE 3

Political Correspondent:

A BITTER and angry President P W Botha last night bowed out after accusing his Nationalist cabinet colleagues of ignoring South Africa's security and of attempting to force him to "lie" to the nation.

President Botha's bombshell retirement statement on SATV topped a day of high political drama in which the National Party successfully ousted the ageing president, who, it claimed, was suffering from a memory failure and deteriorating health.

Mr F W de Klerk — who will be sworn in as acting State President in Pretoria today — and Mr Pik Botha immediately hit back, flatly contradicting a number of Mr Botha's assertions about their alleged misbehaviour and questionable motives.

In a scathing attack on senior government ministers which amounted to a vote of no confidence, a grim-faced Mr Botha charged in his farewell address that they were playing with "the highest interests of the country" and "completely ignoring" their State President.

During his diatribe against his former colleagues, Mr Botha disclosed that at yesterday's showdown cabinet meeting at Tuynhuys the cabinet had proposed that he step down "using my health as an excuse.

"To this I replied that I am not prepared to leave on a lie and I have consequently decided to submit my resignation to the Chief Justice today with effect from 15 August, 1989."

● Pik: PW's memory was 'suspect' — Page 2
● Cabinet appoints acting president — Page 2
● PW's full speech — Page 6
● Editorial — Page 6

Mr Botha also revealed fresh aspects of his running battle with his successor by noting that on June 2 he had complained in a letter to Mr De Klerk about "policy statements that completely ignore the State President" and about proposed foreign visits announced by the NP leader "without complying with the prescribed rules for ministers in this regard".

President Botha also repeated his denial that Mr Pik Botha had cleared his proposed visit with Mr De Klerk to President Kenneth Kaunda on August 28 — an assertion that the foreign minister later flatly dismissed.

President Botha was adamant that he would not approve any visits to Dr Kaunda in Lusaka at this stage.

He submitted that Dr Kaunda aimed to promote the ANC's image abroad and was exerting pressure on the South African government "to transfer the power to the ANC.

"The ANC is enjoying the protection of President Kaunda and is planning insurgency activities against South Africa from Lusaka," he said in motivating his opposition to any contacts with the Zambian leader at this stage.

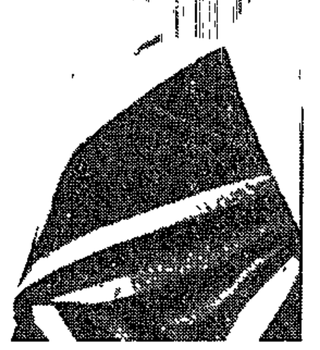
In his stinging rebuke of his Nationalist colleagues, Mr Botha concluded: "It is evident to me that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and for the government of this country as well as the security of our country, I am being ignored by ministers serving in my cabinet.

"I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation."

Yesterday's historic and acrimonious battle was signalled early yesterday morning when the State President's storm flag was raised on the mast outside Tuynhuys as the heavens opened.

To page 2

PW BOTHA: 'I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation'



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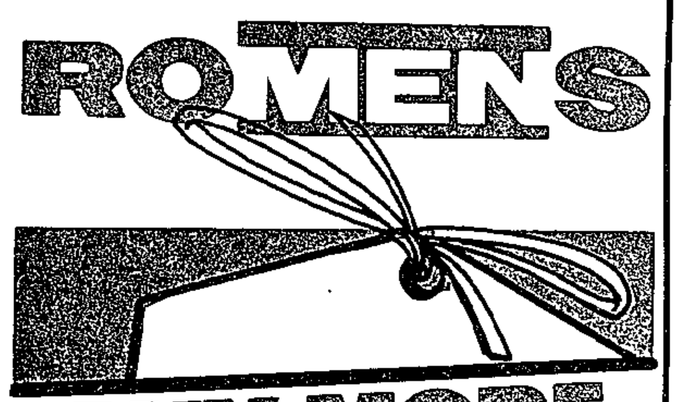

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PW tells why he's q



President P W Botha

This is the full text of President P W Botha's speech on TV last night.

ON the appointment of a minister, a copy of "Guidelines for Ministers" is presented to him. These guidelines have been applicable to all who have served in the cabinet since January 19 1985.

According to those guidelines, ministers are entitled to official visits abroad where such visits are deemed essential in the national interest, provided that prior approval is obtained from the State President.

"In view of the continuous nature of a minister's responsibilities within the Republic, the extent and duration of foreign visits should be kept to the absolute minimum and should be so arranged that ministers are not absent from more than one cabinet meeting.

"It must furthermore be so arranged that a minister and deputy minister are not abroad simultaneously. Ministers must also furnish copies of their proposed travel programmes to the State President's Office for distribution."

These arrangements are not technicalities. In fact, it is the essence of trust between a head of state and ministers serving in his cabinet. To attempt to brush this aside as technicalities is to play with the highest interests of the country.

I had reason to address the following in a letter to the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, on June 2 1989. I quote from the letter: "I am informed of policy statements that completely ignore the State President. I am also informed of proposed foreign visits announced by you without complying with the prescribed rules for ministers in this regard."

I ALSO wish to refer to a telephone conversation between colleague R F Botha and myself on Thursday, August 10. He phoned me that same morning from Pretoria to my private residence in Wilderness to inform me that friction had developed between certain African leaders.

He then asked me whether he could contact me that same evening, that is, Thursday, August 10, in Cape Town. I replied that it would be possible from half past five at Westbrooke.

He again phoned me at about six at Westbrooke to inform me that the discussions were progressing well and that it would not be necessary for Dr Savimbi to meet with me. I accepted that.

Shortly afterwards, at eight o'clock, I heard on television news that President Kaunda had announced that Mr Pik Botha and Mr F W de Klerk would visit Zambia on August 28 to meet President Kaunda.

That had not been cleared with me in terms of the ministerial rules to which I referred earlier.

I immediately called Minister Botha at the state guest house in Pretoria and referred to the statement by President Kaunda. He was surprised to learn about it and said that it would be rectified during the news broadcast.

I contacted several ministers on Thursday night in this regard, but was unsuccessful in obtaining a satisfactory arrangement on these matters.

I consequently issued the following statement on August 11, and I quote: "In terms of the rules governing foreign journeys by ministers, I am not aware of the discussions on August 28 as announced by Dr Kaunda."

After this, I received several telephone calls inter alia from Minister R F Botha and Minister F W de Klerk. My viewpoint was that such a matter cannot be settled telephonically.

The ANC is being orchestrated and organised from Lusaka. The ANC's head office, the NEC together with all the departments and sections represented thereon, as well as the commanding structure of the military wing, are permanently situated in Lusaka.

Zambia is the centre where the ANC plans and co-ordinates its military and political activities against the RSA. Besides the ANC headquarters and the various departments of the ANC in Lusaka, the ANC among others also has the following facilities in Zambia:

- Radio Freedom facilities in Lusaka for propaganda broadcasts against the RSA;
- A centre providing for the ANC's medical requirements and youth activities. This facility is also used as transit base;
- The main logistic facility of the ANC, situated in the Lilanda residential area in Lusaka;
- Printing facilities to meet some of the ANC's administrative requirements;
- Various farms and agricultural projects in the vicinity of Lusaka, for example Chongela Farm, and
- A furniture factory known as Star Furnitures in Lusaka.

In addition to office facilities, accommodation is provided to senior commanding and control personnel of the ANC.

ZAMBIA is also being used as thoroughfare to make infiltration into the RSA via various neighbouring states possible. Trained terrorists usually infiltrate from foreign countries into Zambia where they stopover for varying periods. From there, they are transferred to various neighbouring states as members of the various political/military structures.

President Kaunda rejects the political/constitutional development in the RSA and attempts to

Cape Times 15-8-89

uitting

promote the institution of extensive economic punitive measures against the RSA. His action is evidently aimed at promoting the ANC's image abroad and at exerting pressure on the RSA government to transfer the power to the ANC.

In this regard, President Kaunda has on various occasions indicated that he would be willing to act as mediator between the RSA government and the ANC in order to reach a settlement in the RSA.

President Kaunda played an important role during the visit of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to Southern Africa. President Kaunda furthermore uses his influence as chairman of the OAU and in frontline state context to advocate international pressure and economic punitive measures against the RSA.

President Kaunda is currently playing a key role, in co-operation with other frontline state leaders and the ANC, in attempts at finding a so-called solution to the RSA's "problem". The following is inter alia known in this regard:

● At the request of President Kaunda and President Mugabe the ANC compiled a document containing its viewpoint concerning negotiation with the RSA government, which was reportedly discussed on August 10, 1989, in Lusaka at a summit meeting of the OAU.

LAST-MENTIONED inter alia took place in preparation of a meeting of the OAU's sub-committee for Southern Africa under the chairmanship of Hosni Mubarak, new secretary-general of the OAU, at which an attempt is reportedly to be made to formulate a "United African Nationalist position" with regard to discussion/negotiation with the RSA government. The viewpoint will also be submitted to the Non-aligned Movement.

The above activities are mainly aimed at, inter alia:

● Formulating a consolidated viewpoint with regard to discussion/negotiation in which the ANC and PAC can be accommodated in order to obtain the initiative for a possible negotiation process.

The ANC is enjoying the protection of President Kaunda and is planning insurgency activities against South Africa from Lusaka. In view of the general election of September 6, 1989, and the deliberate attempts at disruption, I am of the opinion that it is inopportune to meet with President Kaunda at this stage.

On Friday, August 11, Mr De Klerk sent me a fax which reads as follows: "Following my request this morning" — that was by telephone — "it would be appreciated if you would meet a delegation of National Party ministers on an urgent basis at a time and venue of your choice. My office will inquire late this afternoon at your office about a decision."

In reply, I faxed the following letter to Mr De Klerk: "I am surprised to hear that you wish to organise a delegation of ministers. A meeting of the cabinet is being arranged for Monday morning, August 14, 1989, at 08h30 at Tuynhuys."

I shall not approve a visit to Dr Kaunda by ministers at this stage.

This morning I had discussions lasting a few hours with members of the cabinet about my point of view. They all had the opportunity of putting forward their point of view. With their permission, a tape recording was made of the proceedings.

Arising from their meeting on Saturday in Pretoria, they proposed to me that I should depart for my private residence and appoint an acting State President until after September 6.

I asked them what reason I could offer for such a step. They replied that I could use my health as an excuse.

To this I replied that I am not prepared to leave on a lie and I have consequently decided to submit my resignation to the Chief Justice today with effect from 15 August, 1989.

It is evident to me that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and for the government of this country as well as the security of our country, I am being ignored by ministers serving in my cabinet. I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation.

I thank the thousands of friends of South Africa of all language groups who, through the years, have shown their goodwill towards me and my wife. We leave this post with memories of friendship and loyalty.

I thank the public service.

I thank members of our security services from the highest officer to the youngest members and their families.

I thank all within and outside politics who have carried us by their loyalty and friendship through so many years.

It is my sincere prayer that all will be well with our country, its security and its peace.

(Report by B Maclennan and G Dekenah, Press Gallery, Parliament)

Cabinet asks Botha to stand down

Bitter P W forced out

304A

B/dmy 15/8/89.



● P W BOTHA

AN ANGRY and bitter President P W Botha is quitting today after clashing yesterday with a Cabinet united in wanting him out.

In a television address last night, he accused senior ministers of trying to ignore him.

NP leader F W de Klerk responded to Botha's resignation by suggesting he was ill, while Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the President was suffering lapses of memory.

Botha pointedly withheld permission for De Klerk to meet Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

His resignation comes exactly four years to the day since his infamous "Rubicon" speech.

In one of the most bitter meetings ever held at Tuynhuys, Botha was confronted by Cabinet members no longer prepared to tolerate his meddling.

They suggested he appoint an acting State President in his place and leave for his residence in Wilderness.

They proposed he cite health as a reason for these actions, but the isolated 73-year-old refused, saying: "I am not prepared to leave on a lie." Instead, he decided to submit his resignation to the Chief Justice with effect from today.

He said: "It is evident to me that after all these years of my best efforts for the NP and for the government of this country, as well as the security of our country, I am being ignored by ministers serving in my Cabinet. I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation."

The bitterness contained in Botha's last televised presidential address to the nation stunned political observers as it seemed designed to inflict maximum damage on the NP's election chances.

Among the accusations he levelled at De

MIKE ROBERTSON

Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha in particular and at the Cabinet in general were:

☐ Ignoring guidelines that ministers obtain prior approval from the President before undertaking foreign visits;

☐ Attempting to brush aside these arrangements as technicalities when in fact they were part of the essence of trust between a head of state and his cabinet;

☐ Attempting to get him to lie about his health as a reason for his resignation.

A large section of Botha's address was devoted to explaining his belief that a meeting with Kaunda prior to the election would be inopportune.

Botha, who has himself met Kaunda in the past, said his opposition to a meeting was based on the following: The ANC was being orchestrated and organised from Lu-

● See Pages 2, 4 and 9

● Comment: Page 8

saka; and Kaunda was playing a key role in formulating a consolidated viewpoint on negotiations involving the ANC and PAC in order to win the initiative in a possible negotiation process.

Giving details for the first time of the bitterness that developed between him and De Klerk after De Klerk's election as party leader, Botha quoted from a letter he wrote to the NP leader on June 2:

"I am informed of policy statements that completely ignore the State President. I am informed of proposed foreign visits announced by you without complying with the prescribed rules for Ministers in this regard."

Giving his version of events last Thursday, Botha said the Foreign Minister had phoned him at 6pm to inform him of discussions concerning problems that had arisen in the Angolan peace initiative.

The first he heard of the meeting with Kaunda had been on the 8pm television news. "That had not been cleared with me in terms of the ministerial rules," he said.

"I immediately called Minister Botha at the State Guest House in Pretoria and referred to the statement by President Kaunda. He was surprised to learn about it and said it would be rectified during the news broadcast."

Botha said he had contacted other Ministers on the same night and had failed to obtain a satisfactory explanation.

It was only then that he had issued his statement saying he was not aware of the discussions on August 28 as announced by Kaunda.

Foreign Minister Botha said the President's memory was at fault when he said he was not consulted about De Klerk's planned meeting with Kaunda which led to yesterday's dramatic developments.

He said that in the presence of officials he phoned President Botha prior to the news. He was told: "Arrange your African visits as you find fit."

The Foreign Minister said that if the ANC's presence in a country was to be used as a norm for not visiting that country, then President Botha would not have been able to meet with British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and a host of other European and African leaders.

He said there had been approval in principle from the President for the meeting with Kaunda as early as June. All the President had asked was that other leaders be consulted about it. This had been done.

Report by Mike Robertson, 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg

Confusion as the 'caring class' is overtaken by events

SIMON BARBER in Washington

AMONG those whose avocation it is to despair about South Africa, a new despair, or rather desperation, seems to be setting in. Part of this has to do with the growing difficulty of dreaming up fresh and interesting things to do to Pretoria. Then there is the disheartening question of whether anything further actually needs to be done. Or can be done, for that matter.

In some cases, the result is comical. This week, for example, Senator Edward Kennedy will release yet another study prepared at his request by the General Accounting Office (GAO), an investigative arm of Congress, purporting to reveal how the evil Boer and his foreign henchmen have been thwarting the rapid, sanctions-induced, demise of apartheid.

For more than seven months, GAO operatives have been nosing about the planet trying to develop a scheme to mess up the gold and diamond markets in such a way that only SA's ox will be gored.

Their labours have thus far resulted in a five-page "interim" report which contains the astounding discovery that Congress passed a Bill three years ago called the Comprehensive Anti-apartheid Act.

This Bill, the gumshoes learnt, placed an effective embargo on South African bullion by banning imports of goods produced or marketed by "parastatal" entities. South African gold is marketed by one such, the Reserve Bank, and is therefore a prohibited commodity. A clever deduction.

But what would be the point of such intuitive genius if it could not also be determined that the law was being broken? For this, the sleuths needed to inveigle their way into the Commerce Department's public reference room and persuade the librarian to let them have a breakdown of US commodity imports over the past two years. The data comes on microfiche and the reading machine takes some getting used to. They persevered....

And were rewarded. As they told Senator Kennedy, "between January 1987 and March 1989, Switzerland and the UK exported $164m and $175m, respectively, in gold bullion to the US". Some of which must have been South African because "both countries produce little or no gold but each has a major gold trade" and "SA is the world's largest gold producer and exporter and is believed to market much of its gold through these two countries".

It took only a couple of interviews with anti-apartheid activists, and their worst fears were confirmed. Where were these men when Eliot Ness needed them?

They also spoke to customs officials who turned out to be "generally unaware" that gold fell into the taboo parastatal product category. This suggested a remedy. Henceforth, the State Department should be obliged to produce not only a list of parastatals, but a list of what they make and sell as well. Like quantum physics, the idea that apartheid may be crippled by increased paperwork in Washington defies easy explanation.

It will be entertaining to see what furore Kennedy is able to create out of all this — probably almost as entertaining as watching Congressman Walter Fauntroy, Washington's non-voting delegate in the House of Representatives, trying to put together a package of financial sanctions without, apparently, having much idea of how the international financial system works.

The financial sanctioneers are now deemed to be on the cutting edge, and while at least some of them, like the Commonwealth's Steve Cole and Keith Ovenden, seem to know what they are talking about, they are nonetheless in an awkward fix. Events have overtaken them and they are hard pressed to find a fulcrum for their lever — always an unpleasant circumstance for the professional meddler.

Hastened, to be sure, by shareholder activists and legislation, the banks have already taken their own look at the economic non-viability of apartheid and have done, of their own volition, pretty much all the sanctioneers could ask. Since 1985, they have been pursuing all rational steps to get their money out and in the process, as even the sanctioneers are now obliged to concede, have put infinitely more pressure on Pretoria than the anti-apartheid movement, in all its generally puerile and doctrinaire manifestations, ever has.

It must be painful for the enemies of capitalism to see capitalism doing their job for them rather more efficiently than they could ever hope to, and it is hilarious to behold them struggling to get into the game. The vision of Commonwealth officials making pompous demarches — at the next Paris meeting on Cambodia, for example — to demand a tough rescheduling programme for SA's debt is frankly exquisite.

As is the look of total befuddlement that comes over Fauntroy's face when it is suggested to him by one of Archbishop Desmond Tutu's more sophisticated advisers that SA must somehow be denied access to CHIPS, the international clearing system in New York. CHIPS? Catching up with the capitalists is tough enough without having to learn from scratch how their mysteries work.

Less charming are the lengths the sanctioneers now find they are having to go to to prove they are still relevant. Fauntroy's explanation, or at least the one he offered at his hearing the other day, is that 10 000 children continue to languish in SA's detention camps.

Then there is the report, presented to the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Committee on Southern Africa in Canberra last week and accepted by same as gospel, that Pretoria's regional policies in this decade have managed to kill 1,5-million people and, perhaps more importantly in the imagination of the caring classes, 100 000 elephants. In addition, calculate authors David Martin and Phyllis Johnson of the Harare-based Southern African Research and Documentation Centre, Pretoria's "holocaust" has cost the Frontline states some $45bn.

This is deranged, presupposing, among other things, that the region would be a jolly little Utopia of thriving industry and commerce were SA subtracted. But for SA, no Mozambican peasant would have objected to being forcibly collectivised by Frelimo, or to having his traditional leaders displaced and his customs and beliefs stamped on as unscientific. Instead of AIDS and food riots, there would be an economy in Zambia. Unita would simply have faded away, thus allowing the MPLA to turn Angola into an enlightened Texas full of happy pachyderms. If anyone really believes that, there's a bridge over New York's East River looking for a new owner.

Something odd is going on here. To be sure, one never looked to Kennedy, or Fauntroy or Martin and Johnson or the Commonwealth for dispassion or a high degree of rationality. But all of a sudden, they are reaching new and unprecedented levels of nuttiness and cant. In fact, they seem to be desperate.

Perhaps this is because they are beginning to sense that southern Africa has grown tired of waiting for the various Godots they promised and may at last be on the verge of sorting itself out without them. To the extent that sanctions played a role, the sanctions were not of their devising. Kaunda, Chissano, Dos Santos, De Klerk, even the ANC, are starting to leave them on the sidelines. History has marched on, but it is not the history they put their faith in. This is making them mad.

3044

'Sordid end' to State President's career

Strong impact on election predicted

Staff Reporters

State President P W Botha's dramatic revelations in his retirement speech last night of the deep rift between him and the National Party have been described as "rather sordid" and "guerilla warfare theatre" by politicians and political commentators.

Some of them predicted that yesterday's events — unprecedented in South African history — would have a significant impact on the September 6 general election. But others felt that the NP could benefit from the events by depicting Mr F W de Klerk, who is to be sworn in as acting State President today, as the future reformist.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was a tragedy for South Africa that the career of a State President should end in such a bitter and "really rather sordid" way.

"What has been revealed is that this was not an ordinary procedural row, but one that went much deeper. Strong personal animosities seem to have been involved.

"After all, Mr Botha himself saw (ANC leader) Mr Nelson Mandela and (Zambian President) Dr Kenneth Kaunda when the position in Zambia was no different from what it is now.

Palace revolution

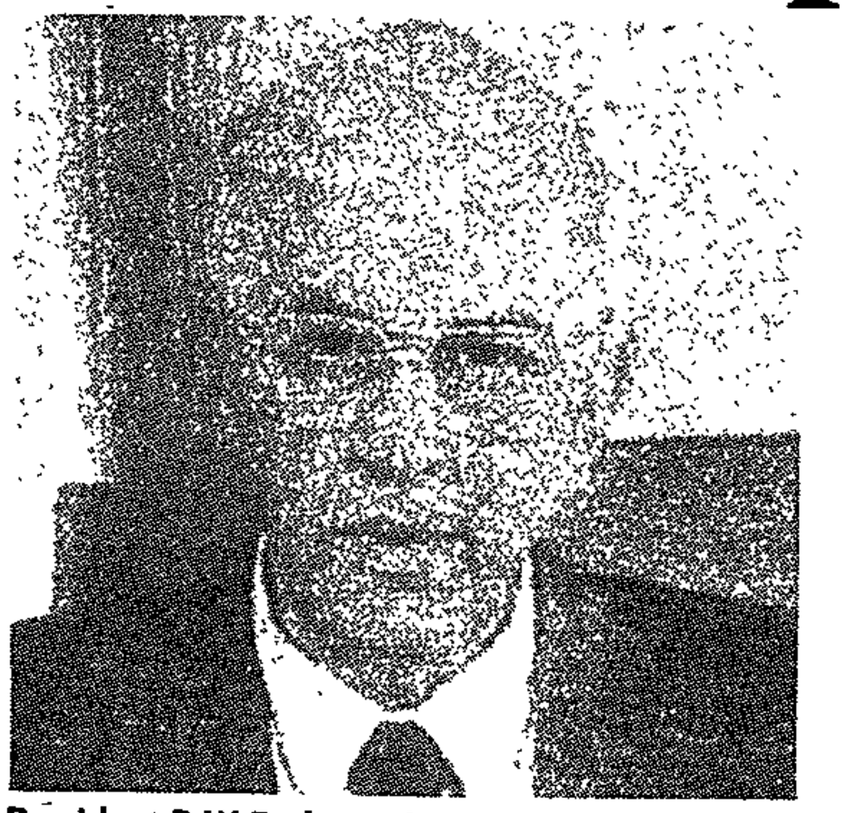
"What needs to be explained is the real nature of the rifts which clearly exist in the NP."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday's events had been "a tragic example of a palace revolution".

In contrast with the dismissive approach of Mr Botha on discussions with President Kaunda, and thereby indirectly with the African National Congress, Mr de Klerk had left the country in great uncertainty and had moved more to the left.

The NP Ministers under Mr de Klerk had executed a "sort of coup d'etat" and had thereby done great damage to their own party. The necessity of a new government under the CP had become urgent, Dr Treurnicht said.

University of Cape Town academic Professor David Welsh said he had not previously considered a "hung" parliament as a real possibility, but this scenario had become highly possible after the "political guerilla warfare theatre" of last night. "This is an unprecedented spectacle. I can't remember anything remotely like this in South Africa's history."



President P W Botha as he appeared to viewers on SABC-TV last night.

He said Mr Botha's resentment of Mr de Klerk was understandable in view of the fact that it was Mr de Klerk who had urged Mr Botha to tone down his original draft of the August 1985 Rubicon speech, which had been the first step in the retired State President's decline and fall.

Veteran former MP Mrs Helen Suzman said Mr Botha's appearance had been very embarrassing.

"It was so obviously the attempt of a man who was desperately trying to regain the reins of power which he had given up and now regretted doing so.

"Mr Botha has done himself a great disservice by not resigning in a dignified manner at the beginning of the year. He established what has become an untenable situation," she said.

Professor Deon Geldenhuys of the Rand Afrikaans University said the NP still had enough time before the election to "neutralise the damage" of the showdown between the outgoing and incoming leaders.

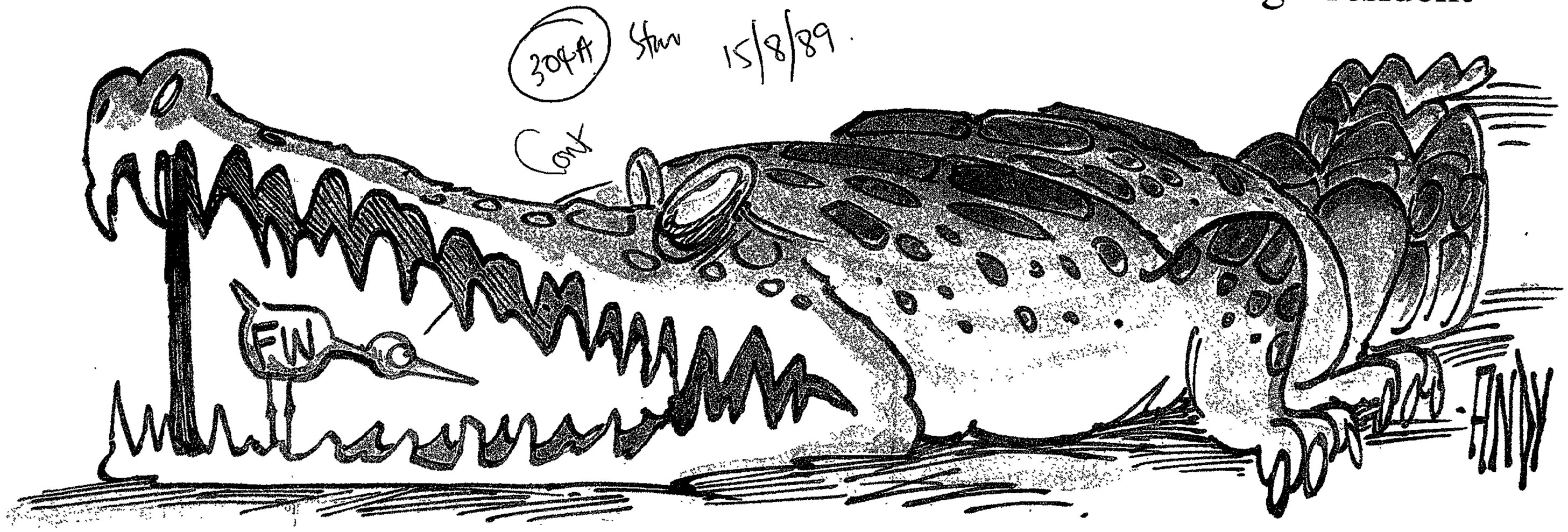
UCT analyst Professor Hermann Giliomee said "it is obvious that Mr Botha took his revenge by casting the whole visit to Dr Kaunda in an unfortunate light".

Pretoria analyst Dr Willem Kleynhans said it was interesting that the Government had always said it would not be dictated to from outside on how to run the country.

"Now Mr de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha are going to Dr Kaunda to get a statement on how to run the country. The CP will exploit this to its greatest extent."

(Compiled by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

● Govt dismay at 'ANC insinuation' ● FW becomes the Acting President



Bitter PW exit hurts NP

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The king is dead, long live the king. That was the mood of the National Party today as it counted the damage of President Botha's bitter departure from the presidency last night — and turned to the new F W de Klerk era.

He addressed a press conference afterwards and chaired his first Cabinet meeting as head of the Government.

Last night, on TV, he said: "Tomorrow we go forward with new force and begin building the new South Africa that we want to found here."

NP MPs today admitted that Mr Botha's bellicose resignation — accompanied by a blistering attack on his successor and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha — had done dama e to the party and had exposed it especially to attack from the Conservative Party.

The NP has been particularly dismayed by Mr Botha's insinuation that the planned meeting of Mr de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda was in some way tantamount to negotiation with the ANC.

Sigh of relief

The CP has seized on his remarks to warn that Mr de Klerk's planned Kaunda meeting has "placed the country in great uncertainty".

However, the National Party has also breathed a sigh of relief that it no longer has to cast an anxious eye to Tuynhuys whenever it makes a new move.

And it is clear, too, that the party feels that through his demonstration that he could stand up to President Botha, Mr de Klerk will have recovered some of the lost support that the leadership crisis has cost him.

Mr Pik Botha told a political meeting in Randburg last night: "You didn't think we were up to it. Now we have proved we are."

He also said on televsion that the Cabinet had full confidence in Mr de Klerk and great appreciation for his courage and conduct.

In Cape Town Mr P W Botha — having cut himself off completely from the party which he lived and worked for — returned to his Tuynhuys office late yesterday afternoon to begin clearing his office.

It is understood that he will stay on in his Westbrooke residence for a short while before departing for his Wilderness holiday home.

His dramatic resignation last night followed his being bluntly told by Mr de Klerk and the united Cabinet it was "time to go".

Cabinet sources made it clear that Mr Botha had been given absolutely no option but to get out of politics.

They said he had been offered one option to depart "with some dignity" — and that was to retire to his Wildnerness home and appoint a caretaker president until his term of office expired after the elections.

He refused to do so and resigned.

Looking strained but controlled in last night's televised address, Mr Botha accused his colleagues of trying to force him to retire — citing ill-health as grounds.

'Not prepared to lie'

"I am not prepared to leave on a lie and I have consequently decided to submit my resignation to the Chief Justice today with effect from August 15 1989."

Mr Botha said that after yesterday's Cabinet meeting "it was evident to me that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and for the Government of this country as well as the security of our country, I am being ignored by Ministers serving in my Cabinet.

"I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation."

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday's events had been "a tragic example of a palace revolution" and that Mr Botha had obviously been forced to resign. South Africa's image of a stable democratic government had suffered great damage. The necessity of a new government under the CP had become urgent.

Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer commented last night: "It is a tragedy for South Africa that the career of a State President should end in such a bitter and really rather sordid way.

"There seemed to have been strong personal animosities involved. After all, Mr Botha himself saw Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Kenneth Kaunda when the position in Zambia was no different from now."

Several spokesmen for the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) said the change of leadership would not bring about the necessary reform measures. "It was merely the man who was going — and not apartheid."

(Report by P Fabricius and E van der Merwe of 47 Sauer St, and G Rogers of 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg.)

STAR 15-8-89 Cont

PW's final days – a political saga

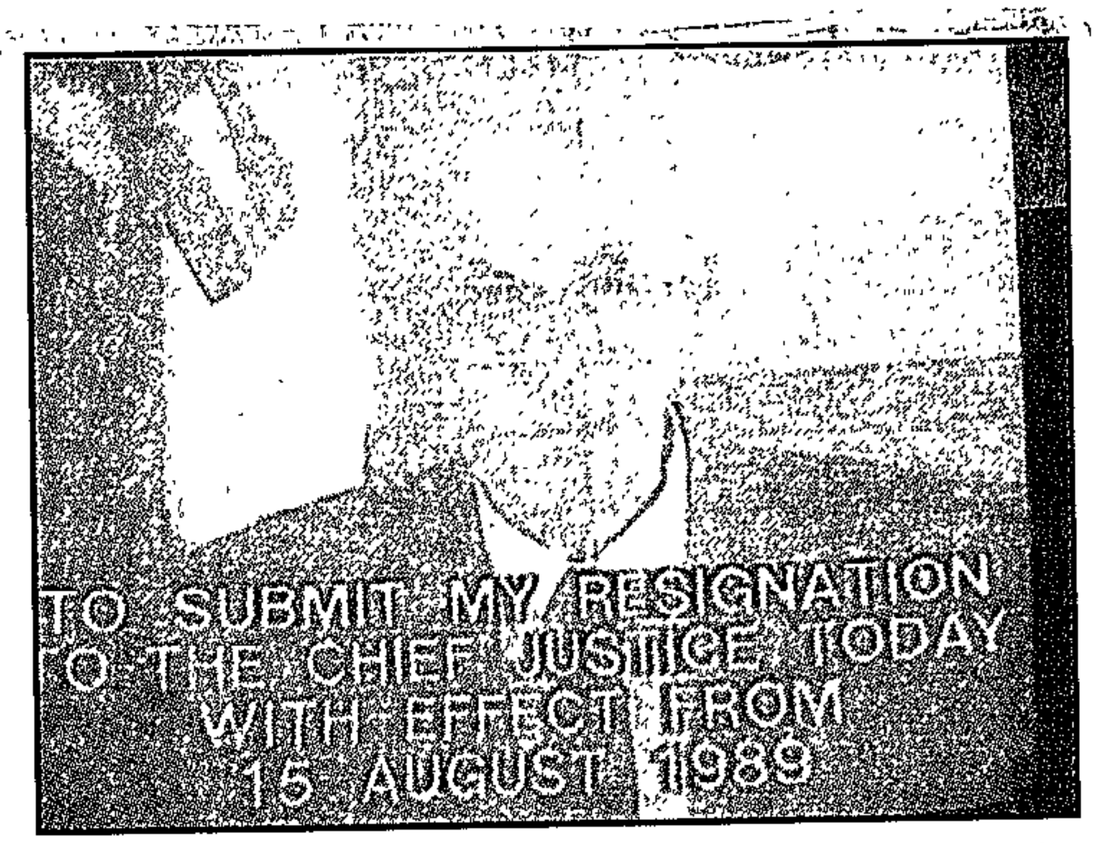
The extraordinary behind-the-scenes story of the fall of the P W Botha presidency starts in The Star tomorrow.

The Final Days takes you into the corridors of power and behind the closed doors of a political party in crisis and turmoil over leadership.

This exclusive series is told in six parts by Tos Wentzel, Political Correspondent of *The Argus*.

The Final Days is a political thriller, the story of a power struggle which changed the face of South African politics. It is about the beginning of the end of the P W Botha presidency.

Don't miss **The Final Days**.



Addressing the nation . . . the State President, Mr P W Botha, explains the reasons behind his resignation in a special address on "Netwerk" last night.

Resignation is big news overseas

The Star Bureau

LONDON — President Botha's resignation is the major news item here today.

All the serious national newspapers have the story splashed across their front pages, while television and radio news broadcasts have been giving detailed coverage to the leadership drama since it began to unfold yesterday.

Correspondents and commentators paint a picture of an isolated President lashing out bitterly in an attempt to damage the party he feels has turned on him.

The Independent's John Carlin writes: "John Vorster, P W Botha's predecessor as head of the South African Government, must be laughing in his grave. Mr Botha bundled him out of power in 1978, obliging him to resign after a bruising struggle with much the same lack of ceremony with which Mr Botha himself was forced yesterday to make way for F W De Klerk.

"It was in keeping with Mr Botha's political style that he should have bowed out in boorish, intemperate fashion, disloyally declaiming, on the eve of an election, against the man entrusted with leading the party he himself has served for 53 years."

The story is the main front-page story in the *Daily Telegraph, The Guardian, the Financial Times* and the *Daily Express*, with all other major newspapers featuring it prominently on the front page.

The resignation made a leading news item on most major American television channels, writes David Braun from The Star's Washington Bureau, with many commentators portraying the event as an end of an era and a new opportunity for the ending of apartheid.

Almost all reports carried footage of Mr Botha's televised resignation statement. Commentators and reporters described him as isolated, bitter and increasingly powerless.

One said that after 11 years in power Mr Botha left his nation as he found it: bitterly divided along racial lines.

Mixed response to poll

More people in Johannesburg were in favour of opening recreation centres and the bus service to all races than those against, but more people still favoured separate swimming baths, according to an opinion poll conducted by the city's management committee.

Committee chairman, Mr Jan Burger, said the public had participated enthusiastically in the poll. He said urgent attention would now be given to its results.

A total of 81 332 voters participated in the survey, amounting to a 32,3 percent poll.

Nearly 43 000 voters were in favour of opening recreation centres and just over 40 000 were against. Those in favour of opening the bus service numbered 48 484 while 36 996 were against a mixed service.

Opening swimming baths was opposed by 45 443 voters while 36 723 supported the move. — Sapa.

Star 15-8-89

One by one, his Ministers said it was time to go

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

One by one, Mr P W Botha's Ministers seated around the horseshoe table at yesterday's Cabinet meeting told the President his time was up.

"You've been a very, very good President, but it's time to go," was the unanimous message, delivered first by National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk.

Mr Botha noted they had made up their minds.

Outside, it was a suitably grim Cape Town winter's day, with wind and lashing rain making life miserable for the journalists and photographers waiting outside the high railings of Tuynhuys.

Mr Botha had summoned his Cabinet to the meeting after rebuking Mr de Klerk and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha for their proposed meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

In three hours of high drama yesterday at his official residence, Tuynhuys, Mr Botha's Cabinet gave him no alternative but to go.

Mr Botha may have been given an inkling over the weekend of how narrow his options really were.

In weekend messages it had become clear to him that his original demand, that Mr Pik Botha publicly apologise for the Kaunda announcement, was not on.

He was not even given the option of retracting his own statement made on Friday. The softest option was that he should retire to his Wilderness holiday home and appoint a caretaker president.

SHOOK HANDS

When he refused to do that, it became inevitable that he would have to go and he agreed to resign.

After he had done so, he said goodbye and politely shook hands with all of them. There were no tantrums and none of the explosive Botha temper.

Mr Botha started the meeting by giving each of his Ministers a chance to speak. Then he told them much the same as he said on television last night. He believed that they were "playing with fire" by meeting Dr Kaunda and, he implied, the ANC.

None of them believed that was the real reason for his displeasure at the Kaunda meeting.

"In international law they talk about the occasion and the cause of war," said a witness. "This was the occasion. The real cause was much deeper and much more complex than that."

Mr de Klerk responded to President Botha's remarks by outlining his and Mr Pik Botha's position, arguing that the vist was not connected to the ANC.

He told him for the sake of the country and the party, his presidency had to come to an end.

The message delivered, the Cabinet spent much of the meeting pondering ways Mr Botha could depart.

Afterwards, President Botha took a final reflective stroll around the Tuynhuys gardens with naval Captain Ters Ehlers, his private secretary, and two bodyguards.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

ARGUS 15-8-89

304A

The end of the road for PW

By TOS WENTZEL
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT Botha's resignation announcement last night signals the end of what has been developing into a political tragedy which also had serious implications for the country.

PRESIDENT

At the end of a career in politics which started in 1936 he stood totally isolated from the National Party he had worked for for so long. His stubborn refusal to resign since his illness in January and the confrontations he has had with the party leadership since then led to this.

At the time of his illness he could have resigned at a peak in his political career. He chose instead to resign only as leader of the National Party which in the end created an untenable position.

The National Party under its new leader, Mr F W de Klerk, decided that the two posts should again be united in one man, that the leader of the party should also be the President.

As President Botha refused to go, a face-saving formula was devised by which he could stay on until after the election. It was clear that the party would not give him the nomination for the presidency again.

In spite of the fact that the party was going out of its way to make it possible for him to retire with some grace, he continued to behave ungraciously.

At the time he appeared to resent the fact that Mr De Klerk was elected as his successor. Some Nationalists said he would have preferred Mr Barend du Plessis.

He never congratulated Mr De Klerk publicly on his election, he resisted moves to have an early election and he was resentful of Mr De Klerk's visit to Europe and his meeting with President Chissano of Mozambique.

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EMOTIONAL: With trembling bottom lip Mr Botha takes leave of the Defence Force at a parade in Cape Town earlier this year.



THE PILOT: At the controls of one of the South Africa Air Force Impala jets. This picture was taken in 1979.

TALKS: Mr Botha with President Kaunda after a meeting in 1982.



YOUTHFUL: A younger Mr Botha in the days when h[illegible]





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cording to him, Mr De Klerk was already acting as if he was President and at the time of the meeting with Mr Chissano he complained because some radio reports gave the impression that it was a fresh initiative of Mr De Klerk while he had met Mr Chissano last year.

He refused to attend a farewell dinner for him before the federal congress in Pretoria in June and according to sources close to him he was complaining that the party had rejected him.

The final straw was the dispute about the planned meeting between Mr De Klerk and President Kaunda of Zambia.

After the announcement of the meeting, planned for August 28, he issued a terse statement :

"I am not aware, in terms of the rules governing overseas journeys by ministers, of th discussions to be held on August 28 as announced by Dr Kaunda."

His Cabinet colleagues, including Mr De Klerk, were flabbergasted by the statement as they had never been consulted about it.

Last Friday Mr Botha refused to speak to them about arranging a meeting to clear up what appeared to be a misunderstanding — he was apparently told about the plans for the meeting but Mr Kuanda made the announcement before her was told about the date. Late in the day he called a Cabint meeting for yesterday.

It appeared as if Mr Botha had had a lapse of memory and there was deep concern about his health.

Ministers held several meetings, in Pretoria and in Cape Town, to plan their strategy for the Cabinet meeting. They faced him united with the party also rallying behind Mr De Klerk.

Among the options Mr Botha had was to dismiss Ministers like Mr Pik Botha in which case the whole Cabinet was ready to resign.

In the end the argument that the National Party must not be harmed during an election campaign prevailed.

In a three hour Cabinet meeting Mr Botha agreed to resign in order to end the untenable situation and so that Mr De Klerk could become the leader who also had the executive powers of the head of state.

Mr Botha is a man who devoted his life totally to politics since the days in 1936 when, at the age of 20, he became an organiser for the National Party, starting in Caledon.

He became MP for George in the general election of 1948, a seat he was to represent until he became the first executive President under the new tricameral system in September 1984.

He became Deputy Minister of Home Affairs in 1958 and Minister of Community Development and Coloured Affairs in 1961. In 1964 he also became Minister of Public Works.

In 1966 he became Minister of Defence and he was largely responsible for the establishment of an armaments industry in the face of an international arms boycott.

On September 28 1978 he became Prime Minister.

As Prime Minister and President he was responsible for many reform measures, among them:

- The abolition of the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, and the scrapping of the sex-across-the-colour-line clause of the Immorality Act;
- The recognition of the permanence of blacks in the part of South Africa outside the "homelands";
- The scrapping of influx control and the pass system for blacks;
- A more realistic approach to squatting and urbanisation;
- The abandonment of the coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape;
- Encouragement of the development of the informal sector of the economy includ-

NKOMATI: Mr Botha and his Mozambique counterpart President Chissano during their visit to Cohora Bassa dam last year.

Plans 15-8-89 cont

BLOWS 15-8-89

WITH MAGGIE: Mr Botha emerges from Chequers, the British Prime Minister's weekend retreat, with Mrs Margaret Thatcher.

ing the scrapping of much of the red tape regulatiuons;

● The opening up of cultural facilities such as theatres and cinemas to all races as well as the scrapping of hotel apartheid.

It was, however, on the question of black political rights that he appeared to get stuck. He had plans for a consultative body, called a national council, at one stage, to deliberate on the question and to get a negotiation process going but this has not yet got off the ground.

Mr Botha's fiery temper and his increasing intolerance to criticism was his greatest drawback. In the process he became estranged from some of his oldest colleagues such as Mr Alwyn Schlebusch who was instrumental in getting him elected as party leader and Prime Minister.

Some said that his background as a party political organiser had made it difficult for him to consider the opinions of those who differed from him.

As President Mr Botha appeared to become increasingly isolated from the outside world. Among Nationalist politicians and journalists who had found him more accessible when he was Prime Minister the finger pointed at some of the officials who surrounded him in the Tuynhuys where he appeared to be getting a "filtered" view of the outside world and the regard, or lack of regard, he was being held .

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

Nat leader sworn in as acting President

FW in charge



SA'S NEW LEADER: Mr F W de Klerk, leader of the National Party, who takes over as acting State President. This picture was taken at the Cape congress of the party in Somerset West last month.

Political Staff

THE Cabinet met in Pretoria today to elect Mr F W de Klerk acting-President after President Botha, in a final insult to the National Party leader, refused to use his powers to make the appointment.

After his dramatic appearance on television last night, ending four days of high political drama, President Botha was today packing for his move to his holiday home in the Wilderness.

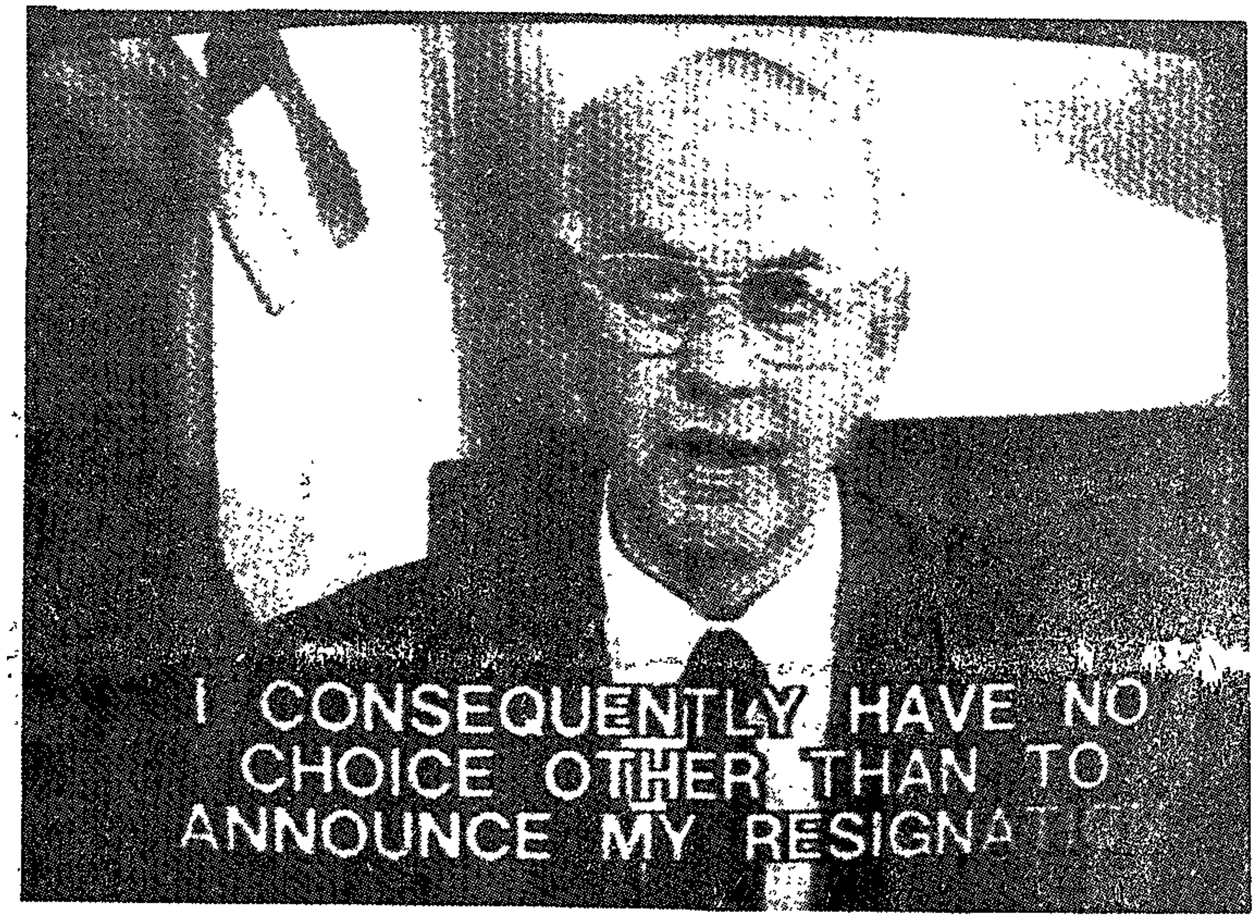
INSIDE

- FW and Pik repudiate PW — page 3;
- PW's full text — page 4;
- PW told to go — page 4;
- Protest leaders cynical — page 4;
- The limits of power — page 14;
- The end of the road for PW — page 15.

An embittered President Botha appeared on television to confirm he had been driven from office by his Cabinet and accused them of blundering over plans to meet Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

Against this there was a sigh of relief through the Cabinet today that Mr Botha, although belligerent and ungraceful at times, had not "pulled down the temple".

Right up to the time of his television appearance there was concern about what President Botha might say. Worried about the effect on the general election, ministers speaking from public platforms last night were on standby to give instant responses to anything the President might say.



BITTER AND ANGRY: In his last public appearance as President, Mr Botha announces his resignation on television last night.

Spotlight on 'tragic' event

JOHANNESBURG. — The co-leaders of the Democratic Party said Mr P W Botha's resignation was "tragic" because it came at a time when the country needed decisive and imaginative leadership.

A statement by Dr Denis Worrall, Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Zac de Beer also paid tribute to Mr Botha, saying he had achieved a great deal in his political career "even if this was at times simply as a result of bowing to pressure".

● President Botha's departure will give South Africa the opportunity to "see the true colours of Mr De Klerk", said the executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, Dr Alex Boraine.

● Former MP Mrs Helen Suzman said Mr Botha's appearance had been embarrassing.

"Mr Botha has done himself a great disservice by not resigning in a dignified manner at the beginning of the year. He immediately established what has become an untenable situation."

● The UDF's Murphy Morobe, one of a panel on BBC's *Newsnight*, said "the actors have changed but the play is the same". Mr De Klerk, when pressured, would "fall back on the whole concept of group privilege", said Mr Morobe.

In the United States almost all reports carried footage of Mr Botha's televised resignation statement. Television commentators and reporters described him as isolated, bitter and increasingly powerless. Mr De Klerk, by contrast, was said to be a leader who could possibly present opportunities for American involvement to end apartheid.

The resignation is the major news item in London today.

● The Independent's John Carlin writes: "John Vorster, P W Botha's predecessor as head of the South African government, must be laughing in his grave Mr Botha bundled him out of power in 1978, obliging him to resign after a bruising struggle with much the same lack of ceremony ... "

● The Times's Gavin Bell says: "In the end he was a lonely, bitter old man and even his formidable skill as a political fighter and the awesome executive powers he invested in himself could not save him from ignominious defeat."

● The Financial Times devotes an editorial to what it calls "a graceless resignation".

The newspaper speculates that if the "bizarre episode" hastens the process in which the National Party is losing support to the left and right the election might prove to be a watershed.

● The Foreign Office in London said it would not be commenting on Mr Botha's resignation: "We would not comment on internal party politics," said a spokesman.

(Report by E Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria, and M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).



Meeting 'not to negotiate with ANC'

By PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda will not present acting State President F W de Klerk with an ANC negotiation document when he meets him in Livingstone on August 28.

Diplomatic sources gave this assurance today, following former President P W Botha's attempts on television last night to link the meeting with ANC plans to negotiate with the South African government.

The sources said the controversial Kaunda meeting, which led directly to the resignation of Mr Botha, was still on for August 28, "barring extraordinary unforeseen circumstances".

DETERMINED

It is understood the government is more determined than ever to hold the meeting since a cancellation now might give the impression that Mr De Klerk was heeding Mr Botha's warnings about it.

President Kaunda has also confirmed he would like the meeting to go ahead.

Diplomatic sources said the meeting would probably be little more than an opportunity for the two leaders to get to know each other.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Tougher plans

President Botha's agreement to resign, however, saved the country from a far worse spectacle. His Cabinet had far tougher plans prepared in the event of his refusal to go more or less quietly.

One source said today: "We had B and C plans."

Although details of the plans were not available, it is clear they would have involved extremely controversial and unedfying public fights.

The Cabinet, sitting as "the remaining ministers," was due to meet at 11am in Pretoria today to formally elect Mr De Klerk as acting-President in terms of Section 10 of the constitution. He was to be be sworn in by the Chief Justice, Judge Michael McGregor Corbett, at a public ceremony in the presidential suite in the west wing of the Union Buildings.

After the ceremony Mr De Klerk was to address a Press conference and the Cabinet would then reconvene in the Cabinet room to hold its first working meeting under the chairmanship of Mr De Klerk.

(Turn to page 3, col 1)

Exclusive tomorrow: THE FINAL DAYS

THE extraordinary behind-the-scenes story of the fall of the P W Botha presidency starts in the Argus tomorrow.

THE FINAL DAYS takes you into the corridors of power and behind the closed doors of a political party in crisis and turmoil over leadership.

This exclusive series is told in six parts by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent of the Argus.

THE FINAL DAYS is a political thriller, the story of a power struggle which changed the face of South African politics. It is about how it all happened, the beginning of the end of the PW Botha dynasty.

Don't miss the FINAL DAYS — it begins in The Argus tomorrow.

'Depressed and sickly old man' say the experts

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The State President had become a broken, maudlin old man who was depressed and sickly, said communications experts who watched Mr P W Botha's nationwide address on television

Professor Nina Overton, head of the Department of Communication Science at Rand Afrikaans University, said Mr Botha was not acting out of character at all — he had always been intolerant of criticism.

"He's been used to power and he cannot handle who'll take power out of his hands. He is bitter, he's cantankerous, he's wilful."

Professor Overton said Mr Botha looked a bit sick, thin and old. "He definitely didn't look healthy; he's become a maudlin old man.

"The question may be asked if he hasn't suffered amnesia which is possible after a stroke."

A communications and body language expert, Mrs Denise Bjorkman, said her overwhelming impression of Mr Botha was that he was depressed.

"His hands trembled a great deal and he tried to stabilise them by holding them down on the desk in front of him (perhaps as a result of the stroke he suffered in January). His eyes were confrontational but he was depressed," she said.

She said even Mr Botha's clothes, which were usually immaculate, were rumpled. "He has always carried his clothes so well but (last night) his shirt was very rumpled

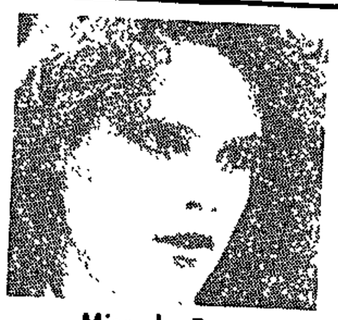
"He used to be one who glanced briefly at his notes then looked away and spoke spontaneously. But his speech on television showed no spontaneity. He has lost all the energy and fervour he had before," said Mrs Bjorkman.

She said she thought there was a general mood of depression in the studio which seemed to affect National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk

Mr de Klerk appeared to have more "social potential" as a leader than Mr Botha, she said.

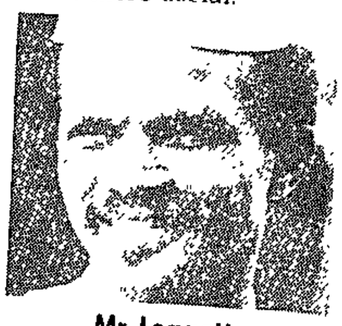
"He appears to be using a different style of address which works. He has softened his sounds with a greater emphasis on the M and N sounds which makes him much more social."


Mr Shalala


Miss du Preez


Mr de Villiers


Mrs Westcott


Mr Leggett

Office workers reluctant to air their views on PW saga

By HENRI du PLESSIS
Staff Reporter

CAPE Town's office workers were reluctant today to air their views on the resignation of Mr P W Botha, the majority contributing only a vague "no comment".

Argus photographer Doug Pithey and I stood in St George's Mall for two hours trying to elicit comment from passers-by and out of the 50 or so people approached only seven were willing to speak their minds.

Many said they did not even know what it was about — and among the few who spoke, feelings were mixed.

"I feel it's a good thing he has gone — it's time for younger people to take over," said Mr Noel Susman. "We need more forward-thinking people in government."

When asked about the way the drama had unfolded, Mr Susman said he thought it was "high time" somebody stood up to Mr Botha.

"I feel sorry for PW — it was a bad way to go," said Mr Pierre de Villiers.

"He caused a lot of problems for himself, but I think there was a better way in which this could have been dealt with.

"He should have retired earlier — when he became ill — and I think the friction was totally unnecessary."

Mr Eddie Shalala said he thought Mr Botha could have continued.

"The Pope was shot. Mr Ronald Reagan was shot. P W Botha should have continued.

"I mean, the man did not even have a heart operation like I had. He was a better leader and could have continued," Mr Shalala said.

"Oh, they're all the same — why bother?" said an elderly woman who did not want to stop for a chat.

Mr M N Leggett and Mr G Parker agreed with each other on all counts.

"It is a good thing he's gone. Now we can see the future for our country," Mr Leggett said.

"Yes, we need a new government," said Mr Parker.

"They could have got rid of him in a better way, but the result is the same."

Said Miss Rina du Preez: "I think it's fishy, the way they always blame the other guy. They seemingly wanted to get rid of him though."

Mrs M Westcott: "I respect him for being the first leader to open the Nico Malan to all races.

"But it was time for him to go."

(Report by H du Plessis, 122 St George's St, Cape Town)

INSIDE: Weather 2, Finance 12 and 13, Letters 14, Racing 16, Sport 17 and 18, TV — Page 3 of Tonight

STAR 15-8-89
Cont

'President's memory was at fault'

PW approved visit to Kaunda, say FW, Pik

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha last night rebutted claims by the former State President, Mr P W Botha, that he had not approved their proposed visit to Zamibian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

Directly after President Botha had read his statement on television, Mr Pik Botha said the possiblity of a visit to Dr Kaunda arose in June. Dr Kaunda had indicated he wanted to meet the new leader of the NP.

"We saw it as a positive development and we notified the State President the day he returned from Europe and asked him how he felt about it.

"He felt we should consult certain persons We did that. None of these leaders was totally opposed. So more than a week ago there was approval in principle for this visit."

After his return from Mozambique Mr Botha telephoned the State President at Westbrook and told him that he had contacted Dr Kaunda.

"The State President said: 'Fine, you organise your African visits as you wish'. There is no way that can be denied There were officials from my office with me (when he said it)," Mr Botha said, adding that the State President's memory was sometimes at fault.

Referring to President Botha's remark that the Cabinet had suggested he retire from office and use his health as an excuse, Mr de Klerk denied that he had used this as a "smokescreen".

"It is true this was suggested. I made the suggestion that the President should rest and that he appoint an acting State President. We felt his state of health justified this.

"At no stage did we use his health as a smokescreen to solve a difficult problem We believed his decision to retire is in the best interest of South Afric," Mr de Klerk said.

Mr de Klerk said neither he nor any of his colleagues had treated the State President with disrespect, nor had there been deviations from the rules.

He said Mr Botha's resignation would not effect the election, which would continue.

"Everyone can rest assured that the daily course of events and effective administration will in no way be affected."

In response to a question, Mr de Klerk denied that the NP had deviated from its former standpoint on negotiations with the ANC.

"I have clearly stated the NP standpoint on negotiations with the ANC, in the Cape congress. I said the NP was prepared to negotiate with everyone who renounced violence.

"As long as the ANC disqualifies itself we are not in favour of negotiations. I put this to the State President this morning.

"There is no question that the NP has changed its attitude to discussions with heads of state like Dr Kaunda in the light of this case."

Referring to the State President's remarks that the ANC was enjoying the protection of Dr Kaunda, Mr Pik Botha said in every other African state except Swaziland and Lesotho there was an ANC presence.

"In fact their head office is in London. That being so, the State President should not have visited Mrs Thatcher or Mr Kohl, or the Italian president or the Portuguese Prime Minister."

Mr de Klerk said: "We are sad tonight that a man who did so much for his country and who did so much pioneering had to retire under these unfortunate circumstance."

304/A Star 15/8/89 - Cont

'Ministers broke the rules'

CAPE TOWN — This is the full text of the statement of resignation by the State President, Mr P W Botha, last night:

Good evening ladies and gentlemen

"On the appointment of a Minister, a copy of Guidelines for Ministers are presented to him. These guidelines have been applicable to all who have served in the Cabinet since January 19 1985.

According to those guidelines, Ministers are entitled to official visits abroad where such visits are deemed essential in the national interest, provided that prior approval is obtained from the State President

In view of the continuous nature of a Minister's responsibilities within the Republic, the extent and duration of foreign visits should be kept to the absolute minimum and should be so arranged that Ministers are not absent from more than one Cabinet meeting.

It must furthermore be so arranged that a Minister and Deputy Minister are not abroad simultaneously Ministers must also furnish copies of their proposed travel programmes to the State President s Office for distribution.

These arrangements are not technicalities. In fact, it is the essence of trust between a head of state and Ministers serving in his Cabinet. To attempt to brush this aside as technicalities is to play with the highest interests of the country

I had reason to address the following in a letter to the Minister of National Education, Mr F W de Klerk, on June 2 1989. I quote from the letter.

"I am informed of policy statements that completely ignore the State President. I am also informed of proposed foreign visits announced by you without complying with the prescribed rules for Ministers in this regard."

I also wish to refer to a telephone conversation between colleague R F Botha and myself on Thursday August 10 He phoned me that same morning from Pretoria to my private residence in Wilderness to inform me that friction had developed between certain African leaders

He asked me whether he could contact me that same evening, that is, Thursday August 10, in Cape Town. I replied that it would be possible from half past five at Westbrooke. He phoned me at about six at Westbrooke to inform me the discussions were progressing well and that it

● To Page 9.



The rain did not stop National Party supporters yesterday at the party's Auckland Park headquarters voicing their backing for Mr F W de Klerk. ● Picture by Alf Kumalo.

STAR

15-8-89

'Did more than all his predecessors'

By Paula Fray

"Today is a momentous day in the history of South Africa ... an era has ended," a tired Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, said after the State President had announced his resignation last night.

Mr Botha, NP candidate for Westdene, was addressing a rowdy crowd of more than 400 people in Randburg at which Mr Glenn Babb, NP candidate for the seat, also spoke.

Mr Botha said the evening was hardly the time to engage in "normal political combat ... it's rather a time to reflect".

He said the P W Botha era had ended with dignity, yet firmness. It had to be done in the manner it was in the interests of South Africa.

Paying tribute to Mr Botha, the Minister said: "The State President did so much for this country. He did more for change in this country than all his predecessors put together."

Mr Botha said the State President had probably forgotten what he had said to him.

He was not "intentionally being obstructionist, just forgetting".

In response to a heckler who shouted: "Never give one man so much power!" Mr Botha said he was not there to be apologetic.

"After today we have a new leader... to lead this country into a new era."

He said the Nats were going to "fight this election to defeat both the DP and the CP who are in an unholy alliance with one another".

(Report by P Fray, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

MDM appears to be ANC front – Magnus

The Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, has attacked the Mass Democratic Movement, saying it appeared to be a front for the ANC.

He told a National Party meeting in Voortrekkerhoogte last night that extra-parliamentary organisations, "such as the MDM, Idasa and the UDF", supported the "ANC/SACP alliance" morally and financially.

General Malan said internal acts of terror were not only committed by the ANC but also by internal organisations such as "the MDM, UDF, Jodac, Idasa and the ECC".

He said these organisations did the ANC's "dirty work" in South Africa and wanted to take over the country using violence.

He told the audience of 38 people that the goal of the ANC was to establish a people's democracy which would mean a one-party state and a country governed by a small elite.

General Malan said the extra-parliamentary organisations were reasonably successful if judged by stayaways and strikes but the security forces had crippled the ANC's plans to take over the Government at the end of 1986.

Quoting Mr Joe Slovo, a banned ANC national executive council member, General Malan said the ANC was not interested in reform and wanted to seize power.

He said the ANC had been unsuccessful because of the state of emergency. The Government reserved the right to launch cross-border raids if neighbouring countries helped the ANC.

Concerning accusations that South Africa still aided Renamo, General Malan said: "As the responsible Minister I can tell you we don't support Renamo."

(Report by E Waugh, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

FW takes over the reins

(Cont from page 1)

Although there was no official confirmation, senior government sources said the scheduled De Klerk/Kaunda meeting which had sparked the downfall of Mr Botha was still due to go ahead on August 28 in Livingstone

Reaction to the fall of Mr Botha has been mixed with the Conservative Party moving quickly in an attempt to exploit the situation by accusing the National Party of unseemly behaviour.

The Democratic Party took a low-key response with the three co-leaders, Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Zac de Beer and Dr Denis Worrall saying in a joint statement that the resignation was tragic at a time when the country needed decisive and imaginative leadership

The events of the past few days have grabbed international attention but official reaction from other governments has so far been non-committal.

National Party leaders were hoping that their followers could be rallied in the final phase of the election after what they admitted had been a setback. The controversy around Mr Botha and his ousting had since last week distracted attention from the campaign.

Mr De Klerk's message was that the party was looking to the future and was building a new South Africa.

Isolated

Yesterday Mr Botha stood isolated in his row with the party leaders. There was little if any sympathy for him among Nationalist politicians but there was the feeling that it was the last chapter of a political tragedy that had developed since January when Mr Botha became ill.

The feeling was that he could then have retired with his political career at a peak. Instead, he chose to cling on until he was forced to resign, complaining bitterly that he was being ignored by his ministers.

Several ministers, including Mr De Klerk, have expressed concern about Mr Botha's health.

Mr Pik Botha said last night that the former president had memory lapses from time to time.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town, and B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban)

Don't miss the bus

Pensioners — it's bus time again! See The Argus on Thursday for all the booking details.



FIRST WITH THE NEWS: The Argus was first out with the news with information from senior government leaders that President Botha was preparing to quit and make way for National Party leader F W de Klerk. This Reuters picture was flashed around the world hours before Mr Botha publicly announced his resignation on the SABC-TV news broadcast last night.

How a new President is elected

Political Correspondent

THE Cabinet, in terms of Section 10 of the Constitution, can elect one of its members as acting State President if the incumbent is unable to nominate a caretaker.

In the case of Mr P W Botha he apparently declined to name a successor and a Cabinet meeting was therefore held in Pretoria today to choose Mr F W de Klerk.

An acting State President can serve during the incapacity of the State President or until a new State President has been elected.

After the September 6 general election Mr De Klerk will be the National Party's nominee for the presidency.

An electoral college of members of parliament has to meet not more than seven days after the beginning of the first session of parliament after an election.

If the National Party gains the majority in the Assembly it is assured of its nominee becoming President.

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

Callers complai lack of English

By JOHN YELD
Staff Reporter

"I THINK they've got a bloody cheek ... "

President-elect Mr F W de Klerk had only just started his reply to Mr P W Botha's resignation speech on television last night when the first caller rang The Argus to give her feelings about the dramatic events.

Refusing to give her name, the middle-aged woman "from the northern suburbs" was extremely indignant at the appearance of the two ministers.

"I think they've got a nerve — they're running a man into the ground who put them where they are. It's truly disgusting — they shouldn't even show their faces on television," she said.

A caller from Plumstead, who also didn't want to be identified, said he thought Mr Botha should have spoken in English and Afrikaans.

"I thought it was pretty grim under the circumstances. If he'd wanted the respect of the whole country, he should have spoken in both languages," he said.

"I'm fully bilingual but Mr Botha only used one language. My wife is British and she would have liked to have known what was going on."

● Furious English-speaking television viewers lashed out at the SABC last night for its poor translation of Mr P W Botha's nationwide address.

The Star in Johannesburg was [illegible] with calls from angry taxpayers wanted to know why the English-spe[illegible] population was not getting the full ture.

Mr Botha's resignation announce[illegible] was broadcast in full in Afrikaans [illegible] few words and phrases translated English every few minutes.

"We have two official languages country and the Afrikaners are g[illegible] preferential treatment on an impo[illegible] issue which could affect the whole [illegible]ernment and the future of this cou[illegible] said Mrs Jill Purkiss of Parkhurst.

She said she had telephoned the [illegible] but no-one would take her call a[illegible] was referred to a recorded m[illegible] which asked her to leave her [illegible] telephone number.

Mrs Brenda McCrorie of Sa[illegible] that as an immigrant she had unde[illegible] very little of the television trans[illegible]

"I think it's an absolute disgrace [illegible] is one of the most important events country's history for decades and buffoons gave it to us in Pidgin E[illegible]

"I understood very, very little she said.

She said she felt the broadcast [illegible] insult to half the population of this try.

"The SABC saw fit to cater for

F[illegible] P[illegible]

By MICHAEL [illegible]
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk hand man, For Mr Pik Botha, pudiated Mr P prime-time tel

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Speaking in Mr Botha's emo[illegible]ly critical resi[illegible] in the news last senior Minister his reasoning level visit to L with Dr Kennet

Mr De Klerk the suggestion would undermi Party's stand

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F W, Pik challenge P W's statements



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By MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Staff

PRESIDENT-ELECT Mr F W de Klerk and his right-hand man, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, last night repudiated Mr P W Botha on prime-time television.

They challenged his version of recent events, questioned his analysis of southern African politics and said bluntly that the former President had had lapses of memory

Speaking immediately after Mr Botha's emotional and highly critical resignation address in the news last night, the two senior Ministers knocked down his reasoning against a high-level visit to Lusaka for talks with Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

Mr De Klerk firmly rejected the suggestion that such talks would undermine the National Party's stand on negotiations.

He said he had told President Botha during talks at Tuynhuis yesterday that the NP would talk to anyone who renounced violence.

"So long as the ANC disqualifies itself on this point, we are not in favour of negotiations with them There is no question that by having discussions with Dr Kaunda that the NP is considering or has accepted a change in its approach to this issue."

Mr Pik Botha all but accused the former President of misleading the nation on the implications of talks with Dr Kaunda, rejecting his detailed arguments on the connection between the Zambian leader and the ANC.

"Dr Kaunda's position — and this is the irony — is no different from that of most other African heads of state, because in every African state except Swaziland and Lesotho, the ANC is represented.

"Their main office is in London, and if that argument (P W Botha's argument) is accepted, then he should not have visited Mrs Thatcher in Britain, nor the Italian President nor the Portuguese Prime Minister."

Mr Pik Botha told millions of viewers that, contrary to Mr Botha's denial, he had informed the President of the plans for the Kaunda talks.

He said Mr Botha had told him to make arrangements "as you see fit".

"There is no way he can deny that My private secretary and other officials were with me in my office when I spoke to the President on the telephone and they heard me clearly."

Poor health

The two men spoke on television after what Mr De Klerk described as a "dramatic" and "sad" day. President Botha's resignation had followed a long career in which he had made a "deep impression"in South African politics.

"We are sad that a man who played a trail-blazing role and led the country with courage and honour as Prime Minister and State President has resigned under such unfortunate circumstances.

"I, and the National Party, have a high appreciation for him and nothing that has happened will detract from that."

Mr De Klerk admitted that it was his suggestion that Mr Botha should possibly cite his poor health as a reason for his resignation.

"This was indeed proposed. I made the proposal that the State President should rest and appoint an acting-State President We feel and believe that his health would have justified such a step.

"It is not so that we intended using this as a smoke-screen to solve a difficult problem. We believed it would have been in the country's best interests."

Mr De Klerk dismissed concern that yesterday's events would have an adverse impact on the election.

"No ... the election goes on and the administration of the country goes on The election will be properly conducted and everybody can rest assured that the country will be properly managed."

On the question of arranging overseas visits, Mr De Klerk denied that he or anyone else had treated the President with "disrespect" and neglected to fulfil the requirements.

On this issue, Mr Pik Botha said: "I am sorry, but the State President is not correct. With great respect, I must say the State President's memory is sometimes at fault. I do not want to quarrel with him about this."

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

omplain over English coverage

The Star in Johannesburg was flooded with calls from angry taxpayers who wanted to know why the English-speaking population was not getting the full picture.

Mr Botha's resignation announcement was broadcast in full in Afrikaans with a few words and phrases translated into English every few minutes.

"We have two official languages in this country and the Afrikaners are getting preferential treatment on an important issue which could affect the whole government and the future of this country," said Mrs Jill Purkiss of Parkhurst.

She said she had telephoned the SABC but no-one would take her call and she was referred to a recorded message which asked her to leave her name and telephone number.

Mrs Brenda McCrorie of Sandton said that as an immigrant she had understood very little of the television translation.

"I think it's an absolute disgrace. This is one of the most important events in the country's history for decades and those buffoons gave it to us in Pidgin English.

"I understood very, very little of it," she said.

She said she felt the broadcast was an insult to half the population of this country.

"The SABC saw fit to cater for Afrikaans-speaking people who form the minority in this country. We English-speaking people did not know what was going on.

"This was the statement of the year and yet the majority of people did not understand who said what and to whom," said Mr J Bryans.

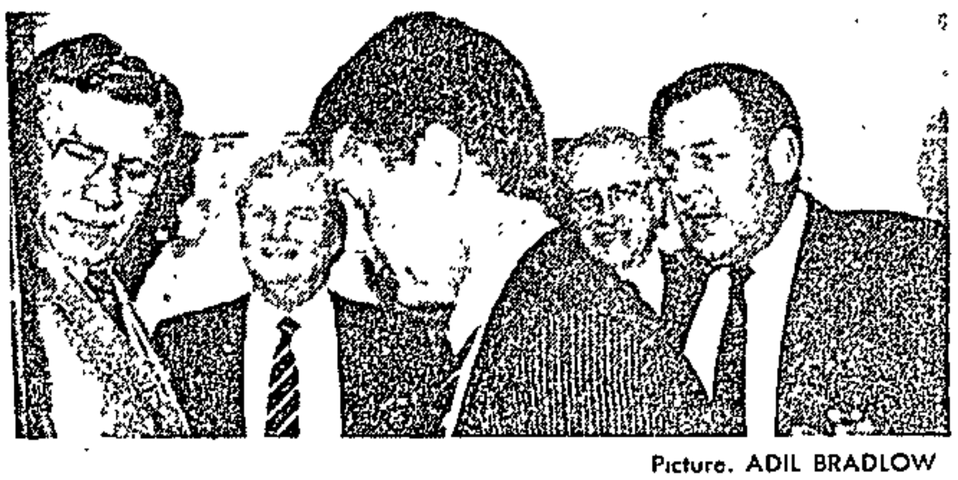
Another caller said the translation was only 50 percent accurate. "When I inquired at the SABC, one stupid man said: 'Don't you know it was Netwerk'? Everybody who is paying a licence fee has the right to have his money's worth".

Mrs Caroline Le Goff, of Boksburg, said all she knew having watched the broadcast was that Mr Botha had resigned but she had no idea what the rest of address meant or what was discussed by National Party leader F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

"As a citizen of this country I feel I am entitled to know what is going on," she said.

Mrs Joan Fletcher, of Illovo, said the country's taxpayers wanted all the facts, not an SABC precis of events.

Mr Pat Cunningham of Sasolburg said the SABC had handled the whole thing badly. "There is a constitutional crisis in the country and we are not told what is happening in a language we can understand."



Picture. ADIL BRADLOW

CABINET MEETS: Among the players in yesterday's drama were, from left, Minister of Agriculture Mr Greyling Wentzel, Minister of Transport Mr Eli Louw, Minister of Law and Order Mr Adriaan Vlok and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha.

F W comes out smoking gently

SOUTH Africa has a smoking head of state again. The acting-State President, Mr F W de Klerk, is a cigarette smoker who has unsuccessfully tried to kick the habit.

Last year he chewed gum but gave up after a while and went back to smoking.

The last smoking president was Mr John Vorster, who gave up after an illness. But he started again for a while when he was forced out in 1979. — Political Correspondent.

dramatic speech

PW gives up presidency: full text of his

● From Page 1.

would not be necessary for Dr Savimbi to meet with me. I accepted that.

Shortly afterwards, at eight o'clock, I heard on television news that President Kaunda had announced that Mr Pik Botha and Mr F W de Klerk would visit Zambia on August 28 to meet President Kaunda.

That had not been cleared with me in terms of the ministerial rules to which I referred earlier.

I immediately called Minister Botha at the State Guest House in Pretoria and referred to the statement by President Kaunda. He was surprised to learn about it and said that such a matter could not be settled telephonically.

The ANC is being orchestrated and organised from Lusaka. The ANC's head office, the NEC, together with all the departments and sections represented thereon, as well as the commanding structure of the military wing, are permanently situated in Lusaka.

ANC FACILITIES

Zambia is the centre where the ANC plans and co-ordinates its military and political activities against the RSA.

Besides the ANC headquarters and the various departments of the ANC in Lusaka, the ANC among others also has the following facilities in Zambia:

- Radio Freedom facilities in Lusaka for propaganda broadcasts against the RSA;
- A centre providing for the ANC's medical requirements and youth activities. This facility is also used as transit base;
- The main logistic facility of the ANC, situated in the Lilanda residential area in Lusaka;
- Printing facilities to meet some of the ANC's administrative requirements;
- Various farms and agricultural projects in the vicinity of Lusaka, for example Chongela Farm;
- A furniture factory known as Star Furnitures in Lusaka.

In addition to offices, accommodation is provided to senior commanding personnel of the ANC.

Zambia is also being used as a thoroughfare to make infiltration into the RSA via various neighbouring states possible. Trained terrorists usually infiltrate from foreign countries into Zambia where they stop over for varying periods. From there, they are transferred to various neighbouring states as members of the various political/military structures.

President Kaunda rejects the political/constitutional development in the RSA and attempts to promote the institution of extensive economic punitive measures against the RSA. His action is evidently aimed at promoting the ANC's image abroad and at exerting pressure on the RSA Government to transfer the power to the ANC.

In this regard, President Kaunda has on various occasions indicated that he would be willing to act as mediator between the RSA Government and the ANC in order to reach a settlement in the RSA.

President Kaunda played an important role during the visit of the Eminent Persons Group (EPG) to Southern Africa. President Kaunda furthermore uses his influence as chairman of the OAU and, in front-line state (FLS) context, to advocate international pressure and economic punitive measures against the RSA.

KEY ROLE

President Kaunda is currently playing a key role, in cooperation with other FLS leaders and the ANC, in attempts at finding a so-called solution to the RSA's "problem". The following is inter alia known in this regard:

- At the request of President Kaunda and President Mugabe, the ANC compiled a document containing its viewpoint concerning negotiation with the RSA Government, which was reportedly discussed on August 10 1989 in Lusaka at a summit meeting of the OAU.

Last-mentioned inter alia took place in preparation of a meeting of the OAU's Subcommittee for Southern Africa under the chairmanship of Hosni Mubarak, (new Secretary-General of the OAU) at which an attempt is reportedly to be made to formulate a "United African Nationalist position" with regard to discussion/negotiation with the RSA Government. The viewpoint will also be submitted to the Non-aligned Movement.

The above activities are mainly aimed at, inter alia:

- Formulating a consolidated viewpoint with regard to discussion/negotiation in which the ANC and PAC can be accommodated in order to obtain the initiative for a possible negotiation process.

The ANC is enjoying the protection of President Kaunda and is planning insurgency activities against South Africa from Lusaka. In view of the general election of September 6 1989, and the deliberate attempts at disruption, I am of the opinion that it is inopportune to meet with President Kaunda at this stage.

DELEGATION

On Friday, August 11, Mr de Klerk sent me a fax which reads as follows:

"Following my request this morning," — that was by telephone — "it would be appreciated if you would meet a delegation of National Party Ministers on an urgent basis at a time and venue of your choice. My office will inquire late this afternoon at your office about a decision."

In reply, I faxed the following letter to Mr de Klerk:

"I am surprised to hear that you wish to organise a delegation of Ministers. A meeting of the Cabinet is being arranged for Monday morning, August 14 1989 at 08h30 at Tuynhuys. I shall not approve a visit to Dr Kaunda by Ministers at this stage."

This morning (Monday) I had discussions lasting a few hours with members of the Cabinet about my point of view. They all had the opportunity of putting forward their point of view. With their permission, a tape recording was made of the proceedings.

Arising from their meeting on Saturday in Pretoria, they proposed to me that I should depart for my private residence and appoint an acting State President until after September 6.

I asked them what reason I could offer for such a step. They replied that I could use my health as an excuse.

To this I replied that I am not prepared to leave on a lie and I have consequently decided to submit my resignation to the Chief Justice today with effect from August 15 1989.

IGNORED

It is evident to me that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and for the Government of this country as well as the security of our country, I am being ignored by Ministers serving in my Cabinet. I consequently have no choice other than to announce my resignation.

I thank the thousands of friends of South Africa of all language groups who, through the years, have shown their goodwill towards me and my wife. We leave this post with memories of friendship and loyalty.

I thank the Public Service.

I thank members of our security services from the highest officer to the youngest members and their families.

I thank all within and outside politics who have carried us by their loyalty and friendship through so many years.

It is my sincere prayer that all will be well with our country, its security and its peace.

Good night. — Sapa

(Report by Ben Maclennan and Geoff Dekenah, Press Gallery, Parliament)

ANC 'would attend talks if asked'

LUSAKA - The proposed meeting between Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Mr F W de Klerk on August 28 took a new turn yesterday with the announcement by the African National Congress that it was prepared to send a representative of the movement to the meeting in Livingstone if requested.

This emerged at a Press conference of the ANC in Lusaka yesterday afternoon.

Speaking at the Press briefing at the United Nations Information Centre in Lusaka, Mr Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, made it clear, however, that his organisation "does not expect an invitation because President Kaunda would meet the South African leader in his capacity as president of Zambia.

Speaking at the same occasion, Mr Thomas Nkobi, the ANC treasurer-general, revealed that 5 000 ANC cadres from Zambia, South Africa and other countries in the world would be sent to Tanzania for training.

He denied reports that the plan to evacuate 5 000 cadres to Tanzania was a result of a request by President Kaunda that some ANC cadres should be sent away from Zambia.

Answering a question, Nzo clarified the position about four people whom his organisation was holding in Lusaka.

He said the four were helping the organisation with investigations into the spate of bomb attacks on ANC property.

"We are not detaining anybody. They will be free to go when we finish our investigations," Nzo said.

He parried questions on whether the organisation was acting right by holding the people even when the government of Zambia had asked for their handing over.

"We are investigating the spate of bombs which destroyed our property," he said.

PW lacked vision - Slabbert

ALTHOUGH former State President Mr PW Botha changed more things in the country than any of his apartheid predecessors, nobody feels grateful because of the lack of vision in his reform process.

This was said yesterday by the director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

A former Progressive Federal Party MP, Slabbert said Botha's lack of vision was characterised by the ruthlessness of his repression.

"His personality was more important to him than his own party, the government or the country."

Slabbert said: "Botha's pathetic tirade against the African National Congress and Dr Kenneth Kaunda was calculated to do the most damage electorally and to his successor.

"In another way he has simply succeeded in emphasising the importance of extra-parliamentary politics in finding a political way out of our dilemma."

He said Botha had left the country in a political deadlock, more militarised and polarised.

(Report by T Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria.)

304A

Treurnicht draws 1 000 crowd in Durban

NP 'has left white man in the lurch'

Political Staff

DURBAN —The Conservative Party, despite its differences with former president Mr P W Botha, supported him in his clash with his former Ministers, Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht told a cheering crowd in Durban last night.

In an attacking speech Dr Treurnicht bluntly told the National Party that it had left the white man in the lurch and had lost control.

The National Party, he told an enthusiastic audience of more than 1 000 in the Durban City Hall, was determined to lose the election.

In a speech delivered almost entirely in English because "the CP is also the party for English-speakers", he said: "I have come to claim a large part of Natal for the Conservative Party.

"I am making the claim just as we claim a large part of Natal for the white man. It should be ruled and governed by the white. KwaZulu can be governed by Chief Buthelezi."

He said the NP, with its lack of unity and being dominated by intrigue, was selling out the whites.

Referring to the strife in the NP, Dr Treurnicht said it had been a very unfortunate day when a State President was forced to resign.

Dr Treurnicht said President Botha had objected to the people with whom Mr de Klerk wanted to negotiate the future of South Africa. "Dr Kaunda wants to be the spokesman for the ANC with the Government."

The Conservative Party said the ANC had no rights in South Africa. It was not part of the South African political system.

"If Mr Botha declines to get involved with Dr Kaunda we support him. If some black nations claim the ideals of the ANC they can have them, but not in our system."

Defending the CP policy of partition as the only way to protect the future of white South Africa "justly", he said all the scrapped measures of apartheid of yore would be reintroduced when the CP came to power because "a portion of South Africa belonged to the whites".

Influx control

Influx control, labour preference areas, the linking of urban black areas to the homelands, the ban on black trade unions would all be reintroduced and "only whites would be citizens in white South Africa".

He accused the NP and Democratic Party of having the same starting point — a single and undivided South Africa.

Dr Treurnicht said the DP stood for liberalism based on the individual — this would be the death of people and nations.

"If the DP should come to power it will be the end of the rights of whites. It will be the end of peace and the start of conflict." He warned if this happened "my people will provide the conflict to save themselves from domination".

This did not mean physical violence — "the ballot is our bullet", he added.

News by B Cameron 85 Field Street Durban.



Last night, Dr Andries Treurnicht spoke in English because, he said, "the CP is also the party for English-speakers".

Star 16/8/89 [redacted] 304A

FW commits Govt to 'real talks'

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — Mr F W de Klerk, Acting State President, last night committed his Government to genuine and meaningful negotiation towards the creation of a totally new constitution, within which a true democracy could come into being.

Addressing an enthusiastic audience of 1 200 in Pietersburg, Mr de Klerk announced that he had informed President Kenneth Kaunda that it would be a pleasure to meet him in Livingstone on August 28.

He dealt at length with some of the issues which led to the dramatic showdown between his Cabinet and the former State President, Mr P W Botha.

After spending the first 20 minutes of his address paying tribute to Mr Botha, Mr de Klerk made no apology for repudiating certain statements and allegations made by Mr Botha.

Turning to the election, Mr de Klerk said the main issue at stake was: "How can we, while retaining our values and that which is dear to us, devise a fair system which will be acceptable to all?"

He said the Democratic Party manifesto ignored the diversity in the South African situation and group rights. For this reason, the DP would never get the majority white vote.

CIVILISED

Referring to the Conservative Party, Mr de Klerk said its insistence on restricting the movements of blacks, not granting equal pay for equal work and other similar disparities would move even the "quiet majority" to join the ANC.

Mr de Klerk emphasised NP policy would be based on democracy with no group dominating another, a strong and independent judiciary, civilised norms, law and order and sound inter-group and international relations.

Mr de Klerk paid a tribute to Mr P W Botha as a man who had given all he had to serve his country.

He described Mr Botha's departure as a sad event which was made more unfortunate by its accompanying tensions

"I have a clear conscience, with my fellow leaders, that we have done nothing with respect to the former State President of which we need to be ashamed," he said.

(Report by D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg.)

The seven years which changed PW's outlook

3044
Star 16/8/89.

Mr P W Botha gave several reasons for his opposition to the scheduled De Klerk-Kaunda meeting. Two political researchers offer an alternative explanation. **PATRICK LAURENCE** reports.

At the heart of Mr P W Botha's speech announcing his resignation as president is an apparent contradiction: he was opposed to Mr F W de Klerk's pending talks with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia but he himself met Dr Kaunda in 1982.

He gave several reasons for his opposition to the scheduled De Klerk-Kaunda talks on August 28, focusing particularly on Zambia's role in providing the outlawed African National Congress with a base from which to orchestrate its armed struggle against South Africa and on Dr Kaunda's uncompromising advocacy of sanctions against South Africa.

But these are not new developments; they existed at the time of Mr Botha's meeting with Dr Kaunda in Botswana, near the South African border, in April 1982.

One conclusion is that Mr Botha was using the Kaunda talks as a stick with which to beat Mr de Klerk, not because of any objection in principle but because he was blinded by personal antipathy for the man who succeeded him as National Party leader.

But in an incisive and illuminating new book released today, two reseachers at the University of the Witwatersrand's Centre for Policy Studies, Mr Mark Swilling and Mr Mark Phillips, offer an alternative explanation.

They say that in the seven years between 1982 and 1989, Mr Botha's whole outlook changed.

Mr Botha started his 11 years in power — first as Prime Minister and then, from 1984, as president — as a man who was pursuing a policy of reform which might have gradually transformed South Africa into a non-racial open society.

But in mid-1986 with the declaration of the national state of emergency, he abandoned the process and concentrated instead on consolidating his regime's power and suppressing the growing extra-parliamentary opposition.

The researchers label the first phase "continuous transition" and the second "discontinuous transition". Hostility towards, and suspicion of, Dr Kaunda is consistent with "discontinuous transition".

The second phrase of the Botha era was characterised by the National Security Management System (NSMS) and the rise of security forces.

Commanding position

This consisted of boosting the "securocrats" in the military, police and intelligence agencies to commanding positions in the political economy.

The NSMS has, of course, been written about before. But Mr Swilling and Mr Phillips provide new details and fresh analyses.

They identify several hallmarks of the Botha regime in the post-1986 period.

One was the tremendous influence of the Office of the State President (OSP) and of Mr Botha himself; he used the Cabinet "to ensure Government support for the policy positions which he and his office ... adopted".

Recalling that the 1986 national state of emergency was declared without reference to Parliament, they add: "As from mid-1986 onwards, the OSP and the NSMS became mutually reinforcing organs of executive power."

Another feature of the second phrase was the switch from the strategy of "counter insurgency" as advocated by the former police commissioner, General Johan Coetzee, to the doctrine of "counter-revolutionary warfare".

The difference, the authors argue, is not merely one of semantics. General Coetzee's counter-insurgency doctrine had an inbuilt bias toward political solutions; counter-revolutionary warfare "relegated the politics of reform to a matter of, at best, secondary importance".

For securocrats, from General Charles Lloyd, who occupies the key position of Secretary of the State Security Council, downwards, three doctrines served as virtual axioms: law and order is more important than reform, social-economic reform is a higher priority than political reform, and constitutional development must "begin at local level and proceed upwards".

The underlying assumptions of counter-revolutionary warfare were articulated by the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, the authors say.

They quote him as saying that most black people are more interested in satisfying their material needs, such as food, housing, clothing, employment and so on. "Only a limited section is really interested in political participation. I think for the masses in South Africa, democracy is not a relevant factor."

The two phases of the Botha era can be traced in the fortunes of the former Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Chris Heunis, and the rise and fall of his Department of Constitutional Development and Planning (DCDP).

In the first phase, Mr Heunis had the ear of Mr Botha and his DCDP rose to a position of prominence as it strove to bring about a piecemeal transformation of South African society towards democracy.

But when the Heunis-initiated reforms failed to check "revolutionaries", Mr Botha became less and less accessible to him and the DCDP was relegated to a back seat with the rise of NSMS.

Its demise came last year when security clearance was withdrawn from top DCDP officials, Dr Fanie Cloete and Mr Kobus Jordaan.

Optimists confident

These are the structures and policies which Mr de Klerk inherits from Mr Botha. The authors say that optimists are confident that Mr de Klerk's capture of the Office of the State President will initiate a process of demilitarisation and reactivate the process of "continuous transition".

They do not share that optimism, however. There is not enough support for it in the key State institutions, they say. They quote Mr Heunis in support of their view: "You can only negotiate when you have no options left.

● South Africa At End Eighties — Policy Perspectives 1989, (Penrose Press, R19,95).

(Report by P Laurence, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Botha chapter ends as FW sworn in

Star 16/8/89

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

National Party leader Mr F W de Klerk became Acting State President of South Africa at 11.25 am yesterday when he signed the oath of office at the Union Buildings in Pretoria after being sworn in by the Chief Justice, Mr Justice M M Corbett.

In his first decision in his new post, Mr de Klerk announced that the new Parliament would convene on September 13 to appoint an electoral college to choose the new State President and Speaker of Parliament.

The State President and Speaker would be elected on the following day.

Taking a firm grip on his new office, Mr de Klerk warned at a press conference that strong steps would be taken if necessary against the Mass Democratic Movement if it attempted to disrupt the elections.

If the electorate on September 6 made it possible for him to become State President, he would attempt to bring about a new spirit of co-operation.

"There is no doubt that we stand on the threshold of a new era in South Africa and southern Africa. History, I believe, offers us a unique opportunity for peaceful solutions."

Mr de Klerk said the fact Mr Botha's resignation had been accompanied with tension and differences did not detract from the need to recognise a "great figure who had played a key role in our country for so long".

NP MPs yesterday admitted Mr Botha's bellicose resignation and his blistering attack on his successor and Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, had damaged the NP and exposed it to attack from the Conservative Party.

The NP was particularly dismayed by Mr Botha's insinuation that the meeting of Mr de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha with President Kenneth Kaunda was in some way tantamount to negotiation with the ANC.

But the NP also breathed a sigh of relief that it no longer had to cast an anxious eye to Tuynhuys whenever it made a new move.

It is clear, too, that the NP feels that through his demonstration that he could stand up to President Botha Mr de Klerk will have recovered some of the lost support that the leadership crisis cost him.

In Cape Town, Mr P W Botha returned to his Tuynhuys office late on Monday to begin clearing his office.

It is understood he will stay in his Westbrooke residence for a short while before going to his Wilderness holiday home.

Mr Botha will receive a pension of R14 500 a month, but he does not receive one of the controversial "golden handshakes".

According to the Constitution, he retires on a pension equal to his salary on which he pays no tax.

He received his golden handshake of R300 000 five years ago when he retired as an MP and as Prime Minister to become the executive State President.

(Report by P Fabricius of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Nat leadership now an issue

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

National Party sources have reacted cautiously to suggestions that Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister of Education and Development Aid, is likely to be the next Transvaal leader of the National Party.

They said there was no talk presently of Mr F W de Klerk relinquishing the Transvaal leadership, although he is now Acting State President.

Though Dr Viljoen is the senior deputy leader in the Transvaal, most NP sources seemed to think that the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, was also a strong contender for the provincial top spot.

Mr du Plessis's chances were boosted when he emerged as second-runner in the contest for the NP national leadership, winning 61 votes in the caucus to the 69 of Mr de Klerk.

Nat caucus sources said then that Mr de Klerk was likely to make Mr du Plessis Transvaal leader to gain the backing of his supporters.

One Nat MP said this week that if the Transvaal chose a leader now, he thought Dr Viljoen would just beat Mr du Plessis.

A Transvaal MP said he thought Mr de Klerk was unlikely to give up the Transvaal leadership in a hurry because he would then relinquish his power base and make the same mistake Mr Botha made when he gave up leadership of the National Party.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

CAPE TIMES 16/8/89 (304A)

Relief at PW's departure

By ROBERT GENTLE

LONDON. — Political reaction here to the resignation of Mr P W Botha ranged from relief and cautious optimism for the future to indifference and contempt for his successor Mr F W de Klerk.

The Foreign Office said: "It is an internal matter for South Africa. We do not think any comment is necessary, especially so close to the elections."

There was no reaction from Downing Street. Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is in Austria on holiday.

Conservative backbencher and member of the all-party Foreign Affairs Committee Mr Ivan Lawrence was optimistic that reform would be speeded up.

"Recent events show that things are going faster than P W Botha had intended. His successor has the cabinet behind him, which is an encouraging sign."

The chairman of the British Industry Committee on SA, Mr Nick Mitchell, welcomed the departure of Mr Botha but described it as "something of a non-event".

"It always was on the cards. The changeover has merely brought forward what was going to happen at the elections anyway," he said.

However, he disagreed with press talk that the National Party had incurred electoral damage from the Botha resignation. "If anything, judging by the performance of F W de Klerk, I would have thought the opposite."

Hope for a speed up of reform in SA

The opposition Labour Party was dismissive of the change. "It is the system we disapprove of," a spokesperson said. "Who is running it is totally irrelevant."

Mr Francis Meli, ANC executive committee member and editor of the movement's official publication Sechaba, said: "The resignation of P W Botha is relevant to blacks only insofar as it shows up the brutality of white politics. F W de Klerk merely represents apartheid in new clothes."

There was no immediate comment from the main capitals of Western Europe, where government offices were closed because of the August 15 public holiday.

Australian Foreign Minister Mr Gareth Evans, speaking on BBC's Radio Four, described the departure of Mr Botha as "good riddance".

He said no one was going to mourn the political passing of the man who played the role of "last defender of the laager".

Mr Evans agreed with the widely held view that Mr De Klerk was more flexible, but was sceptical whether that would be enough to dismantle apartheid.

● Despite the almost sensational publicity given to the fall of Mr Botha on the front pages of the UK press, inside editorials sounded a note of caution on Mr De Klerk.

"The career of P W Botha stands as a warning against easy assumptions about how his successor will behave," the Independent said.

It said that Mr Botha was also regarded as a reformer in the early days of his presidency.

The Financial Times said it was "time for Mr De Klerk to set out to both the white electorate and the rest of the world that more than a mere baton of office has been passed with the departure of Mr P W Botha".

The Guardian suggested that the "farewell flailings" of Mr Botha had benefited both left and right, significantly increasing the chances of a hung parliament.

● More reports — Page 5



TAKING THE OATH ... Acting State President Mr F W De Klerk takes the oath at yesterday's induction in Pretoria.

FW: SA entering new era

PRETORIA. — There was no doubt that South Africa stood on the threshold of a new era in the region, the new acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said yesterday.

Addressing his first press conference since being elected to the post following Mr P W Botha's resignation, he paid tribute to Mr Botha, and also announced that the new Parliament would convene on September 13 to appoint an electoral college to elect the new State President and Speaker on September 14.

Mr De Klerk, addressing a large national and international press corps at the presidential offices at the Union Buildings, said he believed history offered people in Southern Africa a unique opportunity for peaceful solutions.

Answering a question, he said he did not think the manner of Mr Botha's resignation and his (Mr De Klerk's) election would affect the NP's elector-

Mr De Klerk said that if the schedule of his new duties allowed it, the proposed meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda on August 28 would still go ahead.

(Report by Dirk van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria.)

SAP parade for PW cancelled

THE trooping of the colours parade to have been held by the South African Police tomorrow at the police college in Pretoria for former State President P W Botha has been cancelled.

A statement from the SAP public relations division said the parade was cancelled in the light of recent political events. — Sapa

Tutu: Cabinet ousted Botha by a 'coup'

Staff Reporter

FORMER President P W Botha was ousted by a "coup" with the cabinet holding pistols to his head, the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference at St George's Cathedral, Dr Tutu said he felt sorry for Mr Botha whom he described as a "pathetic figure".

"If power is based on immorality then you will bite the dust," he said. Mr F W de Klerk should grant an amnesty — as Mr Botha did when he became Prime Minister — by lifting the state of emergency, he said.

(Report by Manus Bosch, 122 St George's, Cape Town.)

Chikane blames State for school violence

STATE repression was to blame for the escalation of violence and crime in Soweto involving high school students,' South African Council of Churches general-secretary, Frank Chikane, said yesterday.

Chikane, who yesterday consulted teachers, parents and community leaders of Soweto in an effort to resolve the crisis, said the problem lay in the breakdown of community structures that had been affected by state repression, "particularly since the declaration of the state of emergency and the inherent inability and apparent reluctance of state security to deal with the situation."

He said he planned to extend the consultations with the students themselves and appealed to youths to exercise restraint and discipline.

The SACC was considering calling for a conference of the people of Soweto to formulate action to end violence in the black townships.

Chikane appeals to the community to co-operate "and do all in their power to put an end to this criminal violence."

Details concerning the conference would be released after completing the process of consultations, Chikane said. - Sapa.

Kaunda's letter to PW

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- Tutu — It was a coup — Page 3
- FW 'defender' of SP — Page 5
- What about SADF votes — Page 5

PRETORIA. — President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia has written to Mr P W Botha explaining that he had never intended to undermine him by inviting his successor, Mr F W de Klerk, for discussions in Zambia.

A letter sent to the State President by Dr Kaunda was released yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha said the letter was received about 6pm on Monday and immediately forwarded to Mr P W Botha's office.

Mr De Klerk has since replied to Dr Kaunda confirming that he will meet him in Livingstone on August 28. Mr De Klerk will be accompanied by Mr Pik Botha

Dr Kaunda said in the letter that while he did not have all the details, he had been following the events surrounding the proposed visit by Mr F W de Klerk with increasing concern

"I thought I should, therefore, reach you to explain that the meeting is not in any way intended to slight or undermine you as the State President.

Feelings of respect

"I believe you know me well enough to appreciate that this is not so, even without my having to point it out as I am doing now"

Dr Kaunda said he had known Mr Botha well over a long period and did not wish to do anything to injure the deep feelings of respect which both had shown towards each other in their dealings.

However, wrote Dr Kaunda, in all fairness to Mr De Klerk and himself it was important for them to get to know each other "a little more", especially about how they saw things and the future as individual people

"This is especially important for Mr De Klerk as the new man coming on the scene. You are leaving him an enormous and complex programme You want him to succeed. I want him to succeed Mr President, I plead that you have no anxieties at all about Mr de Klerk meeting me at this time," Dr Kaunda said

He said Mr De Klerk would meet him as the president of Zambia and "not as a representative of any other country or organisation. It is a person-to-person meeting It is him and me, only to see how we look at things and in that way start to figure out how we proceed to work together in the future We do not have much time

"He is the man you, your party and the people of SA are putting before us to deal with I have to know him That is the reason for the meeting. Nothing more, nothing less," he said.

Dr Kaunda stressed that should a serious matter of state arise while Mr P W Botha was still in office, he would not hesitate to contact him immediately

"Anything I can do to help continue to build peace for all our people of Southern Africa I will do. All that I therefore hope and wish for is to continue to help build effective co-operation for peace for all regardless of race, colour and creed in our region."

He said this could not come about without leaders and without those leaders understanding one another well, even over those matters on which they might differ.

"I have no programme

To page 2

Minister counsels Mrs Botha in 'difficult times'

By MALCOLM FRIED

MRS Elize Botha, the wife of Mr P W Botha, was counselled in her "difficult times" by a Surrey Estate minister this week after she had telephoned the minister to console him on the death of his son.

The Rev Abel Hendricks's son, Andrew, 24, was hit by a car in Thornton Road while fleeing a knife-wielding attacker last Thursday, and died in hospital

Mr Hendricks, the former head of the Methodist Church in Cape Town, said yesterday Mrs Botha had called him "out of the blue" on Monday to express "her very deep sorrow"

"I was very surprised to get the call," he said. Mrs Botha had read newspaper reports of Andrew's death, "and came across as extremely gracious and warm".

In a conversation lasting more than ten minutes, Mrs Botha had told Mr Hendricks that a death was always part of God's plan. "She referred to the Bible; 'God doesn't count our days, God weighs our days.'

"I certainly got the feeling that she meant what she said."

Mrs Botha, speaking on the morning of Mr Botha's resignation, had then told Mr Hendricks that many families had to bear sorrow.

She said that her family, too, was going through difficult times, according to Mr Hendricks.

"I, in turn, ministered to Mrs Botha. That's my calling as a pastor and as a shepherd," he said.

Mrs Botha had received this "very graciously"

"I didn't know of the turmoil in the family regarding the resignation, but I had the feeling that my words might have helped"

Mr Hendricks, his wife Freda and daughter Heloise "very much appreciated" Mrs Botha's call.

"When people respond to grief, you accept such sentiments without question," he said.



Mrs Elize Botha



Rossouw Botha

Botha family's last days at Westbrooke

Staff Reporter

MR P W Botha will leave Westbrooke and head for his Wilderness home "at his convenience" — within the "next few weeks".

This was said by his private secretary, Mr Jack Viviers, who added that most of the Botha family's personal effects had already been transferred to Wilderness in preparation for Mr Botha's expected retirement next month.

Mr Viviers, who will return to a senior editorial position in Nasionale Pers, said his secondment to Mr Botha's office five years ago would end "within the next few days".

Both Mrs Elize Botha and her daughter Rozanne had lunch at Westbrooke yesterday and then left for an undisclosed destination for a "few hours", a Westbooke staffer said.

The former presidential couple's only son, national serviceman Ensign Rossouw Botha, said yesterday that he felt his father "deserved a good rest".

"I think that he's done a hell of a lot for this country — not just because he's my Dad. I really think he's the best State President this country's ever had," Ensign Botha said.

He said he had been with his parents after the dramatic cabinet meeting yesterday but had not noticed his father being particularly upset.

He would "make some time" to be with his parents in the next few weeks and looked forward to spending more time with them at Wilderness.

He had grown used to his father's absences over the years because he was "brought up to this".

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He said Mr and Mrs Botha's move would come "in the next few weeks".

- Mr Viviers will take up a senior editorial post on Rapport, it was reliably learnt yesterday.

Victim tells how she shot killer rapist

By YVETTE VAN BREDA

AN inquest court found yesterday that a teenager who fatally shot the infamous "screwdriver rapist" after he had raped her and sodomised, raped and killed her friend, had done so justifiably.

In January this year, William van der Merwe — a convicted rapist who was let out on parole — offered the teenager and a friend a lift when they were hitch-hiking

He took them to a Grabouw forest where, in an afternoon of violence, he attacked both women, killing one.

Inquest magistrate Mr G Hattingh yesterday found that Miss Theresa Ann Mizen, 19, could not be held responsible for the death of Van der Merwe as her life had been in immediate danger and she had shot him to save herself

Mr Hattingh made the finding after examining statements before the court. No evidence was heard.

Van der Merwe, 37, died on January 6 in Tygerberg Hospital after receiving a bullet wound to the head He had also been shot in the left shoulder.

Van der Merwe become known as the "screwdriver maniac" after a string of rapes in the Trans-

To page 2

Bank seizes Sterns' assets

JOHANNESBURG. — The Sterns Diamond Organisation and Sterns Jewellers have been prohibited from doing business in 76 outlets until next Tuesday.

Trust Bank was granted an interim order in the Supreme Court yesterday allowing it to enter Sterns retail outlets to make an inventory of stock bonded as security for R6,2 million owed to the bank by Sterns.

The conditions of the interim order will exist at least till next Tuesday.

Trust Bank's application was brought on the grounds that Sterns had breached the terms under which it had been granted banking facilities earlier this year. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Burglar killed with crossbow

PRETORIA. — A nightwatchman this week shot dead a burglar with a crossbow and wounded another.

The owner of a shopping centre had armed the nightwatchman with a crossbow after a spate of robberies.

On Monday night three men forced open the shop's doors. The guard warned the intruders, who stormed at him. He fired two shots, killing one and wounding another. The third man escaped. — Sapa

Heal thyself, physician

LONDON. — Livid Luigi D'Alessio was fed up with his doctor's inability to cure his bronchitis.

So he stalked into the surgery of Dr Francesco Ferrucio, 36, in Foggia, Italy, and demanded: "Are you going to cure me or not?"

When the doctor replied that there was little more he could do, 50-year-old Luigi pulled out a pistol and shot him dead with four bullets.

After charging him with murder, police said: "Luigi wasn't the type one could fob off with a pill."

Victim's justice — by BMW

PARIS. — A woman driver chased two youths who snatched her handbag here and mowed them down with her BMW car, killing one and seriously wounding the other, police said yesterday

The two 19-year-olds, riding a scooter, pulled up alongside the car at traffic lights on Monday and grabbed the bag containing about R32 500 in francs from the passenger seat.

The driver, 43-year-old Laotian Ms Nang Tiane, chased them and rammed her BMW into the scooter, squashing it into a heap of tangled metal, according to witnesses. — Sapa-Reuter

Syfrets Cape Times Share Challenge

TODAY'S PRIZE: R1 000

TODAY'S INDEX: (+) R0,97

There were no winners yesterday

IF your share price total movement equals exactly R0,97 today, you are a winner! Call (021) 208 4702/4760 between 9am and 2pm today to make your claim. If you haven't already applied call 208 4760 for a free card. No queries or requests for cards will be dealt with on any other telephone numbers.

DAILY LISTING — Page 1?
STOCK PRICES — Page 1?

No winners

TWO people yesterday stood to share R800 in the Syfrets/Cape Times Share Challenge competition but failed to contact us before the 2pm deadline. Mr C van Nelson of Paarden Eiland and Mr D J Thomas of Fish Hook would each have won R400. The amount of R800 goes forward to today's kitty.

State of emergency censorship restrictions apply to a wide range of reporting, comment and pictures in the Cape Times

P.T.O.

Cape Times 16/8/89 (SOUTH)

Minister counsels Mrs Botha in 'difficult times'

By MALCOLM FRIED

MRS Elize Botha, the wife of Mr P W Botha, was counselled in her "difficult times" by a Surrey Estate minister this week after she had telephoned the minister to console him on the death of his son.

The Rev Abel Hendricks's son, Andrew, 24, was hit by a car in Thornton Road while fleeing a knife-wielding attacker last Thursday, and died in hospital.

Mr Hendricks, the former head of the Methodist Church in Cape Town, said yesterday Mrs Botha had called him "out of the blue" on Monday to express "her very deep sorrow".

"I was very surprised to get the call," he said. Mrs Botha had read newspaper reports of Andrew's death, "and came across as extremely gracious and warm".

In a conversation lasting more than ten minutes, Mrs Botha had told Mr Hendricks that a death was always part of God's plan. "She referred to the Bible; 'God doesn't count our days, God weighs our days.'

"I certainly got the feeling that she meant what she said."

Mrs Botha, speaking on the morning of Mr Botha's resignation, had then told Mr Hendricks that many families had to bear sorrow.

She said that her family, too, was going through difficult times, according to Mr Hendricks.

"I, in turn, ministered to Mrs Botha. That's my calling as a pastor and as a shepherd," he said.

Mrs Botha had received this "very graciously".

"I didn't know of the turmoil in the family regarding the resignation, but I had the feeling that my words might have helped."

Mr Hendricks, his wife Freda and daughter Heloise "very much appreciated" Mrs Botha's call.

"When people respond to grief, you accept such sentiments without question," he said.



Mrs Elize Botha



Rossouw Botha

Botha family's last days at Westbrooke

Staff Reporter (3041) Cape Times 16/8/89

MR P W Botha will leave Westbrooke and head for his Wilderness home "at his convenience" — within the "next few weeks".

This was said by his private secretary, Mr Jack Viviers, who added that most of the Botha family's personal effects had already been transferred to Wilderness in preparation for Mr Botha's expected retirement next month.

Mr Viviers, who will return to a senior editorial position in Nasionale Pers, said his secondment to Mr Botha's office five years ago would end "within the next few days".

Both Mrs Elize Botha and her daughter Rozanne had lunch at Westbrooke yesterday and then left for an undisclosed destination for a "few hours", a Westbooke staffer said.

The former presidential couple's only son, national serviceman Ensign Rossouw Botha, said yesterday that he felt his father "deserved a good rest".

"I think that he's done a hell of a lot for this country — not just because he's my Dad. I really think he's the best State President this country's ever had," Ensign Botha said.

He said he had been with his parents after the dramatic cabinet meeting yesterday but had not noticed his father being particularly upset.

He would "make some time" to be with his parents in the next few weeks and looked forward to spending more time with them at Wilderness.

He had grown used to his father's absences over the years because he was "brought up to this".

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Pressed for further comment, Ensign Botha said: "He's the president not me, I've still got to make my life."

The bitterness surrounding the political wrangle had not affected him and he fully intended voting in the election.

Mr Viviers said Mr P W Botha's large collection of possessions acquired over his 50-year career would be divided between the George museum and his private home. Historical documents and paperwork were destined for the University of the Free State where "items of this nature usually go".

He said Mr and Mrs Botha's move would come "in the next few weeks".

● Mr Viviers will take up a senior editorial post on Rapport, it was reliably learnt yesterday.

435-type plan for new SA

ZIMBABWEANS are hopeful that next week's meeting here of leaders of 14 African countries of the OAU Special Committee on Southern Africa will see the adoption of a new strategy to end apartheid in South Africa.

Zimbabwe worked hard to get the Tanzanian diplomat, Mr Salim Salim, elected to the post of Secretary-General of the OAU in the belief that he will concentrate the organisation's attention on South Africa.

President Mugabe said after his return from the OAU summit in Addis Ababa last month that it was agreed a programme should be drawn up to which African states could adhere and help the people of South Africa get rid of apartheid.

On Monday, August 21, the ad hoc committee will discuss a programme of action which, if agreed to, could be taken to the United Nations for endorsement.

Zimbabwe's Foreign Minister Dr Nathan Shamuyarira has said the strategy should set the ground rules for resolving the situation in South Africa just as UN Resolution 435 had been accepted as the international strategy for setting Namibia on the road to independence.

According to Zimbabwe's national news agency the 14 countries which will be represented at next week's meeting are the six Frontline States of Angola, Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Tanzania, together with Egypt, Mali, Nigeria, Algeria, Senegal, Cape Verde, Congo and Ethiopia.

The Egyptian President Mr Hosni Mubarak, current chairman of the OAU, will preside over the Harare meeting.

The ANC, the PAC and Swapo will have delegations.

Last week the Frontline States met in Lusaka to agree on their stance and considered an ANC document concerning negotiations with Pretoria.

The Zimbabwean view is that the South African debate will dominate the proceedings, but the leaders are also expected to hear progress reports on the settlement moves in Angola and Mozambique.

Observers had expected Zaire to be present because of President Mobutu's role as mediator in Angola but apparently Mobutu is not expected.

No slight meant - Kaunda

304A

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda has written to Mr P W Botha explaining he had never intended to undermine him as the State President of South Africa by inviting his successor, Mr F W de Klerk, for discussions in Zambia later this month.

A letter sent to the State President by President Kaunda on Monday was released yesterday by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Kaunda said in the letter that while he did not have all the accurate details, he had been following the events surrounding the proposed visit by De Klerk with increasing concern.

"I thought I should, therefore, reach you to explain that the meeting is not in any way intended to slight or undermine you as the State President.

"I believe you know me well enough to appreciate that this is not so even without my having to point it out as I am doing now."

Kaunda said in his letter he had known Botha well over a long period and did not wish kto do anything to injure the deep feelings of respect both had shown towards each other in their dealings.

However, he did not know De Klerk well and believed it was important for him to get to know the new president and how he saw the future of Southern Africa.

"You are leaving for him an enormous and complex programme. You want him to succeed. I want him to succeed.

"Anything I can do to help continue to build peace for all our people of Southern Africa I will do. All that I therefore hope and wish for is to continue to help build effective co-operation for peace for all regardless of race, colour and creed in our region."

He said this could not come about without leaders and without those leaders understanding one another well even over those matters on which they may differ.

"I have no programme from anyone to put to De Klerk. I want to meet him as a person who will occupy in our region a position of leadership whose interaction I cannot in the circumstances avoid," Kaunda's letter said.

Pik Botha said Kaunda's letter had been forwarded to the Acting State President, De Klerk.

De Klerk has sent a reply to Kaunda stating that he will meet him in Livingstone on August 28 and would be accompanied by Pik Botha. - Sapa.

Cont →

CM Trust 16/8/89 3041A

FW 'defender' of all-powerful SP

Political Staff

THE leader of the National Party, Mr F W de Klerk, has been a strong defender of the all-powerful position of the executive State President ever since the post was created in the 1983 tricameral constitution.

He also rejected strong criticisms at the time by both the then-Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party against the concentration of power in the position of State President.

As late as 1986, he was still supporting the powers of the State President and defending Mr P W Botha as being highly democratic and a team man.

In February 1983, Mr De Klerk said in Parliament that the deputy leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, had referred to "the supposedly terrible, extraordinary powers that the State President will have".

Mr De Klerk added: "In the new dispensation, the State President will not have more power than the present Prime Minister and State President together now have." He continued that in regard to the introduction of new legislation, there was "a safety mechanism" which limited the power of the State President.

The Democratic Party MP for Sea Point, Mr Colin Eglin, said yesterday that in the meetings of the parliamentary constitutional committee, Mr De Klerk, and the other senior cabinet minister on the committee, Mr Chris Heunis, had rejected all criticisms of the powers granted to State President.

Then, on March 17 this year, Mr De Klerk told Parliament there was no leadership crisis in the NP and at the right time a sensible agreement would be reached in discussions between the party and Mr Botha.

However, by then he had reversed his view of the position of the State President and said: "There is no doubt in my mind that the Office of the State President — his role and functions — will have to be be reviewed drastically in tandem with other constitutional developments and reforms."

Mr De Klerk repeated this view in an interview which was published last week.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Treatment of PW to affect SADF votes?

Defence Correspondent

THE perceived humiliation of Mr P W Botha at the hands of his colleagues may well have an effect on voting patterns by members of the Defence Force, where he has a substantial personal following of all races.

In 23 years' association with the armed forces, he initiated major reforms and changes, particularly in the field of racial affairs. Among military observers he was regarded as the most innovative Defence Minister since 1912.

In little more than a decade he built the the Armaments Corporation from a modest enterprise to the country's major exporter in little more than a decade, and became the first Minister of Defence to take positive steps away from an "all-white" SADF.

Renowned as an administrator, he cut out much deadwood from the SADF structure, accelerated the promotion of bright medium-level officers, improved Permanent Force conditions of service, redressed certain injustices dating back to the Erasmus era and took steps to foster the interests of various units.

(Report by W Steenkamp, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



HOT NEWS . . . How London newspaper treated PW Botha's departure.

CP 10889 Cont

How will role of SP be changed?

Political Staff

THE acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has emphasised, ever since he became the leader of the National Party in February this year, that the role of the president would have to be reassessed and changed.

But, apart from saying that it would be difficult to "obviate" domination of one group by another under the current system, Mr De Klerk has not explained what changes in the role of the State President were envisaged.

Instead, he has emphasised that the role of the State President would have to be the product of negotiation for a new constitution.

However, during the election campaign some NP ministers have suggested that the President could become a figurehead and that the post could even rotate among different leaders, and this could result in black leaders becoming President for defined periods.

Yesterday, a spokesman for Mr De Klerk's office said possible changes in the role of State President were likely to be discussed only after the election.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

'Mighty NP disintegrating'

Political Correspondent

MR P W Botha's "bizarre" resignation was another step in the gradual and inevitable disintegration of the "once mighty" National Party, DP MP for Sea Point Mr Colin Eglin said last night.

Speaking at a meeting in Richmond, Mr Eglin said the NP today comprised three main groups.

These were the "old-time racists", the "draadsitters" and the "democrats in slow motion".

"I predict that after the September 6 election the NP will disintegrate further."

The "old-time racists" would move to the CP where they belonged, while the "draadsitters" and the "democrats in slow motion" would under pressures of South Africa politics be compelled to seek realignment or accommodation with the DP.

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

PW's 'decline started in '87'

Political Correspondent

MR P W Botha's decline started in 1987 when he gave Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse a 25-minute dressing down on television for swimming at a whites-only beach at Port Elizabeth.

This is the view of Mr Hendrickse himself, who said yesterday that after Mr Botha's attempt to denigrate him "many cabinet ministers and members of his party expressed dissatisfaction.

"His going is therefore not regretted and must be seen as being in the interests of the country."

Mr Hendrickse said yesterday that Mr F W de Klerk should now "resolutely" meet with President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and other leaders outside as well as inside the country.

"We give Mr P W Botha credit for the political risks he took in initiating the process of reform."

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Momberg queries FW trip

IT WAS important that Mr F W de Klerk get a first-hand impression of black Africa's abhorrence of apartheid, Mr Jannie Momberg, Democratic Party candidate for Simon's Town, said in Scarborough last night.

To this end, Mr Wynand Malan, co-leader of the DP, had earnestly asked President Kenneth Kaunda to meet Mr De Klerk. He had made this request when the DP delegation met President Kaunda on July 14 this year.

Mr Momberg asked in what capacity Mr De Klerk intended making the trip.

He said that for too long the NP had been carrying on as if it were the state. "If Mr De Klerk goes to Lusaka he should go in the capacity as leader of the NP and as such the NP should pay the bill," he said.

— Sapa

Durr praises FW as SA's new leader

Political Correspondent

THE induction of Mr F W de Klerk as acting State President "will put a lilt in the step of South Africa", the Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly, Mr Kent Durr, said.

Speaking at a meeting in Fish Hoek last night, he said it was no accident that "the two poles", Mr De Klerk and President Kenneth Kaunda, "who must meet and exchange antagonism for co-operation and negotiation, are now free to do so".

(Report by A Johnson, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

'Grandfather of all albatrosses'

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICANS needed to rid themselves of the grandfather of all albatrosses, the National Party government, the Democratic Party candidate in Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night.

South Africa had the human and natural resources to be a most respected and successful nation.

"More and more South Africans are becoming sick and tired of having our opportunities and potential squandered by an incompetent government," he said at a meeting in Oranjezicht.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Asking PW to cite ill-health was 'appalling'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — The cabinet's request to Mr P W Botha to cite ill-health as his reason for leaving office was "appalling", and reflected the depths to which the National Party had sunk, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall said last night.

Addressing a meeting in George, Dr Worrall said that if the NP was prepared to lie once, "when can you trust them?"

He said that in addition to the question of the lie, there was also the matter of disinformation and the "manipulation of perspectives".

Dr Worrall said Mr Botha resented the fact that Mr F W de Klerk had prevented him from "doing the things he wanted to" for many years and he now had to sit back and watch while Mr De Klerk moved ahead.

What it all added up to, he said, was that the NP had lost its political vocation. The whole "sad, sordid saga" between F W and P W, he said — a repeat of what had happened with the late Mr John Vorster — showed a "lack of the grace that was an essential part of the vocation of politics".

The NP, he said, no longer saw politics as a vocation, but as a career with expectations. It was now their right to rule and they sought power merely to possess it.

(Report by P Cull, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth.)

Election footnotes/BARRY STREEK

A NUMBER of relatives of prominent National Party politicians, including sons and daughters of ministers and former ministers, had joined the Democratic Party, the DP's national director, Mr Neil Ross, said yesterday.

He would not disclose the names of the new recruits, but added not surprisingly. "The DP is very pleased."

□□□□

THE National Party still regarded blacks as enemies instead of partners in the future, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Pretoria.

The NP's subconscious attitude was revealed through a slip by its representative in a three-way debate with the DP and CP.

The CP's reaction to the DP's ideal of building a peaceful nation to improve living standards was clear. It rejected outright a unified nation. But the NP attacked the DP charging it with capitalution.

"Capitulation means surrender, it implies you have lost a war against an enemy," said Dr De Beer.

□□□□

THE Wildlife Society of Southern Africa has sent a questionnaire to all candidates in the election, seeking their attitude to conservation and environmental issues.

The society's director of conservation, Mr Keith Cooper, said its 28 000 members were anxious to know how the various candidates felt about key conservation issues.

□□□□

THE government was fully aware of the disenchantment about the state of the economy, according to the NP candidate in Umhlanga, Mr Renier Schoeman. "I know we will have to have more success as far as control of government expenditure is concerned if we want to have credibility with voters."

□□□□

Tonight's meetings:

MAITLAND: The Minister of Constutional Development and Planning, Mr Gene Louw, will speak in support of the Minister of the Budget in the House of Assembly and the NP candidate in Maitland, Mr Kent Durr, in Bothasig Civic Centre at 7.30pm

MALMESBURY: The DP candidate in Malmesbury, Mr Jan van Gend, will speak in Saldanha in the Yacht Club at 8pm

PAARL: Professor Sampie Terreblanche and the DP candidate in Stellenbosch, Mr Hennie Bester, will speak in support of the DP candidate in Paarl, Mr Graham Rebel, in Franschhoek Town Hall at 8pm

STELLENBOSCH: Campus and sports leaders will speak in support of the DP candidate in Stellenbosch, Mr Hennie Bester, at the Open Arena on the Stellenbosch University campus at 1.15pm (If it is raining, the meeting will be held in Room 230 of the B J Vorster Building.)

WYNBERG. The DP candidate in Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, and councillors Mr Frank van der Velde and Mrs Isobel Edelstein will speak at a senior citizens' rally in Southfield Civic Centre at 10am

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Nel granted application

PRETORIA. — The former deputy minister of information and official NP candidate in Carletonville, Mr Louis Nel, was granted an urgent application in the Pretoria Supreme Court to prevent the distribution of "Carletonville KP-Nuus" which implied Mr Nel publicly showed "indecent signs".

Mr Justice Stafford issued an interim interdict against Mr Nel's CP opponent, Mr Petrus Jacobus "Arrie" Paulus, and Perskor Limited. Mr Paulus was prohibited from distributing the August 1989 issue of the newspaper.

NP 'riven by tension'

THE leadership confrontation which led to Mr P W Botha's resignation is only one symptom of deep divisions in the NP, according to the DP candidate in Constantia, Mr Roger Hulley.

"The Nationalists are riven with tensions," Mr Hulley said last night at a meeting in Kirstenhof.

"The temporary election unity which covers the cracks is paper thin."

One of the unresolved issues in NP ranks was what to do about the National Council, which looked like a complete non-starter.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Investment priority for DP government

Staff Reporter

THE first DP government will have to restore investment from both internal and external sources, as well as "move heaven and earth" to improve productivity in local industries, DP co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said in East London last night.

He believed the DP would succeed fairly quickly in the first tasks, since it was the Rubicon speech which had killed foreign investment.

Raising productivity would take longer as education and training could not be handled very rapidly, but a democratic government would diminish the political alienation and frustration of many workers, he said.

Despite being asked to say that a DP government would direct industrial development to the Border region, he would not say this.

This was because the DP was a free enterprise party, and it was the essence of free enterprise that businessmen — and not politicians — decided about the siting of industry, he said.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Malan slams NP 'scare' tactics

Staff Reporter

VOTERS should take a dispassionate view of NP propaganda which tried to scare voters away from the DP by threatening them with a strong CP showing, DP co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday.

Speaking in the Albany constituency last night, he said all opinion polls gave the CP less than one-quarter of the votes, meaning they would win less than one-quarter of all seats. "Moreover, the DP has the support of some 30% of voters," he said.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

Poster vandals: Charge to be laid

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, is to lay charges after two men were seen taking down DP posters in Kenilworth and replacing them with National Party posters.

The men were seen by the owner and patrons of a bistro in Main Road, Kenilworth, on Monday night.

Bistro owner Mrs Jane Dent said the two men emerged with a ladder from a grey microbus about 11.15pm. She noted the number.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

DP: NP squanders on luxuries

Political Staff

THE National Party had the money to buy farmers' votes by writing off a R460-million Maize Board debt, but said it could not afford to pay decent pensions or remove GST on medicine, the DP candidate in Gardens, Mr Ken Andrew, said last night.

Tens of thousands of pensioners had been plunged into undeserved crises, he said at a meeting in Vredehoek.

In many cases, not one of their four basic needs — personal safety, food, shelter and affordable health care — was being provided for.

"This is because the government has ruined our economy so there is less for everyone. What little there is, is often squandered on luxuries or unworkable political policies.

"So, the government has money for 14 ministers of health but not enough to pay nurses and keep our hospital wards functioning."

Mr Andrew said inflation had undermined people's security and plunged hundreds and thousands of people into a position of poverty.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

3047

Callers' views on PW's resignation

THE resignation of Mr P W Botha prompted a flood of calls from readers yesterday.

Mr F Domingo, Wynberg: "PW sure is a bad loser. He effectively torpedoed his old party before an election. I am sure the CP must be tickled pink."

Mr O Letcher, Woodstock: "I was shocked to hear Pik Botha's remark that the president's memory had left him in the lurch. It looks as if Pik Botha and De Klerk's memory has left them as far as what P W Botha has achieved in the way of change in our country."

Ms J Wellington, Fresnaye: "After P W Botha's untimely bitter resignation yesterday, what we will have to watch in the coming weeks is each of the president's so-called loyal cabinet ministers make a false emotional farewell speech."

Mr L E Edwards, Lansdowne: "An important message as conveyed to the nation by ex-president P W Botha on TV last night should have been given in both official languages. By not doing so, he slapped English-speaking National supporters in the face."

Mrs M Provost, Kenilworth: "Is it the shape of things to come that the momentous statement by the state president was all in Afrikaans and that the interview with Pik and F W was conducted in the same language? Surely it means that English-speaking white South Africans must move on — but to where?"

Mr N Mullins, Mowbray: "Many will remember August 15 with ironic satisfaction, not as the day on which the State President resigned but as that of his Rubicon speech. Four years later he resigns in a huff, but with a king-sized golden handshake."

Mrs M R Kearns, Elsie's River: "My colleagues and I feel that P W Botha has been treated shamefully. I admire him, although I am not one of his followers, for the dignity with which he handled his resignation. If the highest in the country is treated like that, what about me and poor Jack?"

Mr D C Bazeley, Rosebank: "The voters now have a great opportunity to turn things around by voting for a more acceptable party."

Mr H Lategan, Green Point: "De Klerk and the rest of the NP should follow Botha's example and also resign. It is the only decent thing they can do after all the suffering and impoverishment the Nats have caused."

Mr T P Guerin, Camps Bay: "Does P W Botha now lose his pension and all leave accrued to him? If any other public servants resign, they lose all this."

Mr A Ismail, Athlone: "It is a great pity that P W Botha has to resign at this critical stage. To the new State President, Mr De Klerk, we South Africans say 'don't bark, only bite'. Good Luck."

Mr L Grace, Brooklyn: "What a poor choice of candidates the Nats have to choose from for the elections. The worst of a bad lot must surely be Pik Magnus and Vlok."

Mrs J A Duffy, Durban: "I am proud to have had Mr Botha as State President and am ashamed at the disgraceful treatment he has received. My family and friends will no longer be voting for the NP on September 6. Mr Botha, God bless you and your family."

Mr R J Peterson, Mitchells Plain: "Mr De Klerk closed a lot of white schools all over the country. How will he still run the country? Mr Botha has done his utmost for the country in the past few years."

Mr R Young, Mouille Point: "Mr Botha's party asking him to lie about his reason for resigning is treason towards the government and fraud towards the nation. As a taxpayer I feel I am paying their salaries, and I want the resignation of the man who asked the State President to lie to the public."

Mrs A Byrne, Kommetjie: "Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small. Now the domino principle will take over and after 40 long years they will all come tumbling down and white domination will end at last."

Mr J Muller, Rugby: "The acting general secretary of the UDF, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, could only criticise Mr Botha for introducing the state of emergency. We should criticise him for everything he has done, why pick this item?"

Mr S dos Santos, Sea Point: "I have no doubt whatsoever that PW knew nothing about the pending visit to Kaunda. I believe that FW has used this opportunity to persuade Botha to resign as a way to show his own power."

WEDNESDAY AUGUST 16 1989 LATE FINAL

JUSTICE FOR ALL



National Party leader Mr FW de Klerk was sworn in as acting State President by Mr Justice MM Corbett yesterday.

Acting President pledges

ACTING State President FW de Klerk vowed that if he became president after September 6, he would strive for "a new spirit of co-operation" in South Africa.

Speaking in a solemn, six-minute ceremony after taking the oath as acting State President in Pretoria yesterday, De Klerk (53) pledged himself to "justice for all" in South Africa.

Watched by his entire Cabinet, which had just unanimously chosen him as the country's next leader, he calmly read the prescribed oath in both English and Afrikaans.

Addressing a news conference shortly afterwards, he said there was no doubt that South Africa and Southern Africa were on the threshold of a new era.

History offered South Africans a unique opportunity for peaceful solutions.

Answering questions he repeated National Party goals after the general elections: to build a new South Africa in which all its people would participate at all levels of Government in decisions affecting their lives.

No domination by one group over another; and intensive dialogue between South Africans because a new constitution could not be designed unilaterally, he noted.

Turning to the economy, he said Government intended to address the "root causes of our economic problems and ensure that this country has a viable economy."

Responding to a question on the Mass Democratic Movement's campaign against the forthcoming elections, De

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De Klerk: Justice for all

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Klerk said Government would not allow it in any way to disrupt the election process.

"Strong steps will be taken if it becomes necessary. I hope wisdom will prevail."

He also accused opposition parties of misusing the recent situation in the ruling party where one man had the executive power and the others the policy making role.

"They have been playing us off against each other. That will now of necessity come to an end."

On whether he would release ANC leader Nelson Mandela, De Klerk said he did not think one should try to arrange the future while still an acting State President.

He said the proposed meeting with Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda at Livingstone on August 28 was still on, but he would have to reconsider the situation in the light of his added responsibilities.

"In principle, it is possible. We will continue with the arrangements."

De Klerk paid tribute to former president Botha and Elize Botha.

"The fact that Botha's resignation was accompanied by tension and differences of opinion does not detract from the Government's need to recognise a figure of stature who for so long played a key role in our country."

As Minister of Defence, Botha had developed a formidable defence force. He also took numerous initiatives as leader of the country.

"I want to single out his Southern African initiatives and his efforts towards improved co-operation between the public and private sectors.

"His greatest gift to South Africa, however, is the fact that he has put our country on the road to fundamental reform; that he successfully started pulling South Africa out of its dead-end street and that he guided us in the direction of a totally new dispensation.

"His place in history among the great leaders which our country produced is already assured."

De Klerk said the new Parliament would convene on September 13.

An electoral college would be appointed that afternoon to choose the President and a Speaker. The two would be elected on September 14.

(Report by Alan Dunn, 21 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).

Tutu's advice to De Klerk

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has advised Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk to declare an amnesty after the September 6 general election, lift the state of emergency and "unrestrict" restrictees.

In his first comment on the resignation of President PW Botha, Tutu said yesterday that "things must be in a very very bad state if they can't tolerate Botha for another three weeks."

"I really felt sorry for him. He looked a pathetic figure," he said at a Press conference.

He called Botha's resignation a "coup."

Botha was the second State President to be forced out and it showed that "real power belongs to God. If power is based in immorality they'll bite the dust."

De Klerk's coming to power was "just a change in initials."

"I don't think we can pretend that we're entering a new phase. I don't think it matters who sits there as long as they are the National Party..."

De Klerk did not deserve the time the world wanted to give him to change the country.

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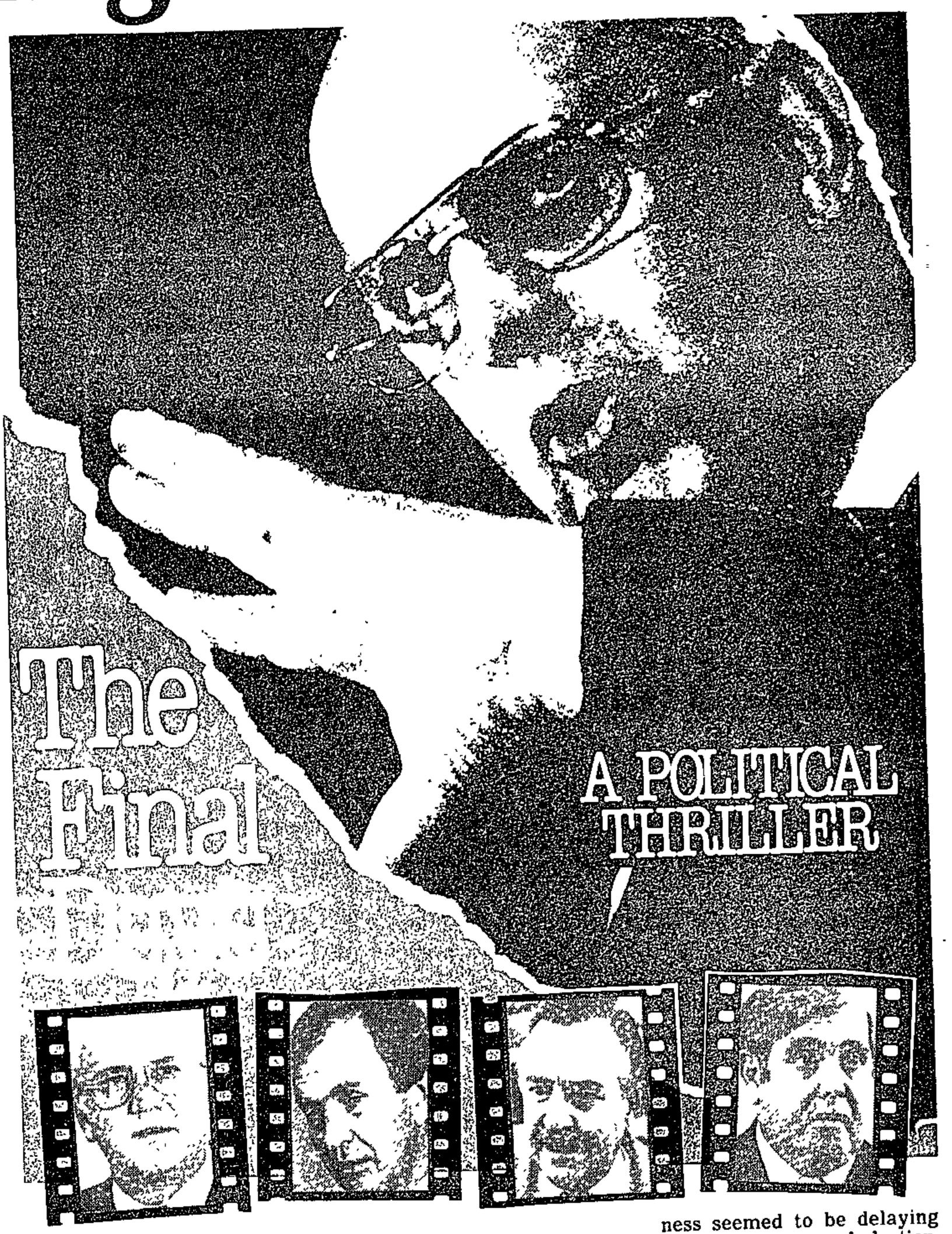


THE FINAL DAYS is a reconstruction of the momentous events which lead to the resignation of President P W Botha.

Although President Botha appeared on SABC-TV and gave one major interview to the Nationalist Press during the crisis, persistent efforts by us to question him directly were unrewarded.

The information for this series was gathered over many months from various sources — from on-the-spot reporting, intensive research plus interviews and conversations with politicians and others in the know. With it come the insights and observations of a seasoned political correspondent who was assigned as 'President-watcher' from the time P W Botha was elected head of state.

The FINAL DAYS is by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent of The Argus.

first Mrs Botha and her daughter Rozanne entered by a side door, to be followed later by his son Rossouw and other daughter Elanza and her husband Dr Jannie Maritz, from George.

Earlier the president had been taken to Constantiaberg Clinic in Plumstead, the venue at which ANC leader Nelson Mandela had recuperated after being treated for tuberculosis a few weeks before.

Mr Botha had radiological tests and two sets of scans.

Outside doctors indicated the stroke was "nature's warning" and possibly a harbinger of more to come. A stroke, they explained, was the closure of a small artery which cut off the blood supply to part of the brain. The effect would depend on what part of the brain was affected. If severe, it could affect speech and cause paralysis.

That evening's bulletin noted that computer-assisted analysis had shown a lesion in the motor area of the right side of the president's brain which resulted in his left arm and left leg being weakened.

"His face is not affected and his speech is normal due to the fact that the stroke was limited to the non-dominant areas of the brain. In the past 24 hours there was no extension of the lesion in the brain. His condition is stable."

Moreover, the president was able to drink tea and sit in a chair.

TALK was now increasingly about a caretaker president. It came to pass soon enough.

After a Cabinet meeting on the afternoon of January 19 Mr Chris Heunis, the silver-haired senior Minister in the Cabinet and confidant of P W Botha, was appointed acting president. He was sworn in at Tuynhuys before Miss Justice Leonora van den Heever.

At Tuynhuys, the hospital and at Westbrooke flowers and messages streamed in from many parts of the country and abroad, among them good wishes from Mrs Margaret Thatcher in Downing Street and from Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda.



Mrs Elize Botha stands in gracious gardens of Westbrooke.

"News of your sudden illness has just reached me. Please accept my sincere wishes for your quick recovery. We need you in good health as we tackle the urgent and delicate tasks in the region," Kaunda cabled his old political adversary.

A bulletin issued by Colonel Rupert Cloete, officer commanding 2 Military Hospital, said the president's condition was still stable. Brain scans had shown the stroke had weakened his left arm and leg but had not affected his face or impaired his speech because it was limited to the non-dominant area of the brain.

Clearly, in spite of his resilience and the reassuring medical prognosis, P W Botha was in no condition to run the country. He was advised to rest for at least three or four weeks. But the president never was one to sit by idly. Within four days he was said to be cheerful and closely following events inside the country and elsewhere.

Acting President Heunis and Ministers Mr Pik Botha and Dr Willie van Niekerk visited him and reported on talks with Namibian leaders.

An apparently restless P W Botha left hospital for Westbrooke on January 24, a week after being admitted.

But he looked tired and had lost weight.

SPECULATION mounted about whether P W Botha could stay on as head of state. Many politicians were saying it was no longer a question of whether he retired, but of when. Some Nationalist MPs, while sympathetic to the president's predicament, were growing impatient and disgruntled because the illness seemed to be delaying the date of a general election.

The traditional opening of parliament, it was decided, would be a low-key affair in the absence of the President.

In the next few days the president started taking lengthy walks in the grounds of Groote Schuur estate, sometimes accompanied by Minister of Health, Dr Van Niekerk, a family friend

Meanwhile, a desk had been installed in his bedroom to allow him to attend to his papers when he felt up to it.

Towards month's end he joined daughter Rozanne, a singer and would-be actress, for a sight-seeing tour of the Peninsula. Briefly he called in at his Tuynhuys office, but he was a long way from recovered

The president was still making "extraordinary progress," the nation was advised on February 2, but again he had been advised to rest — for at least another month. The official word came down after consultations with Professors Deo Botha and Helmuth Weich, of the University of Stellenbosch medical faculty, and Major-General D P Knobel, the SADF's Surgeon General, along with the rest of the medical team.

That same Thursday — February 2, 1989 — Pieter Willem Botha, State President, former Prime Minister, Cabinet Minister and National Party stalwart of five decades, startled the Nationalist parliamentary caucus with an announcement so dramatic and far-reaching as to set in train a major political upheaval. Unwittingly, it also signalled his final days in politics.

(Compiled by T Wentzel and edited by A Drysdale both of 122 St George's Street Cape Town.)

TOMORROW: A lette shakes the National Par — and the Presidency.

Suddenly ... Cont

Heralds 16-8-89

PART ONE

IT happened, suddenly, in the early hours of January 18.

It was a fine summer night with the temperature a comfortable 19 deg C. A brisk south-easterly swept across the Cape Peninsula. But Westbrooke, the Edwardian-style presidential mansion which had modest beginnings as a barn and homestead in the early 1800s, is relatively sheltered from the prevailing winds.

A part-moon had set just ten minutes earlier. Three nights later it would be full.

President Botha and his wife Elize slept in the first floor master bedroom, a large room, with an *en-suite* bathroom, which looks out over the carefully tended gardens of Groote Schuur estate in suburban Rondebosch. The sheer ramparts of the eastern face of Table Mountain make a formidable backdrop.

The president's private quarters are reached by an imposing wooden staircase with carved banisters which leads up from the area off the study and reception rooms.

About 2 am the president awoke and probably sensed, rather than knew, something was amiss. There was no pain, but he couldn't move properly on his left side.

Although he didn't necessarily know — his face wasn't affected and there was no impairment of speech — he was showing symptoms of a stroke.

His personal physician was called in. Clearly, the president would have to go to hospital, but there seemed no reason to rush. They would wait for daylight, to allow his condition to stabilise as much as possible.

According to medical authority there is little that can be done in these circumstances other than to keep the patient under observation, to watch for any deterioration. Clearly, though, brain scans and other tests would be needed to ascertain the extent of the stroke and its location.

THERE were no sirens or flashing lights to alert Cape Town's 8 am city-bound traffic or anything untoward as an ambulance eased out of the security enclosure at Groote Schuur estate, past the guard post and headed towards 2 Military Hospital in

PRESIDENT Pieter Willem Botha's political life has been surrounded by controversy, first as a youthful organiser when he started with the National Party in 1936, later as an MP and Minister.

Now he has resigned as head of state in controversial circumstances — just as his election to Prime Minister and leader of the National Party some 11 years ago came amid controversy.

With his health failing the then Nationalist Prime Minister, Mr John Vorster, announced on September 20, 1978 that he was stepping down.

Eight days later the National Party parliamentary caucus met at mid morning to choose a successor after intense lobbying. The two main contenders were Dr Connie Mulder, Minister of Information and Transvaal leader, and P W Botha Minister of Defence since 1966 and Cape provincial leader. The Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, was a charismatic outsider.

Unknown to the general public, details of a scandal involving Dr Mulder's department were beginning to leak and support was swinging to P W Botha. But on the day, the outcome was still too close to call.

The first ballot was a near-run thing; P W Botha 78, C P Mulder 72, R F Botha 22.

In spite of Pike Botha's high public profile, the party professionals thought otherwise and he was out of leadership race.

In the second round, 98 voted for P W Botha, 74 for Mulder.

An expectant crowd of some 3 000 waited in Parliament Street. When MPs filed out to the Senate steps for the formal declaration they were met by scattered cheers and boos.

Then, just before the historic moment, a chant went up: "We want Pik! We want Pik!".

But it was done.

P W Botha, Prime Minister-elect, scanned the faces. His first words were: "Where is my wife?"

Mrs Elize Botha joined him and they embraced before he addressed the crowd. He spoke of several goals, among them the maintenance of law and orderly government, the improvement of relations between the different communities, friendly relations with neighbouring states and economic development.

P W Botha's election was generally welcomed because the Vorster administration had come to a standstill in its reform efforts.

In 1982 P W Botha, who had embarked on a renewed course of political reform, survived a major crisis when, on February 24, the National Party split after 22 MPs refused to vote for a motion of confidence in him. That led to the formation of the Conservative Party under Dr Andries Treurnicht.

On November 3, 1983 the Nationalist government won an overwhelming 'Yes' in a referendum of white voters on a new constitution to establish a tricameral parliament which started the next year.

Within a year, on September 14, 1984 Pieter Willem Botha was again sworn in to high office — this time as the first executive State President under the new constitution.

Now his time, too, has come ...

As a long-serving Minister of Defence P W Botha had laid the foundation stone of the hospital on February 19, 1976. And he had come back down the years for routine medical examinations which had shown him to be remarkably healthy for his age. Indeed, talk among officials and members of his staff had always been about his robust health and his capacity for work.

Now the ailing president, with Mrs Botha close by, was wheeled in and whisked up to the fourth floor which locates the surgery wards and intensive care unit. Hardly a soul knew what was happening. The first staff learned about their VIP patient was when they were ordered to stay clear.

Mrs Botha was there until just after lunch before she returned to Westbrooke, named after Judge William Westbrooke Burton who bought the property in 1831 after the previous owner went brankrupt

Six days earlier the president had celebrated his 73rd birthday at his lagoon-side holiday home at the Wilderness, near George, his former parliamentary constituency in the southern Cape. He had returned to Tuynhuys, the elegant chief executive's building, fit and healthy to prepare for the opening of a new session of parliament on February 3.

WORD about the president's setback was kept a close secret. His private secretary, Navy Captain Ters Ehlers, was told about it soon after 8 am, as were some senior aides. But many others were unaware of the president's absence from his desk. The Cabinet was only told after 3 pm that day.

Official disclosure of his illness was withheld until that afternoon and perhaps might not have been made known then had it not been for a telephone call to *The Argus*.

A 2.15pm deadline was closing in when a voice told the news desk: "President Botha is in 2 Military Hospital. He's had a stroke."

"What! Are you sure?"

"Yes."

Presses were put on hold. Reporters scrambled to check with official sources. Clearly the information, emphatic as it was, needed to be verified.

Frantic telephone calls to Tuynhuys drew the response from a staff member of the liaison and information office that the story was untrue, that Mr Botha was fit and well and in his office on the ground floor.



Mr Botha hugs his wife Elize after being elected Prime Minister in 1978. Below: Dr Connie Mulder, his chief rival for power.



Furthermore, the aide offered that Mr Botha "looked fine" when last she saw him, and added that members of the Tuynhuys staff were becoming tired of inquiries, from time to time, of similar rumours about the president's health

Little did she know.

Other calls, meanwhile, were put through to 2 Military Hospital.

Could Mr Botha be there simply for one of his regular checkups?

First the response was also negative. Then from more senior level came confirmation that the president had indeed been admitted.

Why? Was it a routine? Had he been discharged?

No further information was forthcoming.

Finally, *The Argus* reached presidential press secretary Jack Viviers and confronted him with its confirmation that the president was in hospital, and that it had unconfirmed information that P W Botha had had a stroke.

Viviers, who'd been at the hospital most of the morning, made a terse statement about the president having had a "mild stroke" and that his condition was stable. Further information, he said, would be released as soon as it became available.

It was close on 2.45pm when that bulletin was released.

The message swept across the newspaper's editorial floor, "we've got it, we've got the story!"

Within 15 minutes or so the big presses were rolling and the banner news was out.

(Viviers was later to be pressed for an explanation about the persistent denials from Tuynhys. As a former newspaperman he'd know what it was like to be up against the clock. His explanation was that what appeared to be undue delay in making the announcement was because medical authorities hadn't made known the details till close on 2 pm).

THE next day, January 19, it was officially disclosed there had been a weakening of muscles on President Botha's left side, but that his chances of recovery were good. He had passed the first critical 24 hours and his condition had improved considerably.

The president slept much of the time, but when he was awake he chatted to those around him. During the day Minister of Finance Barend du Plessis sent a personal message.

Late that afternoon members of his family visited him;

On March 2 this year *Work In Progress* received a telex from Mr charges concerned alleged subversive statements regarding national mostly reports of a conscientious objector's court case. At least nine publications and man and Miss Kate Savage, have Gabu Tugwana fa

PW keeps his hold on the reins

Star 17/8/89 (304A)

The second instalment of THE FINAL DAYS, a reconstruction of the momentous events which led to the resignation of President P W Botha. Yesterday's article covered the period from January 18 this year, when Mr Botha suffered a stroke, to February 2, when he was reported to be making "extraordinary progress". By TOS WENZEL, Political Staff.

In an hour or so the National Party caucus would meet to plan for the opening of Parliament the next day.

Speculation about an early general election had subsided somewhat as a decision could only be taken when Mr Botha recovered. Latest medical advice was that the President continued to make a remark able recovery after his stroke.

Mr M C "Boet" Botma, MP for Walvis Bay, a political veteran of nearly two decades and chairman of the caucus, expected nothing out of the ordinary on that Thursday, February 2. He was in early, though, for an 8 am appointment with Acting State President Chris Heunis.

From his office, Room 412 on the corner of the new wing of the parliamentary complex, he could look out over Tuynhuys where a row of national flags flew out front and ceremonial sentries of the President's Guard stood stiffly at the main door to the refurbished historic building.

Mr Botma's phone rang. The President's private secretary, Captain Ters Ehlers, asked him to come over to Tuynhuys before the caucus meeting.

Half an hour later, after seeing Acting President Heunis, Boet Botma strode across the cobbles of Stalplein to Tuynhuys.

He wondered about Captain Ehlers's call; perhaps he wanted to convey the President's apology for not being able to attend the caucus.

Captain Ehlers handed over a letter in a folder bearing the presidential seal. It was from Mr P W Botha, he explained, and asked him to read it but not to divulge the contents to anyone before the time.

Mr Botma read the letter there and then:

"Dear Friend,

"With reference to the recent setback in my health I would appreciate it if you would present this letter to the caucus.

"It is my opinion that the office of State President and the office of leader-in-chief of the National Party should now be separated.

"Accordingly I would appreciate it if the caucus would now fill the position of leader-in-chief, allowing me to proceed just with the office of the State Presidency.

"The State Presidency will then become, in a most particular way, a binding factor in our country.

"I thank all my friends for their trust and friendship in the past. It is my fervent prayer that you will receive the particular mercy of God Almighty.

"With greetings to you all. I wish you success and blessings."

Mr P W Botha's signature was noticeably shaky.

"I was absolutely shocked," Mr Botma recalls. "I could feel my knees going lame."

From the Tuynhuys, he headed for the caucus room in the parliamentary building.

No one had arrived yet. In a few minutes they trooped in, exchanging greetings. As is the custom, proceedings opened with a prayer.

Mr Botma rose, gazed momentarily at those about him, then told the 130 MPs of the letter. He read it out in an "indescribably deadly silence".

"I will never forget that silence and the reaction to the letter. MPs, including provincial leaders such as Mr Chris Heunis and Mr F W de Klerk who sat to my right, went pale.

"The shock was so great that, at first, some didn't seem to grasp what the letter was about. I therefore read it again." As far as they knew, the President had consulted no one.

Immediate vote

By caucus consent, the provincial leadership — Mr de Klerk, Mr Heunis, Mr Kobie Coetsee and Mr Stoffel Botha — all trained lawyers, retired to another room for an hour to consider what to do.

They opted for an immediate vote for a new *hoofleier*. On their return, ballot papers were ordered. To ensure secrecy, party whips watched that no one left the room or made phone calls.

Party whips sifted through nominations and named Mr de Klerk, Mr Heunis, Mr Pik Botha and Mr Barend du Plessis, the Minister of Finance.

Chief whip Mr Keppies Niemand supervised ballot papers as others went in search of a ballot box.

As in the past, Mr Pik Botha, of high profile and popular with the public — but less so among the party professionals — was eliminated in the first round with 16 votes; Mr Heunis was next with only 25 of his province's 47 votes; Mr du Plessis notched 30 and Mr de Klerk 59.

Mr Heunis went out in the second round and finally Mr de Klerk clinched it with 69 votes. Mr du Plessis received 61 which meant most of the earlier votes for Mr Pik Botha and Mr Heunis had swung to him.

After the voting and a rallying pledge of support, the caucus abandoned its other work and adjourned.

So unexpected had been Mr P W Botha's move that few political correspondents were on hand for the lunch-time announcement.

But by 4.30 pm, when Mr de Klerk held his first press conference, some 50 local and overseas journalists were there.

After the caucus decision, Mr de Klerk telephoned his 84-year-old mother, Mrs Corrie de Klerk, in an old-age home in Sunnyside, Pretoria.

As she recalls, he said: "Mamma, I know it's your time to rest. Forgive me for disturbing you, but I want to tell you something — I have just been elected leader of the National Party."

But in their consternation, Nationalist MPs hadn't considered all the implications.

Later it became clear that Mr P W Botha saw the decision to go along with him as agreement that the two posts should be separated. Tuynhuys sources suggest the caucus missed a subtlety in the President's letter: that he'd made up his mind about the separation before his illness. His reference to his "health setback" merely meant it had prevented him from telling the caucus himself.

Above all, Mr P W Botha had tried to retain the real power in the country. It was dawning on Nationalists that not only a unique but also a potentially untenable situation had been created. The division of the posts of party leader and head of state could not continue indefinitely. The party leader would be politically emasculated without the executive powers of the president.

On February 10 the president and Mrs Botha took off for George and thence to their Wilderness holiday home. The following week he returned to his Tuynhuys office twice and on another excursion stepped out to a nearby barber for his usual trim.

Even so, he was still not his old self. Fealty dictated that the president deserved time to recover.

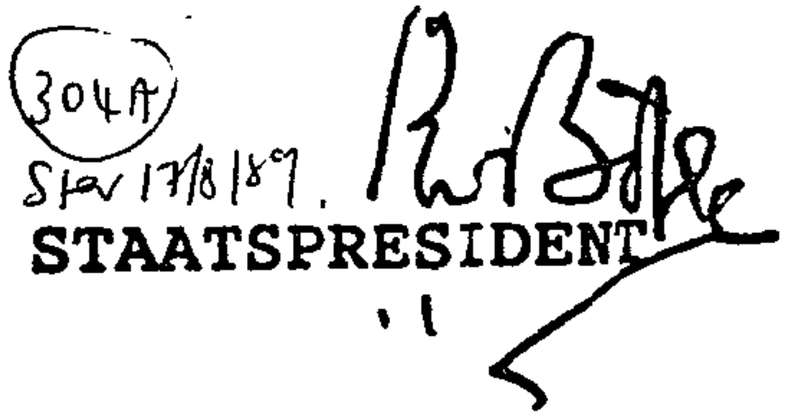
Unmistakably, though, the party wanted the posts of President and party leader to be united again. It meant Mr P W Botha would have to stand down for the heir apparent, Frederik Willem de Klerk.

Some bruising encounters lay ahead.

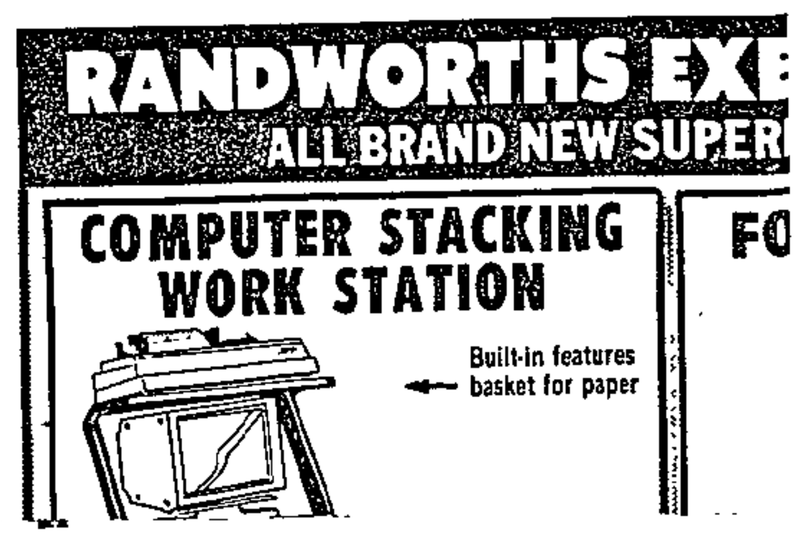
Tomorrow: Confrontation between Mr P W Botha and the National Party.



Mr M C "Boet" Botma, NP caucus chairman, felt shaky after reading Mr P W Botha's letter.



The signature on the letter from the State President was noticeably shaky.



Govt decentralisation emphasis is criticised

CONTINUED emphasis by the government on decentralisation was slammed at the SA Property Owners Association yesterday.

Decentralisation policies were not in line with current economic theory, and planning rhetoric in this regard was like a veneer disguising the motives of political ideology, Gallagher Aspoas Poplak Senior director Erky Wood said at the SA Property Association Conference yesterday.

Latter-day fears of massive urban growth and its associated problems had proved unfounded. World experience indicated planned growth of cities as the most effective way of coping with urbanisation, Wood said

JCI senior economist Ronnie Bethlehem endorsed Anne Berstein of the Urban Foundation's view that government should abandon the schizophrenia of current development policy.

It made no sense to accept black urbanisation and simultaneously cling to policies designed to prevent, redirect and disguise black urbanisation.

EDWARD WEST

Bethlehem said the black population in SA, including the TBVC territories, was around 27-million. This meant that 300 000 additional black people entered the market each year.

The 1986/87 Decentralisation Board annual report showed the number of jobs created as a result of its activities was 25 873 annually.

Calculations

This was only half the failure of the policy, he said. To create those jobs vast amounts were spent. The board indicated the expenditure associated with the creation of 126 366 jobs in five years amounted to R2,054bn or R15 882 a worker.

Other calculations put the cost at between R60 000 and R100 000 a worker, or four times its metropolitan equivalent, he said.

To encourage investment away from concentrated industrial areas, generous offers were made by government for rental and wage subsidies.

Bethlehem said if real GDP was to be significantly increased, the balance of payments secured and inflation checked, this waste of scarce resources had to be stopped.

Department of Development Planning director-general Duggie de Beer said the decentralisation policy was based on the premise that the expected rate of urbanisation could not be accommodated in metropolitan areas in an orderly fashion.

The stimulation of development in rural areas, through the Industrial Development Programme, could influence the rate of migration to metropolitan areas while creating alternative centres for urbanisation.

He said government recognised the advantages which metropolitan areas had for a rapidly urbanising population. The urgency of decentralisation had not been diminished by governments' introduction of planned urbanisation, but enhanced, he said.

'We will talk, so reason for violence is past'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Other people could be expected to rebel to obtain political rights just as Afrikaners rebelled to obtain political rights, and in some cases even indulged in sabotage, Information Minister, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last night.

But Dr van der Merwe told about about 80 people, including eight NP Durban candidates, that any reason for violence had passed because the Government had agreed to negotiate a new constitution.

He conceded the ANC had reason to look for alternatives when, in the Fifties, it had stated that it was opposed to the system imposed upon it and the Government had refused to negotiate or talk.

Now the Government was prepared to negotiate, but talking to an ANC still committed to violence was not on.

He warned the ANC that if wanted to play a power game of violence, Government would play it by the same rules.

Dr van der Merwe said peace could only be achieved when everyone could participate in the political system.

"When everyone feels part of the system ... only then will we have peace."

However Dr van Merwe said this could only be done on the basis of recognition of groups. The National Party had to be vague about the future because a new constitution had to be negotiated. It could not dictate the terms.

But the NP did have certain requirements. It would not accept anything less than a democracy and free enterprise, with no group dominating another.

He accepted that many blacks in South Africa had preconditions that were holding up negotiations. But, he said, talks were starting on a wide scale about the preconditions that could lead to negotiations.

He said the situation could be compared to pushing a car which needed a lot of effort to get it going, but it got easier to push as it picked up momentum.

(Report by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

304A

Possible prelude to Govt-ANC contact

FW talks will mean new era – Kaunda

By Esmaré van der Merwe,
Sapa and The Star's Africa News Service

Expectations are growing that the Livingstone meeting between Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda and acting State President F W de Klerk could pave the way for future negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress.

While both President Kaunda and the South African Government have confirmed that the August 28 meeting is going ahead as planned, the Conservative Party has criticised Mr de Klerk's intention to continue with the visit.

Dr Kaunda yesterday said the meeting would be the beginning of an important period of bridge-building in southern Africa.

Watching independence process

While refuting accusations that he would promote ANC interests during the discussions, he said the Frontline states, of which he is chairman, and the Organisation for African Unity were trying to get the two sides to talk to each other. These organisations would help Pretoria resolve its differences with the ANC if it conducted itself honestly in the Namibian independence process.

He told a press conference in Lusaka: "We are watching South Africa very carefully on the question of Namibia. If it fares well, we are willing and ready to give South Africa the benefit of the doubt. We might begin to get somewhere to bring South Africa and the ANC together. The path is well marked out how we are going to do this."

Dr Kaunda added that South Africa was heading for a racial bloodbath which could engulf southern Africa. This could be avoided by discussions such as the Livingstone meeting.

However, talks between the SA Government and the ANC would be difficult to arrange since the ANC had said it would renounce violence only if South Africa gave up apartheid, while Pretoria insisted it would talk to the movement only if it laid down arms.

Interviewed by the SABC yesterday, Dr Kaunda said he was surprised that Mr Botha had resigned because of his (Dr Kaunda's) intended meeting with Mr de Klerk since he had previouly met Mr John Vorster and Mr Botha.

CP foreign affairs spokesman Mr Tom Langley yesterday said the Livingstone meeting was totally unacceptable since Mr Botha had pointed that Dr Kaunda had already received a proposal from the ANC on a settlement in South Africa.

"The CP is of the opinion that the proposed discussions are not merely another meeting with a foreign head of state, but discussions with an outspoken enemy of South Africa who wishes to use the meeting to achieve his objectives as regards the whites of South Africa."

He urged Mr de Klerk to call off the meeting or give the assurance he would not discuss any internal matters with the Zambian leader.

(Report compiled by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

PW to retire with full salary tax free

Star 17/8/87 Political Staff (300A)

The former State President, Mr P W Botha, is expected to stay at Westbrooke, the official residence of the Head of State, for two or three weeks before retiring to his home in the Wilderness.

Under the Constitution, he can stay at the Rondebosch mansion for 60 days.

He will be entitled to an official car and security guards.

"One must bear in mind that he was an executive president who might have more enemies than a symbolic state president," the secretary-general in the Office of the State President, Dr Jannie Roux, said yesterday.

Mr Botha was entitled to an official car and a driver for life. This was a "routine privilege" accorded previous heads of state.

He will receive his full salary (R14 500 a month, tax free) but will not get a gratuity. When he retired as Prime Minister five years ago, he received a R300 000 gratuity.

Mr Botha took leave of the staff at his office in Tuynhuys on Tuesday.

His last public engagement will be in Johannesburg next Wednesday when he will attend the premiere of "The Gods Must be Crazy II". A spokesman said Mr Botha had received a personal invitation from film producer Mr Boet Troskie.

Dr Roux said Mr F W de Klerk would not be occupying the premises of the Office of the State President while he was Acting State President. However, the office would serve him.

Dr Roux has had his contract renewed and will stay as secretary-general in the Office of the State President under Mr Botha's successor.

Mr Botha's private secretary, Mr Jack Viviers, will return to a senior editorial position in Nasionale Pers.

The former presidential couple's only son, national serviceman Ensign Rossouw Botha, said he felt his father deserved a good rest.

"I think that he's done a hell of a lot for this country, not just because he's my dad. I really think he's the best president this country's ever had," Ensign Botha said.

'JR' not the power behind the throne

Star 17/8/89 304A

By PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent



Dr Jannie Roux ... will continue in his post under Mr de Klerk.

Dr Jannie Roux, secretary-general in the State President's Office, but often described as "the power behind the throne", is staying on in the job after Mr F W de Klerk's take-over. Dr Roux — referred to in Government circles as "JR" — has always been closely associated with Mr P W Botha.

Some people were surprised to see him flanking Mr de Klerk when he was sworn in as Acting State President at the Union Buildings. But — speaking from the State President's Office in the Union Buildings — Dr Roux has good-naturedly dismissed all rumours about himself and others close to Mr Botha.

"We are not as important as you press people make us out to be," he said: "To say I am the power behind the throne is nonsense.

"I've never kept people away from Mr Botha — I never arranged his meetings. That was his private secretary's job. And I've never kept the press away from him. Press meetings were the job of his press secretary. But I always got crucified for it."

Confirming speculation, Dr Roux said that though — "interestingly enough" — his present five-year contract would have expired at the end of this month, it had been renewed. The new term of the contract was not five years, but he would not say what it was.

Explaining his decision to stay on, Dr Roux said: "The thing is I am an official of the State. I'm a civil servant and the Office of the State President is a State department. We will now give the Acting State President the service we gave to Mr Botha."

Dr Roux said he had resigned from the Prisons Service to become Mr Botha's secretary-general in 1980, and was now an ordinary public servant appointed under the Public Service Act.

However, this did not guarantee his position, Dr Roux said. "Anyone can say any day: 'I don't like your bald head, now take your hat and leave'," he quipped.

"That's the same for any civil servant."

Asked how he felt about Mr Botha's departure, Dr Roux said: "It's always sad to see a great man leave.

"I just hope he will be able to have a good life for the years still ahead of him, after the great job he has done for South Africa."

Dr Roux confirmed that Mr Botha's press secretary Mr Jack Viviers, who was on secondment from the Nasionale Pers group — would be returning to journalism at the end of the month.

And Mr Botha's private secretary Captain Ters Ehlers, on secondment from the navy, would return there.

But most of the staff would stay on.

Voters are fed-up, says Schlemmer

Star 2/11/89 304n

By Paula Fray

Economic issues were probably on the top of white voters' agendas for the first time in South Africa, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) at the University of the Witwatersrand, said in Johannesburg last night.

Professor Schlemmer was speaking at the launch of a CPS book, "Policy Perspectives: South Africa at the end of the Eighties".

He said "easy slogans" had dropped in importance during the election campaign and security did not feature prominently either.

A new, powerful factor had come into play for the election. He described it as the "gatvol" (fed-up) syndrome.

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for Democratic Alternatives for South Africa (Idasa), spoke on "International perspectives on South African policy changes".

He said the request from the Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, to voters to give the NP a mandate to "negotiate" a new constitution was like asking voters to give the Government a blank cheque.

(Report by P Fray, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Pik Botha urges veto system for new govt

By John Miller 3044

A veto system would be used in a future central governemt to ensure and protect the rights of every population group, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said at a National Party meeting in Primrose last night.

Mr Botha lashed out against the policies of the Conservative Party, accusing the CP and its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, of still living in the past.

He congratulated Democratic Party co-leader, Dr Zach de Beer, for his statesmanlike attitude on the meeting with Dr Kenneth Kaunda, but said remarks by Mr Wynand Malan, Dr Denis Worrall and Dr Treurnicht were "typically opportunistic".

The Foreign Minister said the former president, Mr P W Botha, and Dr Kaunda had exchanged several letters during the past few weeks.

The forthcoming visit to Zambia, he added, was a continuation of efforts to create a better understanding among African leaders.

On the P W Botha resignation, he said: "I do not want to go through the same hours and nights again. It was sad but it had to be done. We came out with dignity and honour."

Mr Botha said the white man's future in this country could not be protected by laws but by making him indispensable and through his ability to achieve and develop a strong economic base.

The crowd was also told that Germiston intended honouring Mr F W de Klerk later this year. The Acting State President had received most of his schooling from that city.

(Report by J Miller, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

No ID book, no vote after this election

Star 5/18/89 (3049)

Political Reporter

For nearly 500 000 voters, the September 6 general election will be the last in which they can cast their votes if they are not in the possession of identity documents at the time of a next election.

According to a spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs, Mr Charles Theron, 50 992 whites, 258 945 coloureds and 149 182 Indians are still not in the possession of identity documents but have only identity cards.

These voters, whose names appear on the population register, will be removed from voters' lists for future elections if they do not obtain identity documents before the next election.

This applies to any future election, including parliamentary and municipal and by-elections, Mr Theron said.

At this stage, 3 119 675 white voters do have identity documents, compared with 1 516 808 coloured and 516 688 Indian voters.

5,6 MILLION ELIGIBLE

This brings the total of people eligible to vote in the September election to 5 612 290.

A total of 3 170 667 voters may vote for the House of Assembly, compared with 1 775 753 for the House of Representatives and 665 870 for the House of Delegates.

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Matie sports stars pledge DP support

Cape Times 17/8/89 304A



Riaan Gous yesterday



Rene Uys addresses students

the vice-chairman of the National Party's Stellenbosch student branch, Mr Francois Dercksen, was signed by 16 first-team players "deploring" the "DP's use of Matie sportsmen for their own party-political gains".

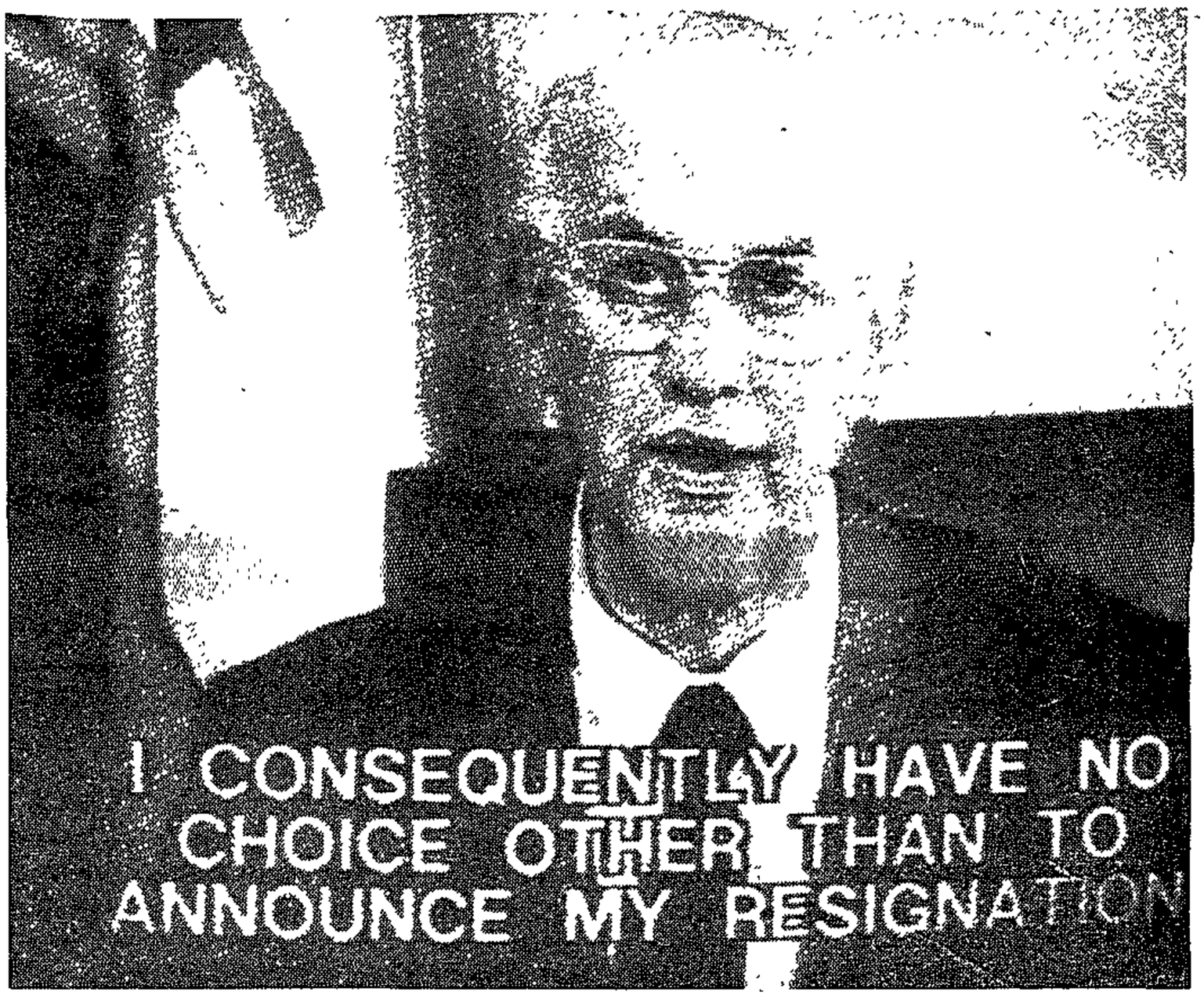
Mr Dercksen said yesterday that about 30 of the signatories on the DP pamphlet were not registered as voters in Stellenbosch. WP league and Matie first-team player Mr Riaan Gous said he wished to remind National Party supporters that political intervention in sport began with Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's banning of a tour by an All Blacks team which included Maoris.

He was greeted with a round of applause when he said: "I would very much like to see sport kept out of politics, but then the National Party must do the same."

Springbok tennis star Ms René Uys said she was very proud to be a Springbok, but would be even prouder if she could wear her colours in the same circumstances as her aunt, Pat Pretorius, a co-winner of the 1972 Federation Cup.

It was naive of people to believe that politics could be kept out of sport, because government's policies had direct consequences for sportspeople, she said.

(Report by C de Villiers, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



A bitter P W Botha makes his last public appearance as president with the announcement of his resignation in a television address this week.

PW's final days

Part Two

IN an hour or so the National Party caucus would meet to plan for the opening of Parliament the next day.

Speculation about an early general election had subsided somewhat as a decision could only be taken when P W Botha recovered. Latest medical advice was that the president continued to make a remarkable recovery after his stroke.

Mr M C "Boet" Botma, MP for Walvis Bay, a political veteran of nearly two decades and chairman of the caucus, expected nothing out of the ordinary on that Thursday, February 2.

He was in early, though, for an 8am appointment with Acting State President Heunis.

From his office, Room 412, on the corner of the new wing of the parliamentary complex he could look out over Tuynhuys where a row of national flags flew out front and ceremonial sentries of the President's Guard stood stiffly at the main door to the refurbished historic building.

Unexpectedly, Botha's phone rang. The president's private secretary, Capt Ters Ehlers, asked whether he would come over to Tuynhuys ... before the caucus meeting.

Half-an-hour later, after seeing Acting-President Heunis, Boet Botma strode across the cobbles of Stalplein to Tuynhuys.

He wondered about Ehler's call; perhaps he wanted to convey the president's apology for not being able to attend the caucus.

Instead, when Ehlers received him he handed over a letter in a folder bearing the presidential seal. It was from P W Botha, he explained, and asked him to read it but not to divulge the contents to anyone before the time.

Botma read the letter there and then.

Dear Friend,

With reference to the recent setback in my health I would appreciate it if you would present this letter to the caucus.

"It is my opinion that the office of State President and the office of leader-in-chief of the National Party should now be separated.

"Accordingly I would appreciate it if the caucus would now fill the position of leader-in-chief allowing me to proceed just with the office of the State Presidency.

"The State Presidency will then become, in a most particular way, a binding factor in our country.

"I thank all my friends for their trust and friendship in the past.

"It is my fervent prayer that you will receive the particular mercy of God Almighty.

"With greetings to you all.

"I wish you success and blessings."

P W Botha's signature was noticeably shaky.

"I was absolutely shocked," Botma recalls, "I could feel my knees going lame."

A day which had promissed such familiarity was turning into one he would never forget ...

From the Tuynhuys Botma headed for the caucus room in the parliamentary building, his mind reeling. No-one had turned up yet. In a few minutes they trooped in, unsuspecting, old hands exchanging greetings. As is the custom, proceedings opened with a prayer. This time by Deputy Minister Sam de Beer, one of four dominees in their ranks.

Botma rose, gazed momentarily at those about him, then told the 130 MPs of the letter which he was going to read, as requested.

He did so amid an "indescribably deadly silence."

They were thunderstruck.

"I will never forget that silence and the reaction to the letter. MPs, including provincial leaders such as Mr Chris Heunis and Mr F W de Klerk who sat to my right, went pale.

"The shock was so great that, at first, some didn't seem to grasp what the letter was about. I therefore read it again."

As far as they know, the President had consulted no-one.

Johann Heyns, MP for Vasco, queried whether the caucus could take such a momentous decision that day because of possible far-reaching implications.

By caucus consent, the provincial leadership retired to another room for an hour to consider what next.

While De Klerk, Heunis, Kobie Coetzee, and Stoffel Botha, all lawyers by training, deliberated the caucus went about other business but concentration was difficult.

The provincial leaders opted for an immediate vote for a new hoofleier. On their return ballot papers were ordered and to ensure secrecy party whips watched that no-one left the room or made phone calls.

The procedure, it was agreed, would differ from previous elections. There would not be verbal proposals, no speeches. Instead MPs were asked to submit candidates' names.

Party whips sifted through nominations and named De Klerk, Heunis, Pik Botha and Barend du Plessis, the Minister of Finance.

Chief whip Keppies Niemand supervised ballot papers as others went in search of a ballot box which was retrieved from a storeroom.

MPs were called alphabetically to get their voting forms.

As in the past Pik Botha, high profile and popular with the public but less so among the party professionals, was eliminated in the first round with 16 votes; Heunis was next with only 25 of his province's 47 votes, Du Plessis notched 30 and De Klerk 59.

Heunis went out in the second round and finally F W de Klerk clinched it with 69 votes to Du Plessis' 61 which, surprisingly, meant most of the earlier votes for Pik Botha and Heunis had swung to him.

Continues

F W's stand on ANC

Sowetan 17/5/89

THE Government's attitude to the African National Congress remains the same in that it would not negotiate with "perpetrators of violence and terrorists", acting State President Mr W F de Klerk said last night.

Speaking at a National Party meeting at Houghton, he said the impression had been created, especially by the Conservative Party, that the NP had changed its attitude towards the ANC.

He said the impression

SA Press Association

was being created that the NP had relinquished its commitment to finding a peaceful solution for South Africa.

"The NP will not negotiate with perpetrators of violence and terrorists and there would be no compromise where the security of the people of South Africa was concerned.

"We are not prepared to compromise with people who pursue violence."

(304A)

However, the NP was willing to take part in negotiations with all the moderate leaders and was willing to grant everyone in South Africa the right to become a first class citizen.

Referring to Mr P W Botha's meeting with ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, De Klerk said the the meeting had been in the best interests of South Africa.

(News by Ken Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg).

ANC to attend De Klerk talks?

THE proposed meeting between Dr Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia and Acting-State President FW de Klerk on August 28 took a new turn on Wednesday when the ANC offered to send a representative to the talks at Livingstone, the African News Organisation reports.

Observers said, however, that it was "highly unlikely" that Kaunda would issue such an invitation or that the South African government would agree to it.

This is particularly so in view of the sensitivity surrounding some of the reasons for the resignation of PW Botha as president and the National Party's fear of creating an election issue for its opponents before the September 6 poll.

Kaunda, however, is expected to raise with De Klerk the issue of negotiations with the ANC and the dismantling of apartheid.

He said on Wednesday at a press conference in Lusaka that he had promised the six Frontline States, of which he is chairperson, that he would help the South African government resolve its problems with the ANC.

He admitted it would be difficult to shift the two parties from the "hard stands" they had adopted on talks with each other.

Kaunda said he would report to the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee on South Africa and the ANC after the meeting with De Klerk "so that they may decide on the next course of action on the apartheid issue".

Meanwhile, ANC sources reacting to the resignation of Botha said De Klerk had won "for himself a place in history as the last apartheid ruler".

The movement hailed the resignation of Botha as one of the victories of the people in the fight against the apartheid system.

They said Botha was steeped in the ideology and policies of racial domination.

(Report by M Badela, 52 Simmonds Street, Johannesburg.)

3044 South 17-23/8/89

The fateful letter

304A 17/08/89 Cont

PART TWO

THE FINAL DAYS is a reconstruction of the momentous events which lead to the resignation of President P W Botha.

Although President Botha appeared on SABC-TV and gave one major interview to the Nationalist Press during the crisis, persistent efforts by us to question him directly were unrewarded.

The information for this series was gathered over many months from various sources — from on-the-spot reporting, intensive research plus interviews and conversations with politicians and others in the know. With it come the insights and observations of a seasoned political correspondent who was assigned as 'President-watcher' from the time P W Botha was elected head of state.

The FINAL DAYS is by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent of The Argus.

IN an hour or so the National Party caucus would meet to plan for the opening of parliament the next day.

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STAATSPRESIDENT

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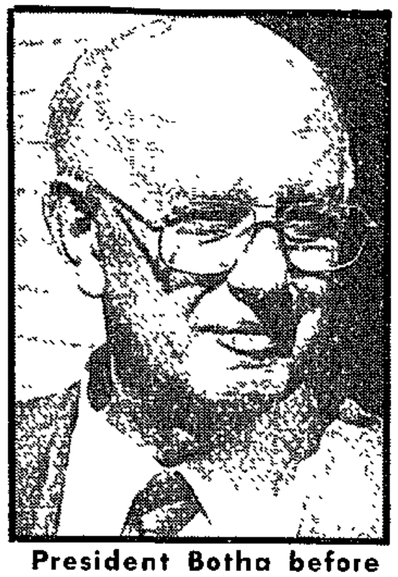


President Botha before leaving for his home at the Wilderness



Mr 'Boet' Botma .. I will never forget that silence.

truly pruned and few parliamentary correspondents were on hand for the announcement at the lunch-hour.

But by 4.30pm when De Klerk held his first press conference some 50 local and overseas journalists were there. Smiling and patient, he told them the election of a new leader was a party political matter with no direct or formal constitutional implications.

But he pointed out that with the separation of functions a special relationship would have to be developed between the state president, as executive head of the government, and himself as party leader. They'd always worked well together and he had no doubt the closest interaction could be achieved.

After the caucus decision F W telephoned his 84-year-old mother Mrs Corrie de Klerk in an old-age home in Sunnyside, Pretoria.

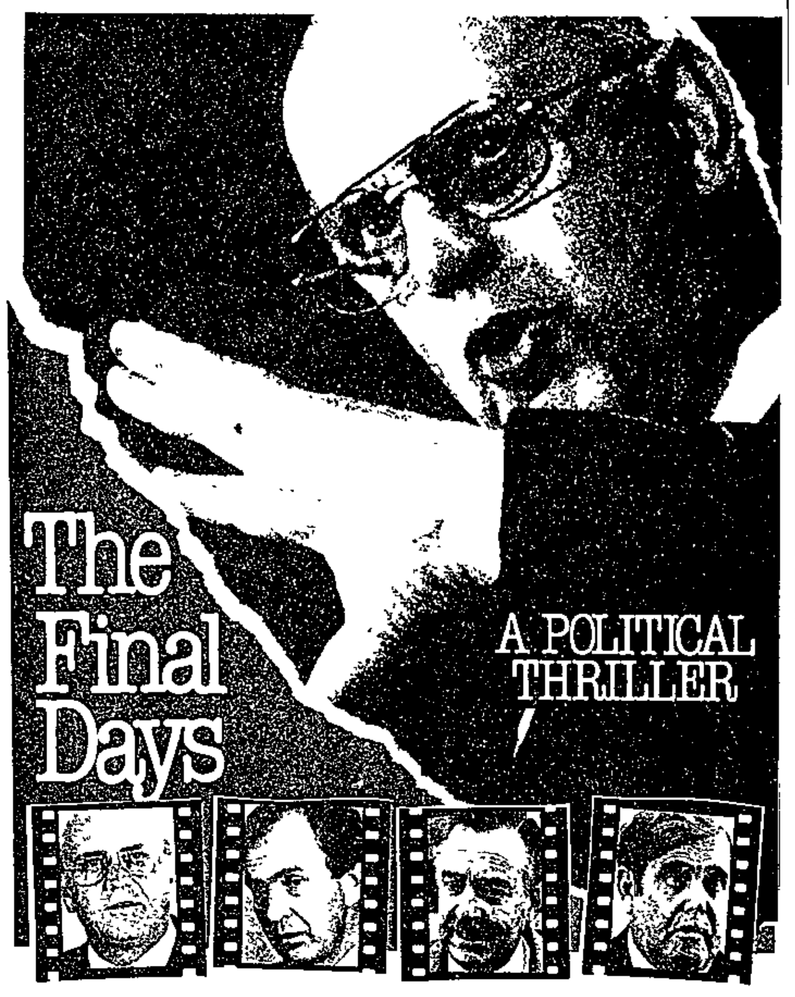
As she recalls, he said: "Mamma, I know it's your time to rest. Forgive me for disturbing you, but I want to tell you something — I have just been elected leader of the National Party."

IN their consternation Nationalist MPs hadn't considered all the implications.

Later it became clear that P W Botha saw the decision to go along with his action as agreeing to the two posts being separated. Tuynhuys sources suggest the caucus missed a subtlety in the president's letter; that he'd made up his mind about the separation of responsibilities before his illness and that the change was not sought because of it. His reference to his "health setback" merely meant it had prevented him from telling the caucus himself.

Meanwhile, there was renewed anxiety that a general election was being unduly delayed and whispers were that relations between De Klerk and P W Botha were not what they seemed. There was talk that they'd fallen out in the past, and of an especially heated confrontation after the '87 general election when the president supposedly had the Transvaal leader on the carpet after electoral gains by the Conservative Party.

It was claimed, too, that the president hadn't publicly congratulated De Klerk on his elevation and that the two only met again four days afterwards.



Above all, however, P W Botha had tried to retain the real power in the country by remaining head of state.

It was dawning on Nationalists that not only a unique but also a potentially untenable situation had been created and that the division of the posts of party leader and head of state couldn't continue indefinitely. The party leader would be politically emasculated without the executive powers held by the president.

On February 10 the president and Mrs Botha took off on a flying visit to George, and thence to their holiday home at the Wilderness. The following week he returned to his Tuynhuys office twice and by way of another excursion stepped out to a nearby barber for his usual trim.

Even so, he was still not his old self. Fealty dictated that the president deserved time to recover.

Unmistakably, though, the party wanted the posts of president and party leader to be united again. It meant P W Botha would have to stand down for the heir apparent, Frederik Willem de Klerk.

Some bruising encounters lay ahead.

(Compiled by T Wentzel and edited by A Drysdale, both of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

● TOMORROW: Confrontation between P W Botha and the National Party.

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The State Presidency will then become, in a most particular way, a binding factor in our country.

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No-one had turned up yet. In a few minutes they trooped in, unsuspecting, old hands exchanging greetings. As is the custom, proceedings opened with a prayer, this time by Deputy Minister Sam de Beer, one of four dominees in their ranks.

Botma rose, gazed momen-

Tuynhuys
Kaapstad

Tuynhuys
Cape Town

2 Februarie 1989

17-8-89

Meneer M C Botma LP
Die Volksraad
Parlementstraat
KAAPSTAD
8001

Geagte Vriend

Na aanleiding van my onlangse gesondheidsterugslag sal ek dit waardeer indien u hierdie brief aan die Koukus sal voorlê.

Na my mening behoort die amp van Staatspresident en die amp van Hoofleierskap van die Nasionale Party nou geskei te word.

Gevolglik sal ek dit waardeer indien die Koukus van die Nasionale Party nou die pos van Hoofleierskap kan vul sodat dit my in staat sal stel om net met die Staatspresidentsamp voort te gaan.

Die Staatspresidentskap word dan in 'n besondere mate 'n saambindende krag in ons land.

Ek dank al my vriende vir hul vertroue en vriendskap van die verlede.

Dit is my innige bede dat u die besondere genade van God Almagtig sal ontvang.

Met innige groete aan u almal.

Voorspoed en seën toegewens.

STAATSPRESIDENT

/gm

CHIEF whip Kepples Nemand supervised ballot papers as others went in search of a ballot box which was retrieved from a storeroom.

MPs were called alphabetically to get their voting forms.

As in the past Pik Botha, high profile and popular with the public but less so among the party professionals, was eliminated in the first round with 16 votes; Heunis was next with only 25 of his province's 47 votes, Du Plessis notched 30 and De Klerk 59.

Heunis went out in the second round and finally F W de Klerk clinched it with 69 votes to Du Plessis's 61 which, surprisingly, meant most of the earlier votes for Pik Botha and Heunis had swung to him.

Barend du Plessis had never been thought to be so strongly in the running, though many believed him to have favoured son status with the president. There were even suggestions afterwards that because the president preferred Du Plessis as his successor, his sudden announcement had not so much been to prevent a divisive leadership struggle but might have been intended to be to Du Plessis's advantage. The argument went that had there been time for canvassing, De Klerk, as Transvaal leader, would have consolidated his position.

ANOTHER interpretation was that the vote for Du Plessis was an indication, especially by younger MPs, that they wanted verligte leadership, something which Du Plessis prominently represented.

After F W de Klerk's election and a rallying pledge of support the caucus abandoned its other work and adjourned.

So unexpected had been P W Botha's move that the political grapevine, usually so fruitful, had been well and



President and Mrs Botha walk to their plane which was to fly them to the Wilderness

SA Bill of Rights not feasible at present

304A

Star 17/8/89

Dr F Van Zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Federal Party and a director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative, recently spoke out against National Party plans to consider the introduction of a Bill of Rights. Speaking to **BRUCE CAMERON** of The Star's political staff, he explained why.

The National Party would find it well nigh impossible to introduce a Bill of Rights under the current system, but if it did try it could give a Bill of Rights as a mechanism of individual protection a bad name.

Neither could a Bill of Rights itself be seen as a vehicle to precipitate constitutional change nor even be some sort of panacea to live happily ever after, Dr Slabbert said.

The NP faced a number of problems.

The first was the point made by the Law Commission when it investigated the possibility of a Bill of Rights, namely that laws of a racial nature had to be scrapped first before it could be made operative.

"A Bill of Rights must reflect a constitutional and legal system in which there cannot be statutory discrimination," Dr Slabbert said.

Laws such as the Population Registration Act, the Group Areas Act and discriminatory laws relating to land, for example, could not be maintained under a Bill protecting the liberty of the individual.

A Bill of Rights faced a further problem, not only for the NP but for any other party.

Even if there was a situation where there was no racial discrimination, the country would still be faced with "gross economic inequality" between blacks and whites.

Habeus corpus

First-generation rights, such as habeus corpus, freedom of association and movement and other civil liberties could be enforced by law.

Dr Slabbert said the problem lay with the second and third-generation rights, such as the right to work, health, shelter and a healthy ecology. A Bill of Rights could not get rid of these inequalities and they would have to be addressed through government policy.

This problem had given rise to debate over the redistribution of wealth. The debate was not new and simply "reflects the age-old tension" in any society between the values of individual liberty and equality of opportunity.

"In the South African context, one can only hope a non-racial and democratic constitution can provide a political framework to resolve the problem rather than through some type of totalitarian or authoritarian control."

Dr Slabbert argues that, as a result, the ending of white minority control was not sufficient and a Bill of Rights which would merely serve to protect white minority interests would be counter-productive.

"You cannot guarantee white privilege in a future constitution but neither can you guarantee a job and house for everyone."

Posturing

Those who were holding up a Bill of Rights during the current election campaign as some type of guarantee of white privilege "are simply indulging in political posturing".

They were deluding the voters and endangering a Bill of Rights.

"The real challenge will be what will happen politically, socially and economically after all forms of racial discrimination have been scrapped and South Africa enters a period of free and open political competition."

Despite the problems, he does not argue against a Bill of Rights, saying it would play a valuable role in protecting individual liberty, but it would also be unrealistic in the extreme to believe it would solve social and economic inequalities.

Dr Slabbert also warned the NP that there was no way that group rights could be protected in law by a Bill of Rights.

Nationalists had to realise that white group privilege had been built on discriminatory legislation. The NP was now pretending racial group rights were something natural and had to be protected by law.

"If Mr F W de Klerk enters the '90s with this in mind, he will not only fail to undo the stalemate and violence that is the legacy of his predecessor, he will compound it."

(News by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

BUSINESS

Will a post-apartheid economy deliver the goods?

WOULD a post-apartheid economy see the end of constraints to providing for all South Africans, or would it be very limited in what it could deliver?

This emerged as one of the key questions at a colloquium held in Lausanne, Switzerland, last month, which brought together South Africans in the government and in the African National Congress. The colloquium, at which 30 academic papers were delivered, had as its official objective to look at the potential of the South African economy and at appropriate policies in a situation "where all political obstacles to economic development would be removed".

Delegates from South Africa included Development Bank chairman Simon Brand, Reserve Bank senior deputy governor Jan Lombard and Frans Barker, acting chairman of the National Manpower Commission. They also included academics from the universities of Stellenbosch, Orange Free State, Western Cape, Cape Town and the Witwatersrand.

Also at the colloquium were Soviet and East German academics, as well as ANC economists based in Lusaka and London.

Some of the South African papers looked at what the costs would be of redressing the inequalities resulting from apartheid.

Stellenbosch University economist Servaas van der Berg was among those who stressed that "redistribution and social reform are constrained by limited resources.

"Once political apartheid is abolished, major changes are required to abolish fiscal apartheid," he said, and he spelled out possible consequences of this.

To meet the aspirations of the poor in the areas of education, social pensions, health and housing, the government would have to spend the equivalent of 28 percent of South Africa's gross domestic product on these, on a conservative estimate, or 35 percent, on a more liberal estimate, Van der Berg said. At present, government social spending on these areas is under 11 percent of GDP.

The question facing a conference of government and ANC speakers was whether a post-apartheid economy can redress inequalities, reports HILARY JOFFE

Van der Berg was examining the cost of introducing parity at white benefit levels and of addressing the housing needs of the poor. He argued this was not attainable, given scarce resources. Spending benefitting whites would have to be cut, expectations would have to be reduced "to levels commensurate with South Africa's resources as a developing country rather than with present white benefits", and new cost-effective methods of delivering social services would have to be devised.

University of Natal researcher Francie Lund also emphasised the constraints on addressing the problems of the poor, even in a post-apartheid society. "There is an urgent need to grow away from the 'the defence budget will be our salvation' syndrome' that permeates too much of the 'post apartheid South Africa' policy thinking," she said.

By this, she meant the tendency to think that "in future what is presently spent on the defence of an unjust regime will be the magical redistributive mechanism to achieve equality in health, education, welfare and indeed overcome the problems of poverty in general". Redistributive possibilities would depend crucially on future economic growth, Lund said.

In contrast, Unisa lecturer Maria Ramos and Wits lecturer Fuad Cassim were among those who argued that ending apartheid would result in a healthier economy which would be able to cater for people's needs.

"The absence of political constraints will allow for flexibility both in the allocation and distribution of the social product and the formulation of the institutional framework within which policy will be articulated," their paper concluded.

Absence of political constraints would re-open the gates for foreign funds, particularly loans and aid grants, which would help to provide finance for developing education, health and infrastructure, Ramos and Cassim argued. Private capital would also flow back into the country after what they called "the crisis of transition" had been resolved.

They also pointed to the "large savings" which would result from dismantling structures upholding apartheid, such as the military, the "colour-coded" education departments, "homelands" and the tricameral parliamentary structure.

University of the Western Cape economics lecturer Lieb Loots looked at the cost of addressing unemployment. He advanced a strategy for employment creation which put state spending on this over a 10 year period as between R2,6-billion a year and R6-billion (nine percent of this year's government budget).

Loots argued that neither free market nor "statist" approaches could adequately address the unemployment problem.

Many delegates reportedly favoured greater state intervention to address the problems of a post-apartheid South Africa. There were however those such as Rand Merchant Bank economist Rudolph Gouws who argued against increasing the government's share of the economy.

'Manna from heaven' for the CP

Star 17/8/89 (304A)

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party could make considerable gains in next month's election as a result of Mr P W Botha's remarks about the proposed Zambia visit.

This is the view of Dr Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

"Imagine the propaganda the CP will make out of PW's remarks when he resigned," Dr Boraine told a seminar at the University of Cape Town.

Mr Botha had suggested that President Kaunda wanted to influence Mr F W de Klerk to accept an ANC plan for South Africa.

"This is manna dropping out of heaven for the Conservative Party. The CP will argue that the choice is between the CP and the ANC in this election."

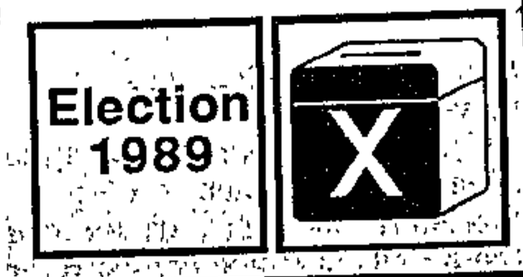
Dr Boraine said that although he saw the CP making considerable gains in the Transvaal and the Free State, he did not believe it would become the dominant party.

"In my view, the NP is going through considerable decline and the rot is probably impossible to stop," said Dr Boraine.

Mr de Klerk's leadership was a great improvement on Mr Botha because he was not as moody, was younger, had finesse and "basic decency".

"Hopefully, we will soon have some clear understanding of where he wants to take South Africa."

(Report by A Weiss, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town)



Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson, J M Patten and J de Villiers, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

CP man faces 14 fraud charges

By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

Mr Casper Hendrik Pieters, the Conservative Party candidate for Vanderbijlpark in the coming election, appeared briefly in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Court yesterday on 14 counts of fraud.

Mr Pieters (35), chairman of the CP-dominated Vanderbijlpark council's management committee, pleaded not guilty to the charges.

The hearing continues on October 5.

Star 17/8/89 (304A)

FW aims to break cycle of violence

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said last night his single most important task was to break South Africa out of the cycle of violence, conflict and confrontation.

"I will try my level best to let that take precedence in whatever I do," he told a highly vocal audience of about 500 people in Houghton, Johannesburg.

Mr de Klerk's address was peppered with sharp interjections and questions as he ventured into the heart of Democratic Party country.

He said South Africa was not a happy country. It was torn by strife, threatened by conflict, subjected to terrorist attacks, and facing onslaught by people who made money out of running it down.

The new South Africa would not arrive in two or three years. It would first have to rid itself of the antagonism of the past before making a breakthrough back into the international community.

South Africa could not be sold with a public relations campaign. It would have to find a new understanding between people.

"If this happens it will be the dawning of a new South Africa."

Mr de Klerk said the DP's election manifesto was politically dishonest and misleading.

It reassured white voters that DP policy would not lead to black majority rule. It said the DP stood not for a system of one-man, one-vote in a unitary state but for a "universal adult franchise in a federal system".

Mr de Klerk said in every unit of the DP's federation and in the federal parliament, there would be black majority rule.

"If you believe in majority rule, then vote DP, but if you don't, don't let them mislead you."

Mr de Klerk sad the DP manifesto also hid its policy of open schools. The only reference to the policy was that "empty benches will be filled".

He also accused it of trying to toughen up its poor security image with the promise to double the police force — while it was "snuggling up to the ANC" and condoning the Mass Democratic Movement's defiance campaign against the elections.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)



The Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, in the heart of DP country in Houghton last night, said he wanted to create an atmosphere of co-operation and to build a new spirit in the country in which people could ask how they could find each other. "My single most important task is for this country to break out of the cycle of violence, confrontation and conflict."

THE NEW PRESIDENCY

Making F W's Cabinet

The shape of F W de Klerk's Cabinet after September's general election takes on new significance following this week's ousting of P W Botha.

The 15 ministers who confronted Botha at Tuynhuys on Monday were "F W's team" to a man. During hours of talks over the previous two days, De Klerk forged a united Cabinet stand against the man who gave them office.

It was a remarkable achievement, considering the potential for division within the group. Until last week's crisis, De Klerk had both rivals and detractors in the Cabinet; Botha had empathisers, if not outright supporters.

The Cabinet's unanimous demand for Botha's immediate resignation indicates the degree of control De Klerk has achieved since taking over as party leader in February. As Acting State President and head of the Cabinet in the run-up to the election, his stature is likely to grow. The unequivocal backing he received from the existing Cabinet indicates that all those who wish it are likely to be reappointed — though some may be given new roles.

Of the full Cabinet members, only Education & Training Minister Gerrit Viljoen appears to be in some danger of losing his seat, but De Klerk is expected to nominate him to parliament if this happens.

There is little doubt that "negotiation" will be the De Klerk administration's priority. Five members of the Cabinet are likely to play key roles in the initiative. De Klerk himself will take the lead; Justice Minister and Free State leader Kobie Coetsee, the main link to the jailed Nelson Mandela; Foreign Minister Pik Botha; Gerrit Viljoen, a staunch De Klerk supporter and respected intellectual; and Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe, who has long been regarded as government's kite-flyer in attempts to find common ground with extra-parliamentary opponents.

It is understood that apart from Coetsee's regular contact with Mandela, Pik Botha, Viljoen and Van der Merwe have all recently met the jailed leader. A meeting between De Klerk and Mandela seems the most likely next step (particularly in the wake of P W Botha's precedent-setting tea party last month).

It is likely that Pik Botha, Coetsee and Van der Merwe will retain their portfolios. Viljoen may get a new post. The ongoing DET scandal has dented his image, and De Klerk may wish to free him from the responsibilities of a large department to concentrate on negotiation.

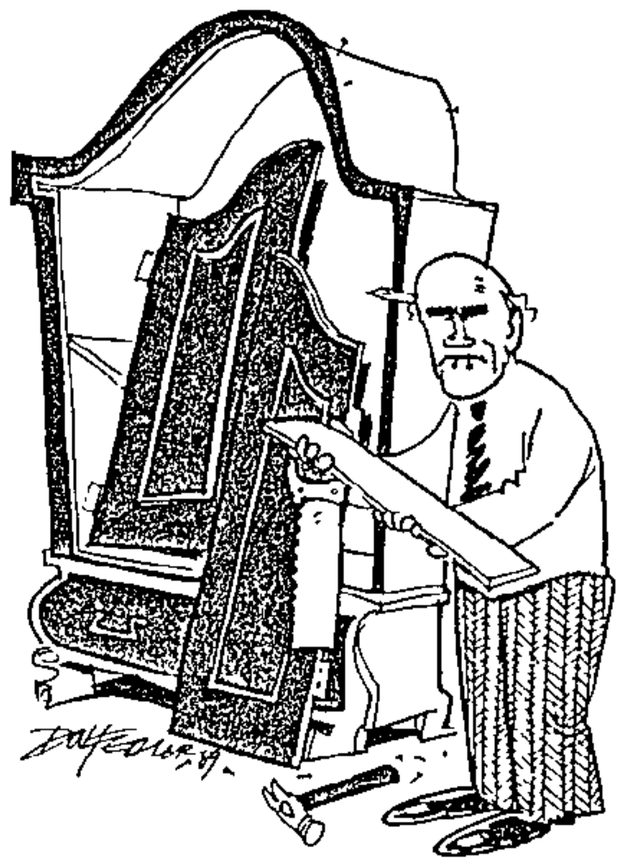
Pik Botha will ride shotgun for De Klerk as he did for P W Botha (his role in this week's crisis has set the scene for a close working relationship), and he could open the road to Africa for the new president, just as he paved the way for P W Botha's historic European tour in 1984.

Coetsee's position could become shaky if the NP suffers too severely at the hands of the CP in the Free State. Current estimates are that the Nats could lose between six and nine of the 14 seats. But Coetsee's role as intermediary is probably too important. In any case, the Transvaal (where De Klerk is still provincial leader) will see ground lost to both the CP and the DP. There is a strong chance that Vereeniging, De Klerk's old seat, will fall to the CP.

It seems, therefore, that De Klerk will choose men with the ability to contribute to the negotiation process, rather than those whose provincial origins, home language or electoral achievements give better balance to the Cabinet (which have been important factors in the past).

The economy and international financial relations are obviously priorities. Again, it seems likely that De Klerk will stick with his current team of Barend du Plessis in Finance and Dawie de Villiers in Privatisation. With the retirement of Danie Steyn, deputy Theo Alant is expected to become Economic Affairs & Technology Minister, though Own Affairs Budget Minister Kent Durr may also be considered.

If Du Plessis is moved from Finance, Durr could take the job ahead of Du Plessis' deputy, Org Marais, whose image is at an all-time low following a series of foot-in-mouth statements about the state of the economy. However, there is no other obvious role for Du Plessis except, perhaps, Foreign Affairs, but Pik Botha seems set to stay put.



Apart from overseeing government's privatisation initiative, Dawie de Villiers is likely to play an important stabilising role in both Cabinet and party. There is little doubt that the NP in the Cape (where De Villiers is leader) will fare far better on September 6 than in the other three provinces (possibly winning as many seats as the NP's combined total in the rest of the country). It will be a considerable power base, and De Klerk will have to be sure of Cape support if his initiatives are to succeed. As a known "verligte," De Villiers is likely to want change sooner rather than later.

Other posts to be filled include De Klerk's own National Education portfolio, Agriculture (Greyling Wentzel is quitting), Home Affairs (Stoffel Botha has already quit) and Manpower, Public Works and Land Affairs (Pietie du Plessis).

National Education could go to Own Affairs Education Minister Piet Clase, or one of a number of deputy ministers knocking on the Cabinet room door. Agriculture could go to Environment & Water Affairs Minister Gert Kotze (a former Deputy Minister of Agriculture) or the current deputy, Kraai van Niekerk.

Most likely elevations from the ranks of the other deputy ministers are Myburgh Streicher, Sam de Beer (if he retains his Geduld seat, though De Klerk could also nominate him), Roelf Meyer, Michael Veldman (another possible CP victim) and George Bartlett (a possible DP victim).

Other ministers expected to retain their posts are Eli Louw (Transport), Willie van Niekerk (National Health), Adriaan Vlok (Law & Order) and Magnus Malan (Defence). Though Malan was essentially a P W Botha creation, he appears to have proved loyalty to De Klerk and serves a useful purpose in balancing the increasing number of Cabinet doves with his hawkish approach to politics. ■

NEGOTIATION

MDM watchwords

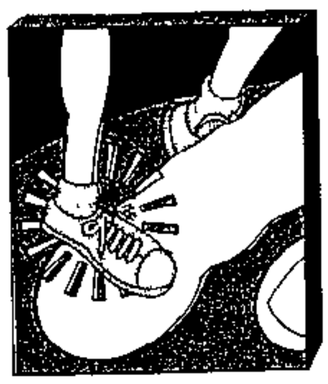
In the light of ex-President P W Botha's reasons for opposing F W de Klerk's visit to Zambia — he said the ANC was being orchestrated from Lusaka and that President Kenneth Kaunda was playing a key role in consolidating an ANC stance on negotiations to win the initiative — it is fascinating and instructive to consider the attitude of what's now become known as the Mass

(304A)

P W BOTHA-F W DE KLERK

When the gloves came off

De Klerk must shake free of P W's shadow — and rewrite the constitution



For P W Botha, there had been one more Rubicon to cross — how to fade away with dignity. He never managed it. For the party he served as a political bruiser from youth on, the time — bare weeks before a crucial general election — was unpropitious. Worse, he went public with his bitterness and lingers in memory as a frail old Sampson lashing out at the pillars of the temple.

On Monday night millions of South Africans, cued and fixed upon their TV sets, witnessed the final moments of the political life of a man who has dominated the fates of them all over more than a decade. While there was a widespread sense of pity and waste, there was also relief. Pieter Willem Botha, in the end, seemed unable to relinquish his grasp on power.

This was evident in the rampant speculation of the day on the legalistic nuances of the constitution — each and every loophole Botha might have exploited was scrutinised with some dread by the very people who had enthusiastically ratified its dubious elevation of the state presidency to heights of power unequalled in SA history this century.

During the past few months of deepening tension, many warned that P W's desperate grip on the keys of Tuynhuys could irreparably harm the country, or, at the very least, the NP's electoral chances. Over the years there had been precise analysis — not least by the *FM* — of the damage done to political and economic prospects by the ageing and quirky State President. The fall of the rand, after Rubicon, was recalled; and that disastrous speech fell precisely four ycars before the resignation.

It was ironic that an *FM* cover caption — "A vote for me is a vote for poverty" — last year caused newly sworn-in Acting State President F W de Klerk to come to Botha's defence in parliament. Ironic because if anything really led to P W's downfall, it was that the truth contained in that caption became common intellectual currency among the Nationalists seeking a way out of the impasse Botha had led them into.

That, *and* arrogance *and* an increasing failure to face the facts meant that when the inevitable happened it would to many seem shocking. Radio phone-ins suggested that P W had elicited enormous sympathy for his lonely-old-man stance; and that F W remains very much an unknown factor.

Another *FM* cover featuring P W asked pertinently on January 27: "How much longer?" The question arose out of the old man's stroke, the truth about which his office at the time was less than frank. The answer, given the erratic behaviour and political uncertainty of the months since then — the dilly-dallying over the date of the election, Botha's personal ungraciousness towards De Klerk, the insistence on the technical prerogatives of power, and so on — was, simply, "too long . . ."

For the NP, with the election campaign entering its final weeks, the fear must be that Botha will not remain silent in the Wilderness — but use his exile to snipe at those he sees as having supplanted him, and whom he has already accused of disloyalty. The smooth transition they hoped for has not occurred — despite their best efforts at compromise — and the effort now must fall on damage limitation.

As Botha became an increasing embarrassment and liability, the Nationalist press faithfully reflected the change in fortunes. P W's stroke (which may have resulted in the sporadic loss of memory Pik Botha spoke of on TV); his failure to turn up at the NP's federal congress in Pretoria; his refusal to adhere to accepted norms when he stubbornly declined an invitation to an NP farewell dinner; his vow to return to office — these in combination caused the newspapers to switch their allegiance to the Transvaal crown prince.

It became apparent in the weeks prior to the resignation that the NP and its media would only reluctantly tolerate P W's presence in Tuynhuys until September 6. He was perceived as potentially harmful to the party's prospects — and, underlining that, there was the equivocal leadership of De Klerk, who was sniped at by the opposition for putting up a lacklustre performance. And Nat polls showed the DP making some heavy inroads into Afrikaner territory, while the Conservatives were tacitly conceded increasing gains on the Right.

A target for the Nats to focus on was needed — so enter security and law 'n order. The emergence of the MDM with its militant though peaceful campaign of protests and civil disobedience was a godsend. Familiar smears and fears were revved up. That was what lay behind the publication of the NP campaign advertisement which used — without permission — a *Vrye Weekblad* picture showing the DP's Wynand Malan and Sampie Terreblanche with the ANC's Joe Slovo. This gave the NP a welcome opportunity for some DP bashing.

But while Law & Order Minister Adriaan Vlok had a field day, the party hierarchy conveniently forgot Andries Treurnicht's jibes about Botha's tea-party with Nelson Mandela; and, indeed, they appeared to forget about P W.

But P W was not about to be forgotten. Last Friday's unexpected outburst — and it was just that — from Tuynhuys over F W's proposed visit to Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda, and the resulting crisis which faced the Nats over the weekend, is now past history. Within days SA had a new president who promised to "carry on with renewed momentum to build a new SA." But it will not be as simple as that; nor can P W safely be consigned to yesterday's news.

For a start, the outcome of Monday's showdown in Cape Town has come as a surprise to political journalists and those who came to know Botha well over the years. It is just not in the man's make-up to quietly, if a little self-pityingly, hand over power — as he did when faced by a seemingly united Cabinet. Ever since he became PM in the wake of the Info debacle, Botha's ruthlessness has suggested he should never be underestimated.

Although the circumstances differed in key respects from that of the late John Vorster's fall from grace, Botha, like Vorster — whom he excommunicated from the NP inner circle — is not the sort of person to quietly eat his biltong in serene retirement. His political ghost may haunt the corridors of Tuynhuys in the months, and indeed years, ahead. This is so because of the structural dangers of such a concentration of power in a single office — a dictatorial prospect of which the Conservatives warned years ago.



De Klerk ... facing high expectations

304A

He helped to forge the instrument of his elevation — and of what seems set to become an ambiguous place in Afrikaner history.

After serving the interests of the party for more than 20 years, as he noted in his valediction, Botha's behaviour and his reasons for it seem to contradict his proud claim of being a party loyalist. *Beeld* says plainly that, judged on his last message, the former leader will not easily be forgiven for "playing into the hands of those who for years have been seeking (his) destruction and that of his party."

The newspaper drew the comparison with a blind Samson — and said the final image of Botha would be that of someone intent on pulling down the pillars on himself and his friends.

Who stands to gain from Botha's incredible performance? Undoubtedly the CP, according to Stellenbosch political scientist Hennie Kotze. Botha's reaction to the proposed Kaunda meeting and the ANC's presence in Zambia — which included a remarkably naive reference to the organisation's farming activities — may play right into the hands of the Conservatives.

In this sense, it appears that the hoary Nat strategy of attacking the former PFP — lately the DP — as being "soft on security" could easily backfire on the party. If Botha had set out to deliberately sabotage the campaign, he could not have chosen the ammunition more astutely. He turned the propaganda machinery — historically used with much success against the Left — on the Nats themselves. In the process there seems to have been yet another little memory lapse.

After all, Botha has himself previously met Kaunda — and of course the leader of the ANC. The CP will not let this rest. Although Pik Botha set out on TV the organisation's presence in London, as well as other European and African capitals, neither he nor De Klerk thought to cross-refer to P W's meetings with Kaunda and Mandela. It was a lost opportunity.

In the end P W — in his anger at "being ignored" by Cabinet members — made it look as if the disloyal ministers were doing something irresponsible and dangerous, contrary to his sage advice.

Beeld, for one, recognises the damaging effect the Kaunda factor may have on waverers within the NP — to the benefit of the CP. The reaction from rightwing opposition quarters was to be expected, the paper said, and went on to warn: "There will be some of them who will find justification in his words for their own fatal policies."

It should be recalled that after Botha gave Vorster the historic brush-off, the former premier's sympathies with the CP grew increasingly blatant and electorally damaging. He, too, was able to project himself as a staunch Afrikaner and patriot; and, unlike Botha, had to overcome the liability of being a proven liar to do it ...

Pik Botha did manage to score off Treurnicht. Referring to the CP leader's sudden concern about the wellbeing of the former president, he was able to remind the CP supremo about the recent uproar over P W Botha's dead animals — transported to the presidential home by a police vehicle. But the barb hardly reflects well on the Nationalists for having sought — virtually surreptitiously — to conceal the rising level of eccentricity in their once-chosen favoured son.

Perhaps a cleaner, stronger, earlier break would have best served the interests of the incoming administration. It doesn't bode well for the delicate task of rebuilding the economy and international relations, *and* negotiating with blacks, that the Nats botched the exit of one man, however forbidding.

F W de Klerk takes over in an uncertain period for the Nats. Facing an election in which his own province is bound to struggle against a concerted rightwing attack in the rural areas, and a rejuvenated left-of-centre party which still relishes the triumph of the Linden by-election, he needs to gain credibility and authority.

Since his election as party leader, he had to operate under the severe constraints and the fury of the P W regime and its direct effects on his capacity to operate. This was all too evident on Monday when Botha read out the letter he wrote to his designated successor complaining about De Klerk's policy statements and proposed European and African visits.

Unquestionably, De Klerk and Pik Botha would like those rebukes to be seen for what they essentially are — the petty exercise of power that has for years smacked of authoritarianism. Some will see a sharper edge to the criticism behind the petulance. De Klerk did not come out well with the revelation that, in the field of foreign affairs, he remained very much under P W's shadow.

Certainly, the Acting State President has had very little previous exposure to international affairs. Whether he will get to grips with the new challenge remains to be seen. It is therefore imperative that — under the watchful guidance of Foreign Minister Botha — he should keep that appointment with Kaunda. It looks set to happen.

A personal meeting between the two leaders may give further impetus to the peace initiatives in southern Africa — and that step holds out enormous economic possibilities for all. In any event, a delay until after the election would neutralise any positive elements which his confrontation and subsequent victory over P W on precisely this issue may have had. And even that is in doubt.

For the home political audience, the meeting will be a calculated risk, according to Stellenbosch's Kotze. However, after De Klerk's consultations with Britain's Margaret Thatcher and West Germany's Helmut Kohl — and with memories of what happened in 1985 — he should be mindful of the consequences which face SA in the event of reform stalling yet again.

Both Vorster and P W came to power on the promise of reform — and the penalties were all the more severe when these expectations were dashed over time.

Kotze is not altogether hopeful that De Klerk *will* bring about drastic changes: "Given his attachment to the group concept (which features strongly in De Klerk's five-year plan), I think he will find it difficult to get blacks to the negotiation table."

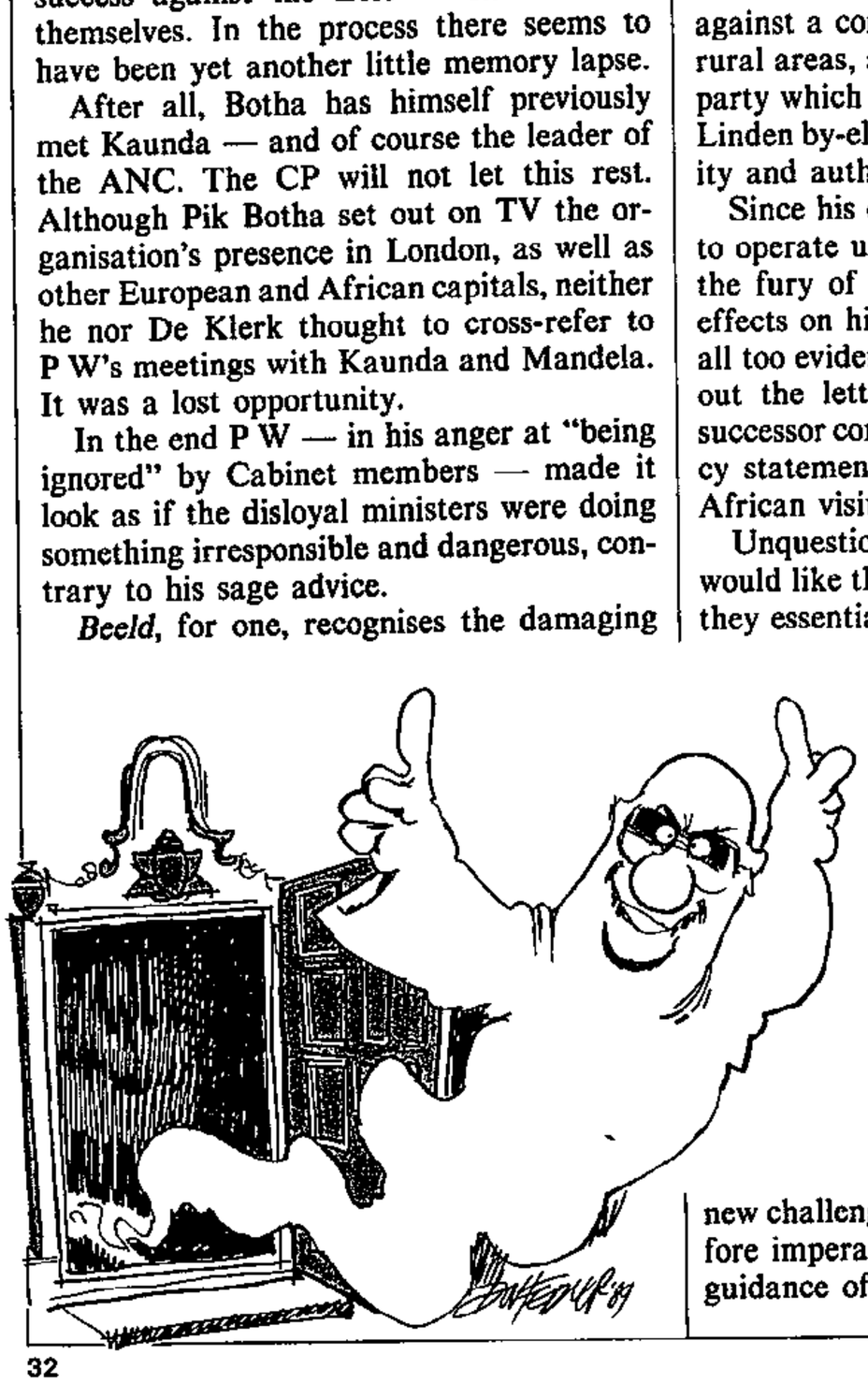
Interesting, however, is the role being played by Pik Botha. Despite their previous ideological differences, the Foreign Minister is now seen to be a pillar of strength to De Klerk. In his contact with the British and European leaders De Klerk must have appreciated the parameters within which SA's foreign policy has to operate. And after the confrontation with the former president it was again Pik who shared the TV cameras with his new leader.

Historically, the Nats have always closed ranks on occasions like these. United, one assumes, under their new leader, the wheels of the famous party election machine should soon start to get into gear. If this PR activity can be combined with real action it may as in the past become ineluctable. If not, attrition to the Left and more gains for the CP will be certain.

The lessons for the NP are clear. Most immediately, the 1983 constitution is inadequate — so much power in the hands of one man spells danger. This time the Nats were lucky. Democratic controls need to be enacted so that the situation can never recur; and beyond that a new constitution which genuinely reflects national priorities needs to be written. In many ways this will be the task of the De Klerk administration — if it is not, a few years down the line, to trail off into uncertainty and stasis.

Pik Botha at least recognises this. Replying to a questioner who raised this issue during a Randburg political meeting after his TV appearance, he said the constitution needs looking at. It certainly does.

As for F W — will he *do* something, or will he follow in the footsteps of those leaders before him whose paths ended in a morass?



FW denies move to ANC talks

VEREENIGING — The Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, last night rejected claims that by meeting President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia he was taking a step towards negotiating with the African National Congress.

Anyone who suggested the Government was secretly planning to negotiate with the ANC was guilty of a lie, he told a meeting at Vereeniging attended by about 1 200 people.

The National Party was "fed-up with the CP's rumour-mongering" about his Zambian visit. The CP had twisted and distorted the facts to try to insinuate the Government would be dealing with the ANC and SA Communist Party, said Mr de Klerk.

The NP would negotiate with all people who were looking for peaceful solutions. — Sapa.

(Report by P Claassen, Press Gallery, Parliament, and K Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

(304A)

Split with PW was last straw — Treurnicht

NP leadership crisis 'harmed SA image'

By Dirk Nel,
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — The political crisis within the National Party during the past week had irreparably harmed South Africa's image abroad and projected an image of instability, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, told a meeting here last night.

"If the Nats thought we in the CP and voters in general were going to allow them to get away with this kind of bungling, they are mistaken," he said.

He said many NP supporters had told him the split between the former State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Cabinet had been the last straw. They now planned to vote for the CP.

He claimed it was no secret that many previouly loyal Nationalists were not prepared to walk the road spelt out by the Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk.

The CP leader predicted his party would make a clean sweep of the Transvaal platteland, likening the growing support of the CP to a wheel "which had started rolling faster and faster, flattening Nats as far as it goes".

He called for a show of hands in the audience from those under the age of 30. About 40 percent responded. He charged them with the work of carrying on "the task which us older ones started.

This hardship and the struggle for self-determination of whites was now beginning to bring dividends.

The audience, estimated at about 1 100 and composed mainly of Pietersburg voters, enthusiastically cheered when three CP stalwarts, Mr Piet Niemand, Mr Doepel Erasmus and Dr Willie Snyman, were welcomed on the platform. Mr Niemand was NP MP for Pietersburg in the 1960s and was succeeded by Mr Erasmus and then Dr Snyman, who is the sitting MP. All three are now in the CP.

(Report by D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg.)



Battling it out in Boksburg . . . HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais told the party faithful last night that the NP's decline began when it allowed two Maori players to tour the country as part of a New Zealand rugby team.

Business talks softly, but waves the big stick

A new study of South African politics and economics includes a section which argues that business has been unfairly accused of intervening in politics only in times of crisis. HILARY JOFFE reports

BUSINESS pressure for reform hasn't disappeared — it's just gone underground. While the politics of business may not be as high profile as they were in 1985/86, attempts to influence public policy are continuing, in quieter and more sustained fashion.

This is the conclusion of Dr Robin Lee and Fran Buntman of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies in a contribution to a book published this week.

The book, *South Africa at the End of the Eighties*, is the first in what CPS intends to be an annual series.

Lee and Buntman's contribution, intriguingly titled "The Limousine Lizard and the Taxi Proletariat", examines the business sector's involvement in policy change from 1985 to 1989, based on a scan of media coverage and interviews with business leaders.

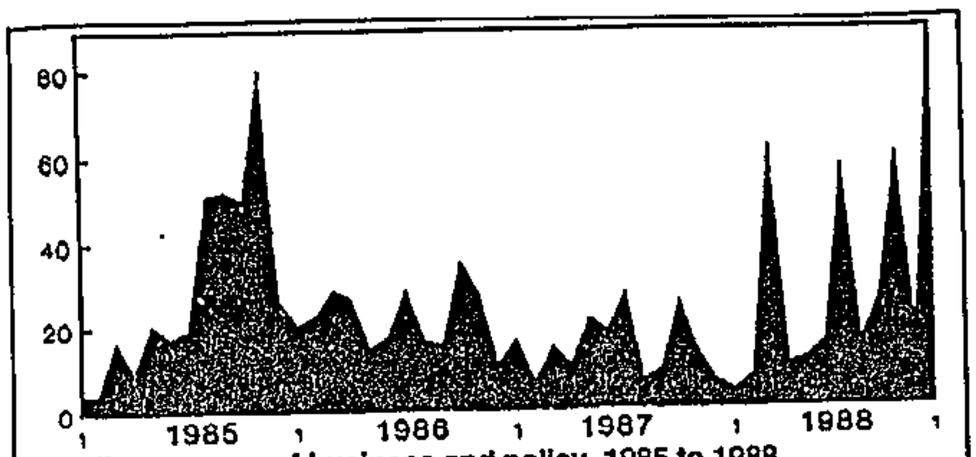
They challenge the "conventional wisdom" that business has intervened in politics and public policy only in times of economic recession or severe political unrest. This was indeed the cycle until the mid-1980s, and is still the case for some business people. But things have changed in the aftermath of 1985-86, with business leaders exhibiting what Lee and Buntman see as a more durable commitment to change.

As evidence for their view of business' commitment to change in 1989, Lee and Buntman cite:

- Increasing business interest in public policy, shown in business support for longer-term planning within corporations and for independent policy research programmes and organisations
- New attempts to unite democratic business and professional people and to establish contact and dialogue with extra-parliamentary forces — the Consultative Business Movement, formed last year, and the Five Freedoms Forum Business and Economy group are prime examples
- Interviews conducted by CPS in 1988 indicated "the relative silence of business on some policy issues was not lack of interest or commitment but often a deliberate, low-profile strategy on the part of business leaders".

At the same time, Lee and Buntman take on both sides of the debate about the political power of business.

In their view, business "cannot do as much as some extra-parliamentary forces believe". But "it can and should do more than it has".



Media coverage of business and policy, 1985 to 1988
Source: CENTRE FOR POLICY STUDIES

Politics gets sophisticated

BUSINESS people have generally preferred to comply with laws, even if they oppose these, than they have been to engage in public protest.

Dr Robin Lee of Wits University's Centre for Policy Studies outlines 10 ways in which business has dealt with public policy issues — in order of business' willingness to engage in these. But he suggests the politics of business have become more sophisticated over the last four years.

Business' actions have included:

- **Direct and willing involvement in the formulation and implementation of policy**
- **Compliance with the law**
- **Non-compliance, whether silent or overt, with the law.**
- **Individual influence on policy-makers through friendship and other networks**
- **Routine participation in policy-making through formal membership of state sponsored bodies**
- **Use of opportunities to comment to commissions of enquiry or hearings of the President's Council**
- **Public opposition and protest to policy moves by the state**
- **Development and promotion of new alternatives to existing policies**
- **Proposing the business sector as a facilitator between conflicting policy positions or political actors**
- **Pursuance of corporate social responsibility programmes. Involvement in social action to advance or support certain policy changes has recently become widespread.**

Business people have demonstrated their ability to wield influence over the political process. They have not reached the point where they are using to the full the potential power that they have.

In interviews, Lee and Buntman found respondents generally recognised "that business underestimates its potential and actual policy clout". But, they add, part of the problem is that business people have seldom acted in a concerted way — so their leverage has not been what it might have been.

They argue, also, that business is ultimately subordinate to the state — in contrast to the view which stresses the partnership of state and capital.

The years 1985-86 saw the highest level of public statements from business against apartheid.

But the public outspokenness of many business leaders and organisations in 1985/86 tailed off as repression mounted and as the state "admonished" business for its statements. The trend was reinforced as the threat of sanctions grew and the economy began to improve.

By 1987/88, business people were less vociferous in their public statements about the "crisis" and the need for change.

But, Lee and Buntman argue, in private, "the commitment to change and reform became more focused and strategic and therefore, in our opinion, more durable. This was linked to a deliberate low-key public image."

A "vanguard" of leading business people emerged at the "forefront in attempting to define and promote progressive business interests in politics and policy change". Lee notes that their research, based as it was on media coverage, tended to reflect the outlook of this vanguard, rather than necessarily of business as a whole.

And during 1988 there was once again a high level of business intervention on political issues — stimulated by legislative moves, for example on group areas, as well as by the reimposition of petty apartheid in Boksburg.

But several incidents raised the question of how much political power business really had.

In one case of relatively successful lobbying, business acted primarily in response to pressure from the trade unions. Talks last year on the Labour Relations Amendment Bill between the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the SA Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), which represents most employer organisations, were significant but ultimately failed. It was only when there was stayaway action in September that the government offered to suspend certain parts of the Bill — in response to lobbying by Saccola.

Lee and Buntman's account shows also the limits there have been to the success of business' most concerted efforts to lobby for change. There was widespread business opposition last year to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill — led by the Urban Foundation's well-researched campaign — and to the Group Areas Amendment Bill. The Group Areas Bill was dropped while the squatting bill became law.

This would seem to indicate that business has only limited power — the government's actions on the two urban policy Bills were a response more to other political needs and pressures than to the utterances of business.

Lee and Buntman do not take this to indicate that business is therefore powerless. But they find there has been a shift among business leaders to a recognition that protest politics do not necessarily work and more sophisticated, ongoing strategies are needed.

Business leaders interviewed by CPS acknowledged, first, the need to "put their own house in order", in part because it made economic and moral sense, but also because it was part of changing individual attitudes and therefore of contributing to broader acceptance of change.

A minority of those interviewed saw as important dialogue with "alternative" actors and organisations in the black community.

Another major theme which emerged was that business people saw it as important to support established and new policy research bodies so they could base their approaches on sound research proposals.

Lee and Buntman point however to a tension in this: while business people are moving away from protest politics, they are acting in a context of popular protest politics.

Political actors who want to see greater business intervention in politics must recognise that business' style of expressing concern and protest differs from that of actors in the extra-parliamentary arena.

In discussing prospects for 1989/90, Lee and Buntman suggest progressive business leaders should not just ensure rational and well-researched policy proposals for change — they must also expand the constituency which supports such proposals. Marketing skills will be needed to "enable the business sector to develop and promote 'social images' of the future".

They suggest also that business people act in defiance of unacceptable government policies, particularly in areas where there are legal loopholes.

Cape Times 18/8/89 (30 KM)

Paris row erupts over Durban's mayor

Own Correspondent

PARIS. — The presence of mayor of Durban, Mr Derrick Watterson, at the World Conference of Mayors here has provoked a major row and led to calls by the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement to have him ejected.

Mr Watterson is being targeted because of his decision two months ago to use his casting vote against the opening of all Durban's beaches to all races.

He also shunned the opening of the Durban Film Festival earlier this year because he said the film "A World Apart" — based on the childhood of Shawn Slovo, daughter of ANC leader Mr Joe Slovo — was "ANC propaganda".

The conference is being attended by about 150 mayors.

The South African delegation is largely black and, according to the organisers, includes the mayor of Soweto.

Mr Tom Boya of Daveyton Town Council in Benoni said he was not aware of any opposition from among the delegates to Mr Watterson.

He denied that he was an apologist for the SA government. "If anything, we are considered rather left-wing in South Africa," he said.

Mr Watterson has already attended the first session of the three-day conference, which ends on Saturday, but ANC spokesman in Paris said a black leader had been sent from South Africa to join the fight against Mr Watterson.

"We will decide on the best strategy when Dr Aslam Dassoo arrives from Johannesburg," the spokesman said.

But Mr Augustin Benoit, a spokesman for the conference organisers, said Mr Watterson appeared to be getting on well with more than a dozen black South African mayors attending the conference.

The ANC spokesman described Mr Boya and the other black mayors as "collaborators".

A spokesman for the French Anti-Apartheid Movement said newspapers had already been tipped off and protests would be stepped up today.

● Mr Watterson's trip to Paris was strongly condemned by some Durban city councillors because of the cost to ratepayers — R20 000.

It was learnt yesterday that he and his wife Maysie are staying at the Concorde Lafayette, a five-star hotel a stone's throw away from the Champs-Elysees.

According to a hotel spokesman the rate for a double-room is about R450 a night (1 100 francs) and does not include breakfast.

President Botha and the party lock horns

Sowetan 18/8/89

3049

FOCUS ON NP CRISIS

A SICKLY president's departure for his coastal retreat at the Wilderness left hanging in the air the question of whether he would stay on in public life.

By the original announcement he still had two weeks to recuperate. Thereafter he would decide. Everything, then, hinged on how well P W Botha recovered.

Surprisingly, after officialdom's cautious disclosure about the president's condition and activities, the Press and television were invited to Ysterplaat air force base on February 17 to record the presidential couple's departure, the first public exposure since his illness.

What they, and the nation saw later, shook them. A gaunt, frail-looking president, the collar of his shirt wide about his neck, had shed weight and his left hand - sometimes concealed by the hat he was carrying - trembled badly at times.

But, clearly, the physicians were satisfied about his recovery; an update on his health the same day declared the president had improved to such an extent that specialist treatment was no longer needed.

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Within a week, on February 23, he seemed to give the answer when he flew back to Cape Town and that afternoon returned to Tuynhuys where he talked to officials and attended to correspondence.

A Tuynhuys spokesman indicated it was no more a question of whether P W Botha would resume duties but of when.

On the surface Nationalist MPs welcomed this as putting an end to uncertainty.

Yet uncertainties persisted over other "burning issues"; disquiet over the delay in calling a general election, even the possibility of once again having a prime minister was mooted.

Convictions that the posts of party leader and president could not be split indefinitely were hardening.

Sensing the mood, Acting President Chris Heunis warned against exploiting P W Botha's illness for political ends.

There were "transparent" opposition attempts to embarrass the Government, he said. The president needed time to recover so he could take his own decisions.

In spite of his indisposition, the president showed a lively interest in the daily administration of the country.

But the mood in the party was fast changing. In an interjection in parliament Piet Coetzer, MP of Springs, said P W de Klerk, as leader-in-chief, now interpreted nationalist policy.



Comrade

And former Minister Hendrik Schoeman, veteran political comrade-in-arms, was to urge the president to quit for the sake of the party. He boldly showed his colours at a platteland rally by insisting that without real powers P W de Klerk's hands were "chopped off".

Schoeman was saying what many others were thinking but wouldn't dare put their names to.

The sullenness which pervaded the party worsened when on March 2, P W Botha returned to Cape Town on another short visit from Wilderness and met senior Ministers, including F W de Klerk.

Afterwards it was announced the president would resume duty after the Easter weekend. Along with his cabinet colleagues, he would "pay attention to matters such as constitutional adjustments, possible election dates, foreign affairs, security matters and the economy."

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To their dismay the president also disclosed that, although he was no longer leader of the party, he believed he had another power base; the support of "all good South Africans".

Coincidentally, it was the first time previously supportive newspapers had turned against him. The day it published the interview *Die Burger*, for so long a staunch ally, revealed its disaffection, even if in the most respectful terms.

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Confusing

There was the possibility that his intention to resume his post was confusing the party and harming its current momentum.

Leading Nationalists believed his retirement need not harm his reputation, but a dispute about his future could cause great damage.

By saying what it did, *Die Burger*, hurt P W Botha more than anything, MPs observed. After all, he'd had a close relationship with the newspaper since his distant days as a party organiser.

As one of them put it: "To be bitten by one's own dogs hurts most".

Others, too, turned on him. The Johannesburg-based *Beeld* quoted from a book Dr D F Malan wrote nearly 30 years ago in which he referred to a "season for coming and a season for going".

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● Continues



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

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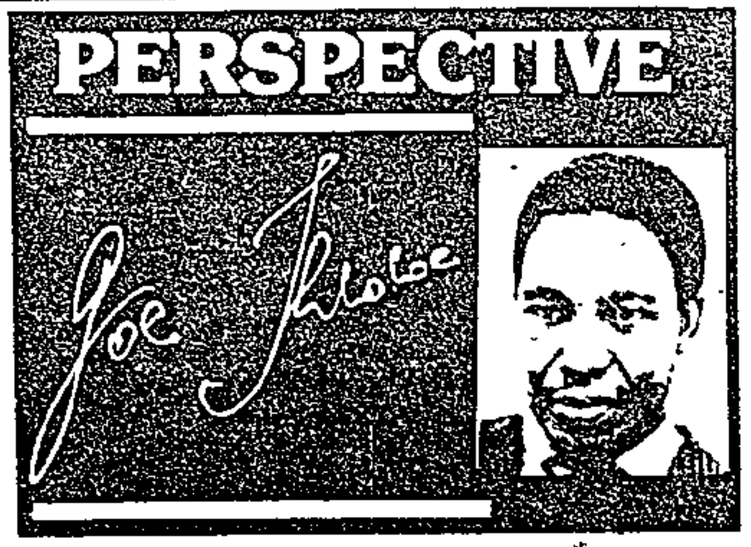
Nightmare as De Klerk makes ugly faces at us

PERSPECTIVE



EXACTLY two years ago - on August 21, 1987, to be exact - I wrote in this column: "If South Africa was a normal democratic country, Mr P W Botha would not be State President.

"The voters would have resented being bullied by him and they would have voted for somebody who was aware that he was a servant of the voters and not their boss.

"Now, with his wagging finger, he gives the white voters a sense of security. They believe that he is strong enough to protect them from the black hordes at the gates."

I have thus been rather amused since the troubles within the National Party started with Botha's stroke in January.

Suddenly members of the National Party and its supporters realised that the man was a bully, that he terrorised all around him.

It dawned on our rulers that he was as rough and ugly as an old crocodile.

Amusing indeed. The very people who had worshipped at his feet turned against him viciously: I believe when Mr Pik Botha spoke about the Monday meeting that led to Botha's resignation he said something about the "firmness" of F W de Klerk.

The irony is that when PW's predecessor, John Balthazar Vorster, was pushed out of government, he ended up as a darling of the country's right wing. Botha also went out waiving a flag to the right, accusing his successor of being soft on "terrorists".

Let's try to look at Botha objectively, if that is possible.

When he took over as Prime Minister from Vorster he inherited the 1948 National Party, which spouted Afrikaner Nationalism. Botha very cleverly manoevred the party to a position slightly to the left of 1948 and created a white South African nationalism. He welded English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans behind the National Party.

I am unimpressed by predictions of a "hung Parliament", stories that suggest that the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party will do well on September 6. PW worked too well for that to happen.

By shifting the party a little to the left, he won the English-speaking voter who had always been more liberal than his Afrikaner brother and who had been traditionally voting United Party.

Botha offered enough "reforms" to win the English vote, and then bullied the country so much it came to see him as a man of strength. Only a master cook could have mixed this recipe.

The liberal in white South African politics is still not ready for one person one vote. Their patronising hearts might worry a little about "apartheid", but at bottom, they have no respect for blacks as humans. They never ever imagine themselves ruled by blacks.

This is still the National Party recipe, and whites will be voting National Party, come September 6.

FW de Klerk has not changed the formula.

As the world sits open-mouthed at FW's feet I wonder if it remembers Chris Heunis, who introduced the Promotion of Constitutional Development Bill in Parliament last year.

"We are prepared to share political power without domination, and want to contribute to the peaceful liberation of people," he said then.

He spoke solemnly about negotiations, about seizing opportunities, about sincerity, about an open agenda for a National Council.

Does anybody get surprised when many of us, in fact the majority in this country, get the feeling we are experiencing a bad dream, with the De Klerks making ugly faces at us.

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No troops at mine - Anglo

A NATIONAL Union of management had instruct- which prevents the deseg- have repeatedly invited NUM to raise problems

Party's mood

PART THREE

THE FINAL DAYS is a reconstruction of the momentous events which lead to the resignation of President P W Botha.

Although President Botha appeared on SABC-TV and gave one major interview to the Nationalist Press during the crisis, persistent efforts by us to question him directly were unrewarded.

The information for this series was gathered over many months from various sources — from on-the-spot reporting, intensive research plus interviews and conversations with politicians and others in the know. With it come the insights and observations of a seasoned political correspondent who was assigned as 'President-watcher' from the time P W Botha was elected head of state.

The FINAL DAYS is by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent of The Argus.

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Sensing the mood, acting president Chris Heunis warned against exploiting P W Botha's illness for political ends. There were "transparent" opposition attempts to embarrass the government, he said. The president needed time to recover so he could take his own decisions.

In spite of his indisposition, the president showed a lively interest in the daily administration of the country.

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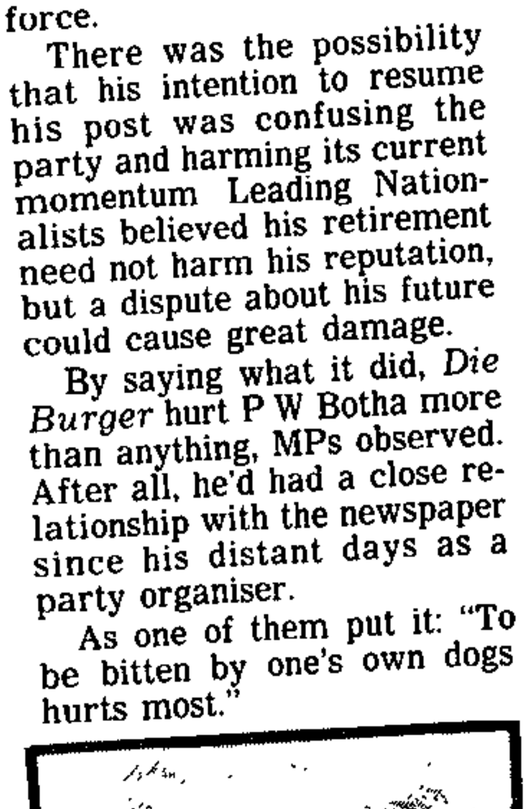

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Mr P W Botha ... Everything hinged on how well he recovered.

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This reflected the suspicion among Nationalist MPs that the president was being kept away from the realities of the outside world by some advisers at Tuynhuys and in the state security council.

□□□

IF P W Botha, a wily warrior, felt cornered he showed little sign of it as he pressed his attack.

He went on SABC-TV on Sunday March 12 and confided he couldn't understand the fuss over his temporary health setback.

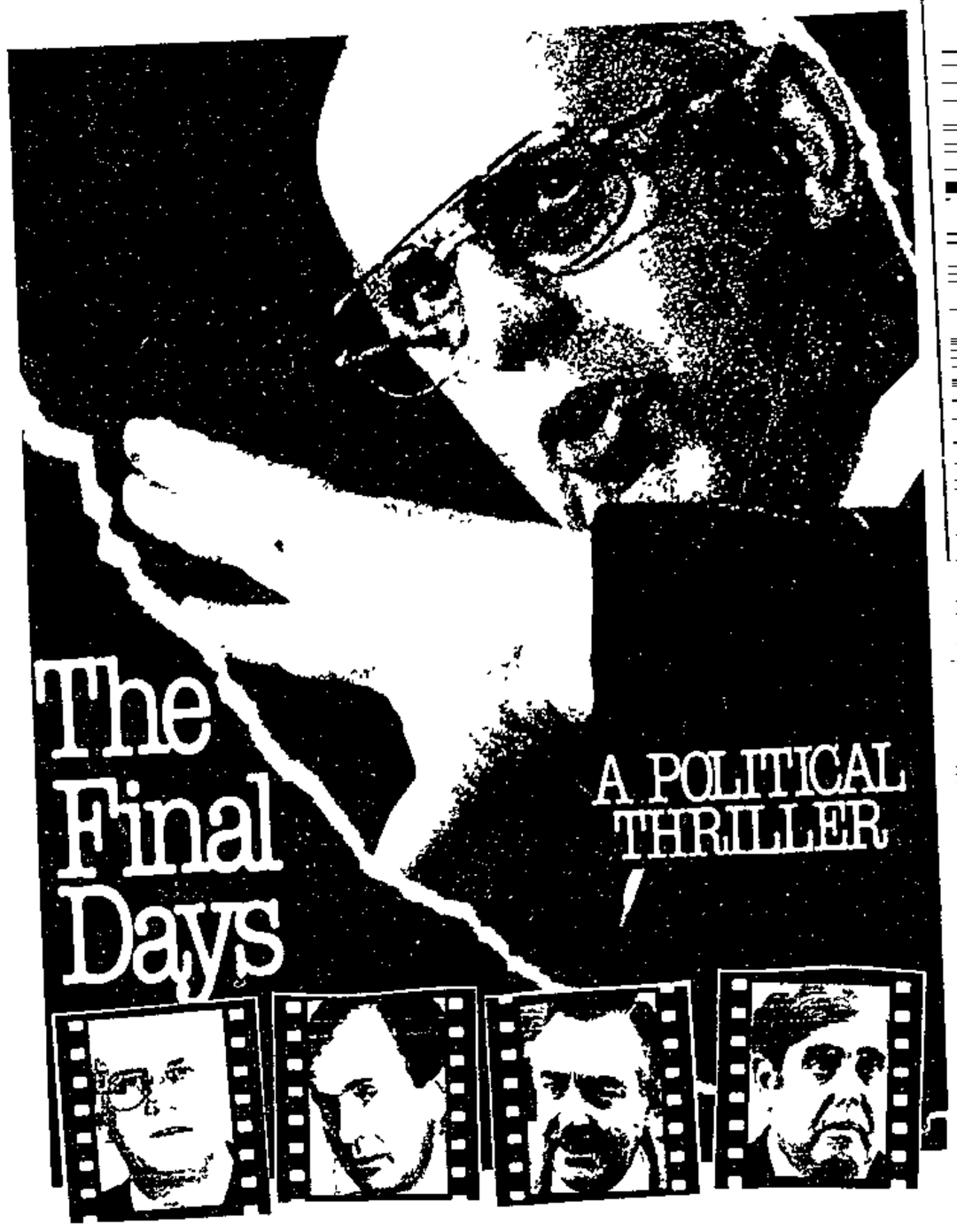
Wearing a grey suit the president sat in the sitting room of his house at the Wilderness. He looked tanned, but older.

Mostly he kept his hands folded. He came across in friendly mood, from time to time giving a slight, knowing smile but he seemed to tense somewhat when he said that, with maturity, love and a common purpose there could be a search for solutions to problems between him and the National Party.

He asserted there couldn't be a general election until after a redelimitation of parliamentary seats, something on which he would be forced to climb down.

In a seemingly condescending reference to a speech by F W de Klerk a few days earlier in which he'd said the

changed



time for a "great indaba" on constitutional reform had come, the president said he'd already referred to this and was glad there was support for the idea.

Clearly, P W Botha and the party were about to lock horns, even though there were still hopes that persuasion would bring him round to accepting how untenable his position had become.

While controversy raged the president continued to recuperate in relative seclusion at his Wilderness home, Die Anker, a long double-storey place with a red-tile roof and a balcony of wooden railings, tucked away near the end of a cul de sac on the sunny side of the lagoon, half hidden by trees and tall reeds. The telltale signs of his presence were the presidential Mercedes parked on the lawn near a slipway to the lagoon; a security fence behind the property; radio aerials protruding from the roof of an adjoining building and the South African flag which fluttered in the breeze.

P W Botha had shed 6kg since his illness but he was conscientiously working at restoring his strength by exercising. He walked on the beach in his shorts and paddled at the water's edge; in his bathroom he pedalled an exercise bicycle and he was having physiotherapy to strengthen his limbs and muscles.

The president also kept in touch with Tuynhuys as he prepared to take on the affairs of state. Meantime, Minister of Health Dr Willie van Niekerk kept the caucus posted on his condition, saying he could recover completely.

□□□

CONSTITUTIONAL experts held that the president could remain on until April 1990, and that he could be removed only in exceptional circumstances.

Meanwhile, F W de Klerk was moving to consolidate the party's federal council and caucus behind him.



Dr D F Malan .... "a season for coming and a season for going."

After the publication of the president's interview in the Nationalist Press he reiterated the familiar refrain about PW needing reasonable time to recover before becoming involved in penetrating talks on the implications of his retirement as Nationalist leader. Significantly, De Klerk added he intended to pursue the matter within the party.

Signs were that a senior Cabinet delegation, probably of provincial leaders, might try to persuade the president to step down to avoid a constitutional crisis. Above all, Nats were anxious to find face-saving means for him to retire with dignity.

In a letter to Acting State President Heunis on March 6, P W Botha advised him — biff, bang — that he would resume duties on March 15, attend the pre-Budget meeting of the Cabinet and go to parliament that afternoon for the ministerial speech.

Once more "intense discussions" racked the inner circles as the caucus readied to discuss the impasse over the leadership on March 9.

The president flew to Cape Town from George that day. Two caucus meetings were called, an indication of the tension.

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Afterwards, Cape leader Heunis for whom things were becoming ever more difficult, asked provincial MPs to stay behind for a meeting.

But his colleagues were decidedly unhappy about his stand that the president shouldn't be pressed, that he should have have opportunity to

decide for himself. Heunis was told in no uncertain terms that most Cape MPs disagreed with him.

Revolt, unmistakably, was in the air.

Some perceived Heunis as "the fly in the ointment." In essence, many felt the president wasn't being accurately informed about the depth of feeling among caucus rank-and-file.

Taking the pulse afterwards, the Nationalist Press reported "the caucus is impatient."

P W Botha returned to the Wilderness. Before doing so, and before the report-back caucus meeting, he released a letter to Acting President Heunis which declared he would return the next week to take up the reins at Tuynhuys.

Even now there was still talk about the need to find a dignified solution to limit the harm the squabble was causing the party. But Nat MPs were digging in. They were adamant the situation of a party leader who wasn't president could not continue indefinitely. At best, they were willing to accept a transitional period before P W Botha stepped down.

(Compiled by T Wentzel and edited by A Drysdale, both of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

● TOMORROW: PW goes public and fights back.

Financial Mail

ECONOMIC POLICY

Piercing the fallacy

There are two depressing and inescapable conclusions that have to be drawn from Budget Minister Kent Durr's debate on television with the DP's Harry Schwarz.

The first is that the Nats clearly have no intention of cutting government spending, despite the policy claims of the past. The second is that they do not understand supply-side economics — that lower taxes lead to lower prices, higher output and, therefore, higher government revenues from more taxpayers.

Consequently, once the election is over, we're going to have more of what we've had for the past 10 years — grand promises without the slightest possibility of their being implemented. If that applies to economics, what hope is there of material progress towards greater constitutional and social reform?

Durr is accusing Schwarz of advocating an immediate increased level of services without having the means to pay for them if taxes are also to be cut. He has demanded that Schwarz produce the figures to back up his claims. That, of itself, was rather disingenuous coming from a former deputy finance minister. Durr must know that unless the DP lapses into the use of econometrics — a peculiarly perverse form of sophistry — it is simply impossible to come up with precise figures.

If it were to have done so, it would have been justifiably open to an accusation of electioneering.

To illustrate the point, simply reverse the notion. If taxes are increased to pay for more public services, then, as most salaried people already pay more than 60% of their earnings in tax (income tax, GST and excises), prices will ultimately be higher, output less and government revenues from taxes lower — but by precisely how much, cannot be specifically calculated.

What we do know is that taxes in this country are well above that level at which government tax revenue is maximised. To increase them further will lead to a reduction in State services or a larger deficit before borrowing.

It is for this reason that Schwarz emphasised that increased services of a high priority would have to be implemented gradually over a period of years. The important measure is to see some progress — not necessarily to be able to calculate the ultimate outcome, if indeed there is one. For measures such as these require adaptation to emerging economic trends.

Clearly, Durr presented himself for an important television debate without adequate preparation and with trumped-up figures to illustrate what he intended to hold out as the absurdity of Schwarz's proposition. Such audacity can seek its justification only in ignorance.

Schwarz, a formidable advocate, had little trouble in exposing these figures for what they were — gross exaggerations that suited a party that is hell-bent on maintaining the economic status quo.

Of course, few ministers enhance their reputation by cutting departmental spending. The exceptions are those involved with finance. For it ought to be plain to them that if privatisation is to be implemented seriously — that is, not just to sell off State-controlled assets to finance official profligacy — then services will be transferred to the private sector and government's need to finance them correspondingly reduced.

To achieve this, government must want to reduce its interference in the lives of its citizens. From the tenor of Durr's argument, it seems that the Nats do not want to see less government. And it indicates that its privatisation programme must be viewed, economically, with the utmost suspicion. Selling the family silver to pay for today's bread is no lasting solution for hunger. The object of privatisation should be to enhance economic self-sufficiency, not to foster government's own financial expediency. Do the Nats really understand what it is about?

The fact is that DP economic policy is not that much different from the objectives held out by successive Nat ministers in recent years. From what Durr said on television this week, our impression is that they have not been implemented largely because of a lack of understanding of the implications — despite many examples elsewhere in the world. Claims that the inertia is rooted in a lower gold price and the economic hostility of so many other countries are convenient red herrings.

The simple fact that came across so strongly from Durr's performance is that, while the Nats govern, this country will grow below its potential unless there is an increase in the gold price and an inflow of foreign capital. Neither of these is within the gift of the Nats. They will simply back up their bad politics (apartheid) with bad economics (inflation).

The DP has not had the opportunity to implement anything — and maybe it never will. But, although we have differed with Schwarz over his economic inconsistencies in the past, the basis of his argument on television enhances the economic credibility of his party. By defending a cut in taxes and advocating increased essential services, he has demonstrated that he — unlike Durr — understands supply-side economics.

If the Nats have convinced themselves that government spending cannot be cut and that they can live comfortably with a 15% rate of inflation, then they are condemning most people in this country to declining living standards for as long as they are in power. They will also have forfeited any pretence that they are able to lead.

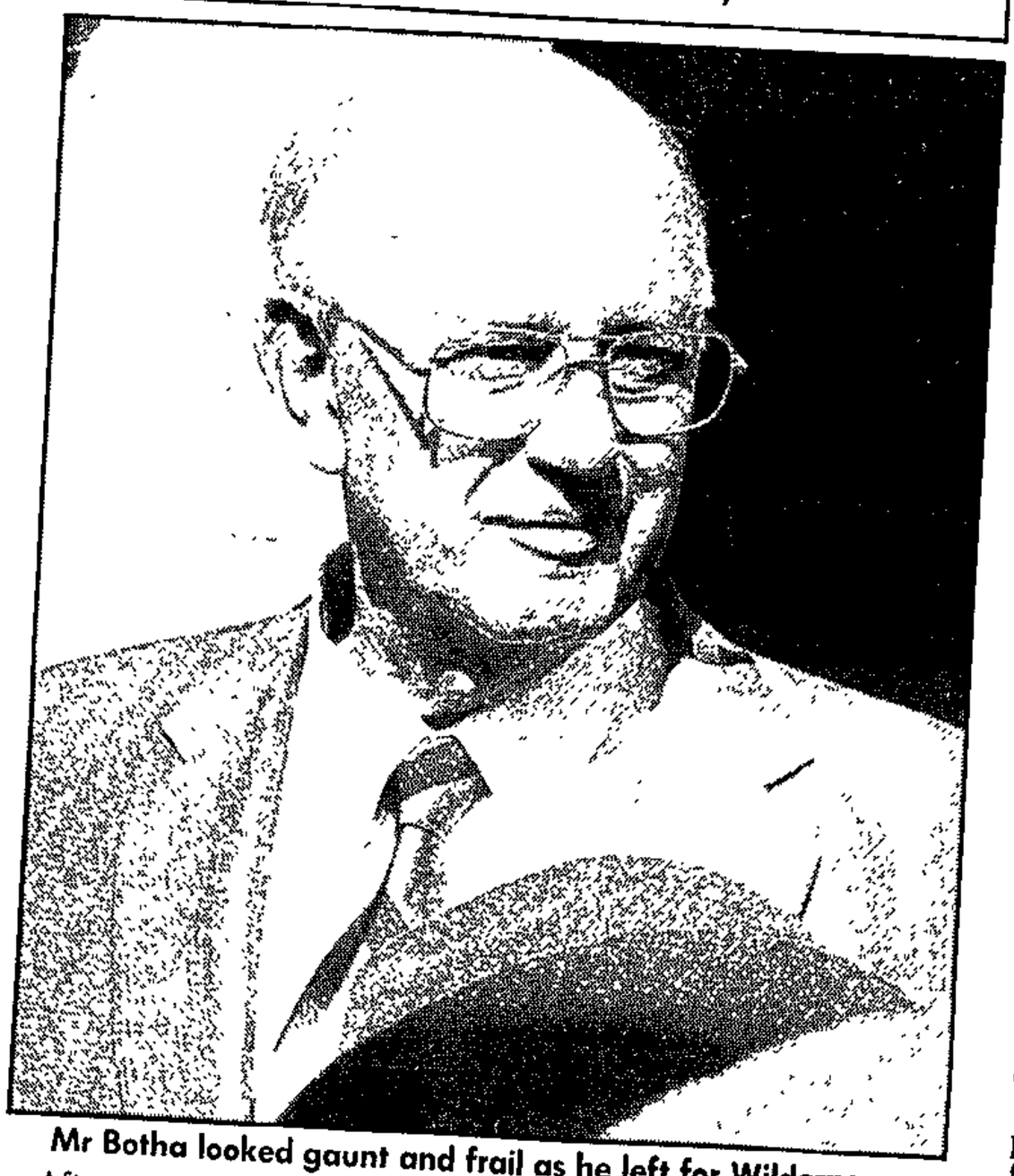
Ordinary folk of any colour will respond to economic leadership. They will put up with short-term hardships if they know that down the road they will be assured of rising incomes and a stable country in which to live. They know that there is no trade-off between inflation and unemployment — an outdated notion that Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais still seeks to propagate. They will not respond to the despair inherent in Durr's performance.

Sickly PW, adamant MPs

Star 18/8/89

(304A)

In the third instalment of the THE FINAL DAYS, a reconstruction of the events which led to the resignation of President Botha last Monday, **TOS WENZEL of the Political Staff** examines the increasingly evident confrontation between Mr Botha and the National Party.



Mr Botha looked gaunt and frail as he left for Wilderness.

A sickly president's departure for his coastal retreat at the Wilderness left hanging in the air the question of whether he would stay on in public life.

By the orginal announcement he still had two weeks to recuperate. Thereafter he would decide. Everything, then, hinged on how well Mr P W Botha recovered.

After cautious disclosure about the President's condition, the press and television were invited to Ysterplaat Air Force base on February 17 to record the presidential couple's departure, the first public exposure since his illness.

What they, and the nation saw later, shook them. A gaunt, frail-looking president, the collar of his shirt loose about his neck, had shed weight and his left hand — sometimes concealed by the hat he was carrying — trembled badly at times.

But an update on his health the same day declared the President had improved so much that specialist treatment was no longer needed.

Specific tasks

Some thought Mr Botha was staying on in office only to fulfil some specific presidential tasks, possibly to receive an important visitor.

On February 23, he seemed to give the answer when he flew back to Cape Town where he talked to officials and attended to correspondence.

A Tuynhuys spokesman indicated it was no more a question of if Mr Botha would resume duties, but when

On the surface Nationalist MPs welcomed this as putting an end to uncertainty. Yet uncertainties persisted over other "burning issues"; disquiet over the delay in calling a general election, even the possibility of once again having a Prime Minister was mooted.

In spite of his indisposition, the President showed a lively interest in the daily administration of the country.

Former Minister Mr Hendrik Schoeman, veteran political comrade-in-arms, urged the president to quit for the sake of the party. He boldly showed his colours at a platteland rally by insisting that without real powers Mr F W de Klerk's hands were "chopped off."

The sullenness which pervaded the party worsened when, on March 2, Mr Botha returned to Cape Town and met senior Ministers, including Mr de Klerk.

Afterwards it was announced the President would resume duty after the Easter weekend.

Two days later the first interview Mr Botha had given since his illness was run in the Nationalist press.

The interview revealed how big the differences were between him and the party — and that he had no intention of stepping down.

He also confirmed that had he not become ill, he would personally have raised with the caucus the separation of the posts of party leader and president.

Coincidentally, it was the first time previously supportive newspapers had turned against him. The day it published the interview, *Die Burger*, for long a staunch ally, revealed its disaffection.

Others, too, turned on him. The *Beeld* quoted from a book Dr D F Malan wrote nearly 30 years ago in which he referred to "a season for coming and a season for going". The paper pleaded with him to listen to his true friends, even though this sometimes hurt the most.

On March 12 he confided on TV that he couldn't understand the fuss over his temporary health setback. He asserted there could not be a general election until after a redelimitation of parliamentary seats, something on which he would be forced to climb down.

In a seemingly condescending reference to a speech by Mr de Klerk a few days earlier in which he had said the time for a "great indaba" on constitutional reform had come, the President said he had already referred to this and was glad there was support for the idea.

While controversy raged, the President continued to recuperate. He had shed 6 kg since his illness but he was conscientiously working at restoring his strength by exercising.

Minister of Health Dr Willie van Niekerk kept the caucus posted on his condition, saying he could recover completely.

Constitutional experts held that the President could remain on until April 1990 and could be removed only in exceptional circumstances.

In the meantime, Mr de Klerk was moving to consolidate the party's federal council and caucus behind him.

Signs were that a senior Cabinet delegation might try to persuade the President to step down to avoid a constitutional crisis.

In a letter to Acting State President Mr Heunis on March 6, Mr Botha advised him — biff, bang — that he would resume duties on March 15; attend the pre-Budget meeting of the Cabinet and go to Parliament that afternoon for the ministerial speech.

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Inconclusive

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● Tomorrow: PW Botha goes public and fights back.

Negotiate now or face violence, says Mogoba

Star 13/8/89 By Kaizer Nyatsumba 304A 47A

South Africans had no choice but to negotiate now if a violent confrontation was to be avoided, the president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, the Rev Stanley Mogoba, said last night.

Delivering his presidential address during the institute's diamond jubilee anniversary in Johannesburg, Dr Mogoba said now was the time for all South Africans to get around the negotiating table.

Giving "a grave warning to those who wish to nurture instability," Dr Mogoba said it was one thing to call for the release of detainees and political prisoners as well as the unbanning of political organisations, but it was "an entirely different matter" for organisations to fail to acknowledge the Government's importance in a negotiated settlement.

"It would be absurd for them (the organisations) to keep moving the goal-posts by setting preconditions the Government will struggle to accept or cannot accept." By doing so, he said, they risk delaying negotiation and increasing the possibility of more violence which no one in his right mind wishes to see."

Dr Mogoba welcomed Mr F W de Klerk's proposed meeting with President Kenneth Kaunda, and urged Mr de Klerk to adopt "a more aggressive and positive policy of negotiation both internally and externally than his predecessor did."

CONSUMER AFFAIRS

Purchasing power

There is widespread support for the creation of a Ministry of Consumer Affairs — even from staunch critics of government spend-

FINANCIAL MAIL AUGUST 18 1989

ing.

The proposal was made by DP finance spokesman Harry Schwarz at a recent Consumer Union conference. He says it won't necessarily mean further bureaucracy and controls.

"Consumer Affairs is now tucked away somewhere in the Department of Trade & Industry (DTI). Yet often the interests of trade and industry are in direct conflict with those of the consumer."

Schwarz says an independent minister is needed to steer through consumer protection legislation, on the lines of other Western countries. "In the UK, for example, false description of a price reduction is prohibited. In most states in the US, which can hardly be described as a socialist country, the imposition of unfair conditions on credit card users is outlawed," he adds.

Some of these issues are dealt with in the Harmful Business Practices Act, but the Act is "contentious" as it includes wide discretionary powers.

Schwarz says the business point of view should also be taken into account. But government paid even less attention to the consumer than it did to business, which was little enough.

However, at this stage it's not government policy to set up a separate consumer affairs department. Economic Affairs Deputy Minister Theo Alant told parliament the DTI can maintain "a balanced standpoint in respect of the interests of the various groups. This does not mean, however, that government is not sensitive and sympathetic to the consumer and his affairs."

Alant says it will not be easy to unravel the intertwined involvement of various government departments and place these functions under one department. Fourteen of the 42 Acts administered by the DTI deal exclusively with consumer affairs. Moreover, government showed its concern for consumer affairs by supporting the Consumer Council.

Meanwhile, a Consumer Council spokesman says a separate ministry of consumer affairs wouldn't serve a useful purpose. "We are not sure if anyone will be able to stem the rising tide of price increases anyway, since most are really due to circumstances beyond government's control."

However, an increasingly consumer-conscious business sector is still pressing. Assocom president Sid Matus says though he has reservations about encouraging further government spending, this is an area where government needs to perform a co-ordinating role. "And, if the minister is in constant conflict with trade and industry, it may not be a bad thing."

Grocery Manufacturers' Association executive director Jeremy Hele says consumer affairs shouldn't just be an also-ran activity of the DTI. "There have been some worthy pronouncements on consumer affairs, but a fully fledged consumer minister would give them teeth."

Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman says if the minister had the full support of the State President, he could achieve a lot with a small department. "He would need to tackle the existing monopolies and cartels which keep prices high and rationalise consumer laws. It wouldn't need a huge staff to do that — as long as the minister was a strong man with authority." ■

FW tells how report led to PW's panic

By EDDIE KOCH

ACTING State President FW de Klerk this week suggested that a front-page report in the *Weekly Mail* — that "little newspaper" — had played an important part in the dramatic events that led to the resignation of PW Botha.

De Klerk lashed out at the report, which said Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda would use his forthcoming meeting with the new National Party leader to discuss an African National Congress peace plan for South Africa.

In an address to an NP rally in Houghton on Wednesday night De Klerk said: "Inferences were made as a result of reports in ... a little paper called the *Weekly Mail* that the real purpose of discussions, should I meet with President Kaunda, would have been that he would transfer messages and documents from the ANC — that he would act as an intermediary."

The acting state president then read extracts from a letter written by Kaunda to Botha at the height of Monday's crisis. In the letter the Zambian leader said he had merely wanted to "get to know" De Klerk, and that he had no specific strategy in mind when asking for the meeting.

But a series of events over the past few days confirm the accuracy of the *Weekly Mail* report. These include:

● A statement by Kaunda to United States congressmen in Lusaka on Tuesday — after the letter had been delivered — that he would use the meeting to find out what De Klerk stood for and would indeed report back to the ANC.

● On Wednesday morning Kaunda

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Acting State President F W De Klerk leaves the Houghton meeting

Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afrapix

P.T.O.

FW on 'ANC plan' that led to crisis

told a press conference at his State House that, after his meeting with De Klerk, he would report back to the OAU and the ANC "so that they may decide on the next course of action on the apartheid issue".

● Sources close to the ANC this week reported that while it had never been suggested that Kaunda had a "mandate to negotiate" on behalf of the organisation, he was certainly expected to use the occasion to discuss the exiled movement's proposal for a Namibia-style settlement.

● At the meeting of Frontline states leaders on Thursday last week — where the plan was unveiled — ANC delegates said they were prepared to send a representative to the Kaunda/De Klerk meeting.

● The ANC blueprint, which calls for an interim government to prepare for the election of a constituent assembly that will devise a new constitution for South Africa, is set to be endorsed at a meeting of the Organisation for African Unity on August 21 — only days before Kaunda meets De Klerk. This makes it almost unthinkable that it would not be raised as a topic of discussion between the two leaders.

In his letter to Botha, the Zambian leader said: "Mr President, I plead that you have no anxiety at all about Mr de Klerk meeting me at this time. He will meet me as president of Zambia and not as the representative of any other country or organisation."

Kaunda's attempt to cool Botha's anger over news that the meeting was likely to galvanise "talks about talks" with the ANC must therefore have been an effort to salvage the Livingstone encounter.

Observers believe Kaunda is determined to broker an agreement between Pretoria and the ANC.

At his press conference on Wednesday, Kaunda warned that unless a solution to South Africa's problems was found "immediately", the region

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would "explode" within the next two years.

"De Klerk says that he will not meet the ANC until they renounce and the ANC says they will not talk until apartheid falls." It is this logjam that Kaunda clearly hopes could begin to be broken at Livingstone.

Government sources yesterday told reporters Kaunda's public undertaking to report back to the ANC after his meeting with De Klerk was not an embarrassment for the government.

They said they were relying on Kaunda's "statesmanship to stick to the spirit of the letter", but acknowledged they would have to "take another look".

Botha and De Klerk were not able to respond to requests for more details on precisely how the *Weekly Mail* report had added to the former state president's pique over the Livingstone meeting.

However, the following sequence of events is likely to have occurred prior to Botha's withdrawal.

● On Thursday afternoon last week news agencies reported Kaunda's announcement that De Klerk had agreed to meet him on August 28. Botha reacted negatively, and began to phone cabinet ministers.

● On Friday morning the *Weekly Mail* report linked the meeting with the just-revealed ANC peace plan. It is possible that Botha's aides briefed him on the report even before the paper reached Cape Town.

● At about 9.30am on Friday, Botha sent a statement to the South African Press Association (Sapa) which revealed a significant hardening in his attitude. "I am not aware of the discussions on 28 August as announced by Dr Kaunda," he said, adding that he disapproved of the talks.

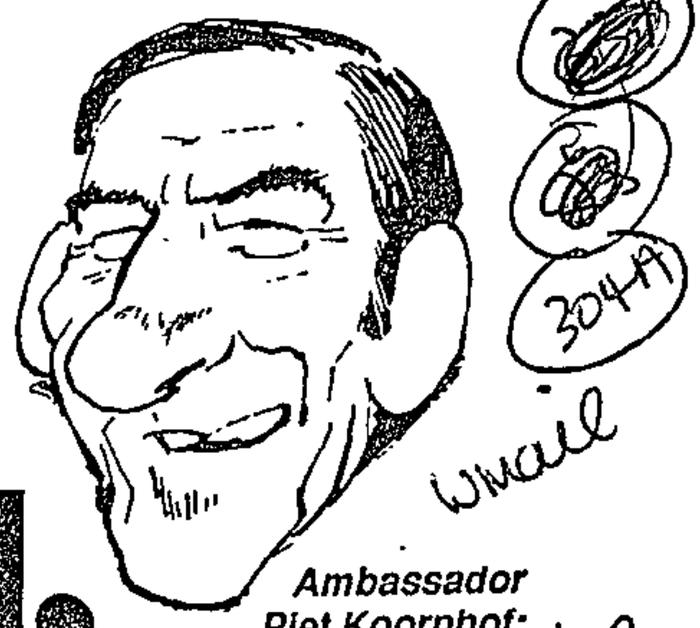
● On Friday and Saturday, meetings between De Klerk and all available cabinet ministers were held in Pretoria to deal with the escalating crisis. A "common approach to the problem" was agreed.

● On Monday morning the cabinet met with Botha in Cape Town and, to a man, they told him he had to back down or bow out. That evening Botha announced his resignation on SABC TV.

Asked for clarification of De Klerk's claims about the *Weekly Mail's* role in the unfolding drama, the acting state president's media liaison officer, Caspar Venter, said pressing engagements had prevented De Klerk from responding.

However Venter said it was common procedure for ministerial aides to go through all newspapers and bring urgent items to the attention of the ministers concerned.

Embassy in plan to split Tutu, Boesak



Ambassador Piet Koornhof:

18-24/8/89.

Washington anti-sanctions plan to 'drive a great wedge' into opposition

By AUDREY BROWN

THE South African embassy in Washington has been in extensive contact with a mysterious American lobbyist who plans to "drive a wedge" between prominent South African church leaders on their sanctions stance.

Documents emanating from the United States-based World Commonwealth Foundation — detailing contact with South African ambassador Piet Koornhof and Horace Van Rensburg, the former Progressive Federal Party MP who is now an official in the embassy in Washington — have been given to the *Weekly Mail*.

The documents set out an anti-sanctions strategy which seeks to "divide" church leaders Rev Allan Boesak and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, resulting in a "great wedge being driven into the armour of the opposition".

The strategy is detailed in several letters written by WCF chairman Richard J Harty from April 10 to May 17 this year. In the letters, Harty refers to a dinner at Koornhof's home, and says "I have introduced Horace van Rensburg to top officials in the Republican Party and close friends of President Bush.

"Horace was well received and he will be going to the White House in the near future to brief Bush adminis-

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P.T.O.

to the strengthening of our military in order to maintain a political system To PAGE 6

Plan to split the pro-sanctions camp

From PAGE 1

tration personnel."

In a letter to Van Rensburg dated April 10, Harty writes: "Allan Boesak wants to circumvent Bishop Tutu and develop a 'selective sanctions strategy' rather than the repeatedly called-for comprehensive, mandatory sanctions that Tutu advocates.

"Boesak wants pressure placed on the South African Treasury by a refusal to roll over the country's foreign debt repayments.

"If Boesak gets his way, and persuades the forum of 90-some Americans to use this strategy and Tutu's mandatory sanctions are overruled, then a counter-attack presents itself.

"(It) has a superb chance of finally bringing to the limelight the fact that the strategy of punishment is a scheme of insanity whereby the poor and oppressed are being exploited and offered as fodder in an experiment to not benefit society as a whole, but to sacrifice the innocent so that one particular element of that society can interpret and dominate.

"Boesak could be played against Tutu and vice-versa. Sanctions now defined could be shown to have not helped end apartheid, but to have sown it deeper into the consciousness of a struggling nation."

Asked to comment on the correspondence yesterday, Van Rensburg declined, saying it was "private".

"I see many people and write many letters," he said. "I have no comment to make on correspondence between myself and persons that I deal with."

Describing his *modus operandi*, Harty gives examples of his organisation's operations in various Third World regions such as the Phillipines, where he says, he helped foster "the People's Revolution" which brought Corazon Aquino into power.

"At present, we have projects in Angola, the middle-east and the Pacific Rim. Our interest in South Africa supercedes most of this activity because we feel that the 'timing is right' and with the 'right' activity we can succeed in abolishing sanctions."

Reference is made to people of "like minds" to meet to build a "team that can carry this venture to a victorious culmination".

Harty wanted to arrange a meeting between himself and FW de Klerk, in order to "make arrangements for him to meet key members of Congress and other influential people in the government and the private sector."

It has been established that Harty visited South Africa from June 10 to 16, and that he met Tom Boya, Sipho Zwane of Umsa and Tony Leon and Elliot Kretzmer of the Democratic Party, among others.

According to Leon, "Harty spoke vaguely of the 'upliftment programmes' his organisation was involved in here. He also wanted to know about the Democratic Party's policies, and requested a manifesto."

A letter dated July 31 received yesterday by one of the parties who met him in June states that he will return in September, and was currently involved in a "non-white trading company to promote import and export". The name of the company is Chamdor Commodities.

"Under the veil of Chamdor Commodity Services," he wrote," American businesses can keep domestic pressure groups happy and still participate in the RSA market through ' a sales channel with no commercial and political risks' because they are guaranteed payment by the USA government at time of shipment."

"With the help of Pat Collins (former President Reagan's Assistant Under Secretary of Energy, high ranking Republican with close contacts to President George Bush), we were able to obtain official United States approval and were given US Exim Bank credit privileges."

Other projects he says he is involved in are concerned with liquor distribution, the setting up of maize mills and cosmetic companies.

Prior to coming to South Africa in June he said: "I will be coming with a mind armed with ammunition which Bishop Tutu and the others will find quite alarming."

In one of the letters to Van Rensburg, Harty says: "The credibility that you have as being 'a liberal' who has opposed apartheid since its inception is paramount in this entire episode.

Harty elaborates on his connections within the Bush Administration, and letters sent by various senators.

"We have a great deal of influence with the Bush administration ... as well as leaders throughout the world who espouse democratic ideals."

VOTE, DON'T VOTE, BOYCOTT, SUPPORT ... WHAT'S THE VOTER TO DO?

Special votes likely to top 98% in Delegates election

About 36 500 special votes have been cast in constituencies where Indian candidates are running. But some of the vote-getting tactics they seem to use are questionable.
By GAVIN EVANS

LESS than two percent of all Indian election votes will be cast on polling day, the Natal Indian Congress has predicted.

NIC president Dr Farouk Meer said he expects over 98 percent of all House of Delegates election votes to be "special votes" cast before September 6.

If correct, this means that with a high poll of 30 percent, fewer than 3 600 people will vote in the Indian elections on polling day throughout South Africa.

Meer, who forecasts a poll of between 25 and 30 percent, says the special vote tally has "reached a plateau and is already falling".

Department of Home Affairs statistics show that by August 14, a total of 36 546 House of Delegates votes had been cast in the 23 constituencies which fall under the Durban office (compared with 5 984 House of Assembly votes and 3 822 for House of Representatives candidates).

Meer said that about four percent of residents in Phoenix, seven percent in Chatsworth and eight percent in Pietermaritzburg had voted so far, and he did not expect major increases.

"However we expect polls of between 40 and 45 percent in some of the outlying areas like Stanger and Tongaat," he said.

Transvaal Indian Congress secretary Ismael Momoniat — who expects over 90 percent of Indian votes to be cast before election day — says the system has "opened the way for a wide range of illegal and fraudulent practices which will artificially inflate the total number of votes".

He said many candidates had been discredited by their close relation with the police, or by their suspected links with graft, drug-dealing and other criminal activities.

"They have zero community support and therefore have no option but to manipulate the special vote system, which is designed for exacly that purpose," he said.

Among the vote-getting tactics the TIC and NIC claim are being used by candidates are the following:

- Telling housewives and residents it is illegal not to vote, or showing them their name on an official voting list and telling them they are obliged to vote;
- Telling pensioners that their pensions will be stopped unless they vote;
- Telling teachers any future promotion depends on them voting;
- Casting votes on behalf of people who are boycotting by obtaining their identity numbers, and;
- Promising poor people that they will get homes, or that their homes will be repaired if they vote.

"We have found that the people with least power in the community are most vulnerable, because of ignorance of their rights and because of fear of the consequences of boycotting," said Momoniat.

He said one candidate went to the extent of forging the signature of a former TIC vice president, who died in March, in a support statement.

"Unfortunately for him, he mixed up the man's first and surnames, making a joke of the statement."

The NIC and TIC are compiling details of alleged irregularities, but say the use of affidavits has not helped stem illegal special vote practices in the past.



Former NPP leader Rajbansi

Meer said the main difficulty they were facing was having to compete with well-paid canvassers who visit pensioners and housewives during the day.

"All our members work, so we can only do house visits after 5pm."

He said another problem was that the Durban City Council had only allowed the NIC 100 posters, which were then torn down by canvassers.

"We recently caught a canvasser of the Democratic Party's candidate in Phoenix, Omie Singh, pulling down our posters. We confronted Singh, who then fired him."

A total of 122 candidates from 16 parties and including 19 independents, are contesting the 40 House of Delegates seats.

With disgraced former National People's Party and House of Delegates leader, Amichand Rajbansi, facing charges of fraud in the Durban Regional Court, several former NPP stalwarts have abandoned ship and have joined up with the opposition Solidarity Party.

Others such as Boetie Abramjee have opted to become independents.

Abramjee — who was removed from the cabinet by State President PW Botha three years ago after revealing inside information on the Mossel Bay project — recently claimed in a newsletter, to support the TIC and Nelson Mandela ... as well as Adriaan Vlok, Magnus Malan and Pik Botha.

The TIC has rejected Abramjee.

Solidarity, led by 63-year-old Dr JN Reddy, has called for the release of Mandela, the end to the Emergency after the elections and the scrapping of the tri-cameral parliament.

Solidarity is putting up 37 candidates, the NPP 28 and the DP nine.

No other party is putting up more than five candidates.

The NIC has made it clear it will be boycotting the DP candidates as vigorously as all other aspirant House of Delegates members.

"They have drawn very little support, and I'd be surprised if they win more than one seat," said Meer.

In the 1984 election, which was won by the NPP, the official poll was 18,7 percent. This represented 11,2 percent of all eligible voters.

Twenty-three candidates received fewer than 10 votes and six received five or less.

Fourteen of the winning candidates received fewer than 800 votes.

Among them were JV Iyman (formerly Solidarity, now DP) and Pat Poovalingam (formerly Solidarity, later PFP, now independent).

Report by Gavin Evans, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

MDM's 'no support, no boycott' call won't hurt DP

By EDDIE KOCH

THE Democratic Party believes the Mass Democratic Movement's opposition to participation in the September polls will not damage its performance in the white elections.

DP leader Peter Gastrow told the *Weekly Mail* he did not believe the MDM's position of "no support, no boycott" for anti-apartheid candidates to the House of Assembly was aimed at undermining the party's performance at the polls.

"I don't think the movement intended to have a negative impact on the DP's performance. The strategy is not to cause damage to the campaign of the party in the white elections," said Gastrow.

He acknowledged, however, that the MDM's decision to oppose the DP's nine Indian candidates would have "more than a marginal effect".

Gastrow's comments follow strong indications that the rift between the DP and the MDM, that opened earlier this month when it seemed some firmed they would not be calling for a boycott of white candidates for the DP. A dozen white affiliates of the United Democratic Front used the occasion to endorse a statement by MDM leader Murphy Morobe that the movement would neither participate in the elections nor campaign for a white boycott.

White UDF affiliates which have endorsed the MDM's position include the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (Jodac), the Grahamstown Democratic Action Committee, Durban Democratic Association, the harsh words that DP leader Zach de Beer had for the MDM when it appeared that the anti-apartheid axis had been calling for a white boycott.

While an uneasy truce appears to have been reached on the white polls, there is still extreme discord between the DP and the MDM over the party's decision to field nine candidates in the House of Delegates.

The FFF statement, recognising the degree of anger that the DP decision has stirred in Indian and "coloured" circles, said it backed the MDM's call for a boycott of the houses of Dele-

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MDM watchwords

In the light of ex-President P W Botha's reasons for opposing F W de Klerk's visit to Zambia — he said the ANC was being orchestrated from Lusaka and that President Kenneth Kaunda was playing a key role in consolidating an ANC stance on negotiations to win the initiative — it is fascinating and instructive to consider the attitude of what's now become known as the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

According to the "ANC-Cosatu-UDF study document on negotiations" drafted in Lusaka on June 6 for study by the MDM, "Zambia has a predisposition towards negotiation and has already stated its desire, should SA establish its bona fides, to invite SA to a Frontline States meeting.

"Mozambique and SA already have much contact and Comrade Eduardo dos Santos has said — in response to the view that we must be in a position of strength before we enter negotiations — that 'we may not have the time to develop that position of strength.'

"There have been indications of large amounts of aid that could be given to the Frontline States to rebuild their economies should the SA 'issue' be resolved. One factor preventing that at the moment is the constant destabilisation caused by SA. The pressure this places on the Frontline States to be sympathetic to any kind of political settlement is obvious.

"The role played by the Frontline States in ensuring that the Zimbabweans continued with the Lancaster House settlement needs to be remembered.

"Part of (Margaret) Thatcher's mission in southern Africa recently was to win support from the Frontline States for her planned initiatives."

On the role of "other allies" the document says: "At a recent meeting between the Chinese and our comrades, the Chinese made a distinction between the ending of apartheid and the ending of white rule. Their view was that we should be prepared to move slowly and accept modification of the status quo as a starting point.

"There are indications from the Soviet Union that they would be prepared to work for a peaceful settlement of the SA issue side-by-side with the West.

"The contact group being proposed by Thatcher could include some of our closest friends."

Dealing with a "likely scenario," it is thought: "The State of Emergency will be lifted after the September elections; Comrade Mandela and other high-profile political prisoners will be released (Comrade Sisulu is expected to be released well before the elections); legislation to be passed to allow blacks in parliament — and a black could even be brought into the Cabinet. Together with this, an announcement will be made by F W inviting all South Africans to an open-ended indaba conference to negotiate a new dispensation for SA.

"At the Commonwealth summit in Malaysia in the second half of October, Thatcher expects to announce a process of political settlement and call for sanctions to stop. This would put pressure on the ANC to become involved in this process and stop the armed struggle." ■

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WEEKEND ARGUS SPECIAL REPORT

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent
and VIVIEN HORLER, Weekend Argus Reporter

304A Argus 19/08/89

PW-FW SHOWDOWN

THE leadership crisis in the National Party which led to this week's sudden resignation of Mr P W Botha as State President has had a profound impact on NP supporters, according to some election workers and politicians.

Although NP spokesmen deny it will effect voting patterns, political experts believe the NP could lose more support to the left and the right, but they do not see it as a decisive factor in the election.

However, some analysts think Mr Botha's sudden departure will have little, if any, effect on voting and could even benefit the NP.

Election workers and canvassers around the country found a groundswell of unhappiness and confusion among NP supporters over this week's events.

In some areas Botha loyalists have indicated they will either stay away from the polls, or vote for one of the two main opposition parties in protest against the treatment received by Mr Botha.

The Conservative Party claims some aggrieved NP members even defected to the CP after Mr Botha's appearance on television to announce his resignation.

Officials of both the Democratic Party and the CP say there are clear signs the NP will lose voter support as a result of the leadership crisis and Mr Botha's resignation.

THIS view is supported by some election analysts.

The Democratic Party's director of political organisation, Mr Neil Ross, said feed-back from DP offices and canvassers indicated that many



and requests from disgruntled NP supporters, upset and shocked by "the sudden and vicious manner in which Mr Botha was forced to resign".

Almost immediately after Monday's television broadcast, CP offices countrywide began receiving calls and pledges of support from people who had been shocked by the turn of events.

The following day some NP members defected from their party and joined the CP, Mr Beyers said. Since then more had followed suit.

Mr Botha's statement that members of the Cabinet had asked him to lie about his health as

formerly represented by Mr Botha, said there was confusion among NP members, many of whom were staunch supporters of Mr Botha. They were shocked and dismayed by his sudden resignation and felt he had been pushed out callously and unjustly.

There was also a section of NP supporters who distrusted Mr De Klerk's leadership, believing he was a rightwinger at heart rather than a reformist.

Professor Robert Schrire of the Department of Political Studies at UCT said: "I believe it will essentially increase the abstention vote especial-

How will it affect the outcome of the election

resignation the NP had risked the loyalty of the lower-middle class, unsophisticated NP voter.

"I think the more sophisticated, middle class NP supporter will think PW should have resigned six months ago, and they'll vote NP. The less sophisticated, lower middle class are not very interested in politics, and for them this resignation was a shock."

Mr Simpson was impressed with the abilities Mr De Klerk brought to the job.

"FW is the most able person in the NP, highly intelligent, intellectual heavyweight, tough, instinctively conservative, and his wife is extremely conservative, she's almost HNP.

"He's got this going for him with the CP voter, but he may have a slight problem with religion — he's a Dopper, a member of the Gereformeerde Kerk of South Africa. The last South African leader who was not a member of the NGK was Paul Kruger, who was also a Dopper."

"From the DP point of view, if FW had taken over from PW five years ago we'd probably still be where we are today in terms of polici

Some Nationalists were saying openly they were "fed-up with the mess in the NP" and would now vote for the DP.

A widely-held impression among voters was that Mr Botha had walked out on the NP because he no longer had confidence in the party and in members of his Cabinet.

Signs of a crisis of confidence in the NP and its leadership has also been reported by DP election workers at grassroots level in all provinces.

Mr Peter Soal, of the DP's Southern Transvaal region, said there was generally an element of sympathy for Mr Botha, especially among Nationalists. Many were upset about the way in which he was treated.

Such voters would become more confused if Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk failed to show clearly in which direction the NP was moving under his leadership.

However, the state of the country's economy remained a major election issue in spite of the NP's leadership crisis.

MR Radley Keys, DP director for the Natal Inland region, said many hardline Nationalists were reacting with disgust at the way Mr Botha had been treated.

They were saying they would protest by not voting. Others said they would vote for the DP while a few were now supporting the CP.

Confusion among Nationalists had been reflected by poor attendances at NP election meetings.

Dr Rhett Kahn, the DP's regional chairman for the Orange Free State and Northern Cape, said there were clear signs that a protest vote was growing among NP supporters who were upset by the Botha episode.

Attendances at NP meetings in the Free State had dropped before and after the leadership dispute came to a head.

Mr Bobby Stevenson of the DP's Eastern Cape region said a stayaway element was clearly building up among NP supporters in some Eastern Cape constituencies because of events this week. Upset Botha supporters were saying he had been "kicked in the teeth". They intended to stay away from the polls.

THE CP's chief secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, said the CP had been inundated with calls from disgruntled NP supporters since the Botha affair.

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Mr Beyers said the CP had been inundated with calls from disgruntled NP supporters since the Botha affair.

dication that NP leader Mr De Klerk had taken "a leftward lurch unacceptable even to Mr Botha," were reasons given for the defection to the CP.

While the CP differed from Mr Botha on policy matters, it was nonetheless "a sad situation when a head of state cannot enjoy the confidence of his own Cabinet and is forced to leave office in this way".

NP spokesmen have played down the Botha affair and have rejected suggestions that it could result in a loss of support for the party.

They argue that the unanimity among members of the Cabinet on the issue of Mr Botha's departure and Mr De Klerk's leadership showed the party had closed its ranks. The unhappy dispute would, therefore, be forgotten or recede into the background during the run-up to the election.

Election analyst Professor Dirk Laurie, of the University of Potchefstroom, said he did not think the Botha episode would have much effect on the voting pattern. He based his opinion on the assumption that voters tended to vote for a party rather than for a personality.

Although there might be some sympathy for Mr Botha among voters because of the circumstances of his resignation, it was unlikely this would affect voting to any large extent. Should there be any effect, it was more likely to favour the NP.

Some analysts have said that the issues raised in the Botha affair — like national security, negotiation, confidence in government and leadership — were not high on the election agenda.

Such issues are expected to be overshadowed by the predominant issue — the state of the economy and accompanying bread-and-butter problems of voters.

RESEARCHERS of the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand have found that South African voters are probably, for the first time in 50 years, placing non-ideological issues at the forefront of the election campaign.

Security issues are seen as least important by voters of the three main parties — while economic problems top the list, according to the researchers.

Election workers in George, the constituency

their reaction will probably be not to vote.

"From the DP point of view, the resignation will be helpful in that it will demoralise the NP, but it also has two negative spillovers: it diverts attention from their strong card which is government NP economic mismanagement, and it also creates fear and uncertainty, which plays into the hands of the CP.

"It is one more factor undermining the morale of the NP, but it is not by itself a decisive factor."

PROFESSOR Sampie Terreblanche of the University of Stellenbosch said: "I think the CP may benefit more than the DP. I think the NP is going to be negatively influenced.

"According to Rapport's polls, in April support for the NP was still at 48,7 percent, in July it had dropped to 40,8 percent, almost eight percentage points, and this in a period when FW was already the leader of the party. I don't think the fact he is now his own man can stop this slide from NP support, and the chances are good the NP will get less than 40 percent of the votes cast.

"The party that may benefit is the CP. Since the EPG there has been no talk of reform, but rather talk of law and order and power consolidation. Those Nats affected by these ideas may consider a shift to the CP — in fact I believe there has already been a shift of staunch PW supporters to the CP.

"Can the DP benefit? Yes, but we'll have to play our cards well. This slogan, Give FW a chance — well now he's got a chance, he doesn't have to be afraid of a call from Tuynhuys. If FW doesn't give some concrete content in the next three weeks to his vague reform rhetoric he's going to be shocked at the election result."

Professor Wimpie de Klerk, brother of FW and professor in the Communications department at RAU, said: "I don't think the resignation will have a meaningful impact on election politics, perhaps the CP will gain a little, and also the DP, but I don't think this will be measurable. I do think however that PW's speech was directed at harming the NP, suggesting the NP was collaborating with Kaunda and the ANC."

DONALD Simpson, election analyst and a post graduate student based at the University of Potchefstroom, said he believed that with the

could collapse, and the party could win just 20 and not the 30 to 40 predicted.

"This could happen if they're portrayed as being soft on the ANC, or if people think the CP is going to win in certain key areas in the OFS and Transvaal, then DP voters might vote NP to keep the CP out.

"So you have the DP vote that could wobble, and the CP vote that's solid, and then there's the NP.

"There's still a risk of right-wing NP voters going to the CP. They crossed between 1982 and 1987, they crossed between 1987 and 1989. Anything up to 12 out of 100 of the 1987 NP votes have or may be crossing to the CP, that is just over six percent on a standard swing.

"For the first time since 1958 the NP is going to win less than 50 percent of the vote. I say there is nothing to stop the CP, on the present boundaries, from winning the election. If they win 41 percent of the vote they get 84 MPs and win the election, and Treurnicht will become SP and rule the country.

"If the NP wins straight out, F W will remain State President and get the credit. If it's a hung parliament he'll get the blame. His supporters will have been massacred in the Free State, the Transvaal and Natal, where his big caucus support is.

"If the NP lose 40 seats then Barend du Plessis will get a majority in the caucus, and probably become State President. Both men are able, both are Potch graduates but I believe F W is the more able of the two.

Mr Simpson said the first-past-the-post Westminister system and the present constituency boundaries meant the system contained biases mainly favouring the CP.

"Some votes are worth more than others, and because of this it is the first time since 1910 that if the DP got 42 percent of the vote it would win the election — in all other elections since 1910 the left-wing opposition party has needed about 60 percent of the vote. The bias in the system is working against the NP and slightly against the DP, and more in favour of the CP — it's remarkable they're holding this election at this time when they've left it so easy for the CP."

(Report by F S Esterhuyse and V Horler, both of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

WHITE

URBAN

Hurt but not ready to go

On March 13, the Nats turned on PW and any remaining sympathy for the man drained away

The fourth instalment of THE FINAL DAYS, a reconstruction of the momentous events which led to the resignation of President P W Botha.
By TOS WENZEL, Political Staff.



WHILE arguments raged in the National Party about his future, President Botha was determined to stay.

In a shrewd move, reminiscent of Ronald Reagan's style, he went on TV to put his case, seemingly to the nation over the heads of the party's bosses. If invoking sympathy and support was the intention, it worked, in part, for MPs were soon getting calls from voters siding with the President.

The time was Sunday evening, March 12; the setting was the Botha's lagoon-side home at the Wilderness; the interviewer was Johan Pretorius, SABC-TV political editor.

Dressed in a light grey suit the President sat in an yellowish-upholstered chair in a sitting room, his hands crossed.

He looked older, thinner — and calmer. He was tanned and spoke evenly, rarely showing much emotion.

What upset impatient Nationalist MPs most about the interview was that P W knocked the idea of an early election, because a redelimitation of parliamentary seats had not been completed — and again he left no doubt that he wasn't thinking of retiring.

He wasn't "living in conflict" with Mr F W de Klerk, he assured viewers, and it also emerged that he wanted to talk to the NP caucus and federal

The former was an aggressive fighter, often intolerant of criticism and loathe to listen to contrary advice, while F W was the urbane, controlled debater, more open to other opinions.

Events were to show De Klerk could be tough. While the beleaguered president fought for political survival, one of his most trusted and senior Ministers, Acting State President Mr Chris Heunis, was tumbling headlong into trouble.

In spite of denials of supporting P W against De Klerk, Heunis was under suspicion in NP circles about his role and a visit to the President at the Wilderness. Some MPs wondered whether he'd had a hand in the President's sudden TV appearance.

Heunis readily confirmed a visit to P W, to discuss matters of state, but said the meeting was after the TV interview.

The avuncular and garrulous Heunis, one of the chief architects of the new constitution, had probably reached his political pinnacle in steering the country into the tricameral parliamentary system.

But now, as Cape leader, he was steadily losing his grip on his followers, not only through his long and dedicated association with P W, but ever since a dismal performance and ungracious display in front of TV cameras in the early hours of the morning after the 1987 general election results when he came within a whisker of losing his "safe" Helderberg seat to Dr Denis Worrall, then standing as

be raised at the next Cabinet meeting, on March 22, just before the Easter recess.

The party machinery was remorseless. On March 21 the propaganda sheet, *The Nationalist*, said P W's actions on a new party leader had created more problems than solutions. No one in the caucus had foreseen how risky such a step would turn out to be.

With the Easter recess at hand, no dramatic developments were expected and Nat MPs were becoming resigned to having Mr Botha around for a while yet. But the day before the Cabinet meeting De Klerk met P W privately for talks which turned out to be the most crucial in the drawn-out squabble over the presidency.

In essence, what emerged was a compromise: the President, who would consult closely with the Cabinet, would serve out his term — but a general election would be called.

"It's all over," a source confided.

At last De Klerk seemed to have carried the day; but P W, however bruised by the process, was being allowed to retire gracefully, seemingly in his own time. The President attended the long-waited caucus meeting on April 6 after the Easter recess and was welcomed by De Klerk.

The meeting, which went on for about an hour-and-a-half, was held in the National Party caucus room on the fourth floor of the old wing of the Houses of Parliament.

He was uncharacteristically subdued as he spoke from a prepared text. The fire they had come to know so well was gone.

As some MPs recalled he lamented the shabby way he was being treated, referred to his accomplishments as a long-term Minister of Defence and insisted he had never sought powers for himself.

The MPs sat in embarrassed silence, watched over by the mute portraits of 11 former caucus chairmen. Some glanced at one another. To at least one of them the P W of the past, sometimes "arrogant and bombas-

taken up, even though it was a holiday.

P W arrived ten minutes before the start of the sitting and was immediately the centre of attention. For several minutes he was in animated conversation with Foreign Minister Pik Botha who leaned over the presidential bench. They were joined by Minister of Health Dr Willie van Niekerk, Chief Whip of Parliament Mr Alex van Breda, and the Chief Whip of the National Party, Mr J "Keppies" Niemann. F W de Klerk nodded a greeting, then looked away.

The President made a carefully worded speech in which he signalled his retirement, without actually saying so, and announced a general election, probably in September.

Sources close to him said there was no doubt he would retire — after the election.

Nationalist MPs were irritated that he had not decided to retire right away. Had he done so, some said, "we would have carried him on our shoulders". What goodwill remained was draining away. Later, as the bitterness increased, P W was to brush aside attempts by the party to take leave of him and to pay tribute. He was determined to demonstrate, to the letter, that he had removed himself from party politics.

After the Easter recess Parliament debated the President's budget vote.

He won a degree of praise, but not without political opportunism from the opposition. The Conservative Party tried to score from what Dr Andries Treurnicht described as the cruel Nationalist campaign to oust the President.

Mrs Helen Suzman, "as one ageing veteran parliamentarian to another", urged him to use his remaining time to return the country to some semblance of a democratic state instead of a securocratic "banana republic". What an excellent farewell gesture, she suggested, if he ended the state of emergency, lifted the

council.

Still, tensions were rising — as P W must have sensed.

That weekend F W announced a snap meeting of the NP's federal council for the evening of Monday March 13.

The test had come for the new leader. He and his brother, Dr Wimpie de Klerk, academic, journalist and sometime political counsellor who coined the terms "verlig" and "verkramp", had been brought up on politics in the home of their father, the late Senator Jan de Klerk, himself a Cabinet Minister and party provincial secretary.

F W had a reputation for walking the middle road, always being careful to avoid being indelibly labelled. Yet now he was treading a political tightrope, trying not to offend the President, but having to take a stand. Nats were looking to him. For the sake of party morale, he dared not let matters drag on.

There were indeed sharp contrasts between P W and F W.

an independent.

On Monday, March 13, the National Party irrevocably turned against P W.

The 34-member federal council, the party's supreme body, gathered in the parliamentary building at 6.30 pm for a meeting which was scheduled to last for an hour-and-a-quarter — but it took twice as long.

F W de Klerk was overwhelmingly endorsed, even though the likes of Heunis and Willie van Niekerk again fought a rearguard action in urging that the president be given time to make his own decision.

But the federal council held that "at this stage of our constitutional development it is, in principle, in the best interests of the country and the National Party that the national leader of the NP, as the majority party in the House of Assembly, should fill the office of State President.

"The principle should, with appreciation of the position of the serving State President, be promoted in consultation with the Cabinet and the State President."

MARCH 15 1989: State President P W Botha, with his wife, Elize, acknowledges the crowd outside Parliament on his return there after his illness. In spite of rumours of a Nat rift , there was no sign of conflict as he met and exchanged remarks with his Cabinet, including the newly endorsed leader of the party Mr F W de Klerk.

The council, and the caucus afterwards, unanimously adopted a motion of confidence in F W de Klerk.

Later that night, a relaxed De Klerk emerged from the caucus room some time after the others had left, and told waiting journalists that special provision would be made for the incumbent President, who would be invited to have talks with the federal council and the caucus, on dates which would suit him.

After those fateful meetings De Klerk telephoned the President.

The party, finally, had taken its toughest decision.

But there was no reaction from the President, who was back at his Tuynhuys office the next day.

Indications were that the matter might be raised at the pre-Budget meeting of the Cabinet on March 15, the first one the President was to chair since his illness. But it was not to be. After chairing the pre-Budget Cabinet meeting the President returned to parliament for the first time since his health setback.

He entered the "great hall", the venue for joint sittings of the three chambers of Parliament, at 2.10 pm. Ministers and MPs from all sides strolled across the floor with its multicoloured carpeting to wish him well.

Smiling and shaking hands, he took the VIP seat, fronted by a carved coat-of-arms, immediately to the right of the Speaker's chair. To those who watched, there was no sign of conflict as he exchanged remarks with De Klerk and Heunis.

When proceedings began, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis declared that Parliament was thankful the President was recovered sufficiently to be there. P W Botha acknowledged the *"hoor hoors"* with a nod. The President seemed to be "staring down" F W and the party caucus.

Expectations were that the impasse over leadership would

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What they were all waiting for came in a round-about way when he indicated, without saying as much, that he would step down later in the year and that Parliament would be dissolved to prepare the way for a general election.

Towards the end of his address P W seemed to tire, MPs noticed. Afterwards there seemed to be a monumental silence. There were no questions, not even about the date of the election they so badly wanted.

De Klerk thanked the President.

It was becoming clear again how P W Botha, through abrasiveness in the past, had made enemies in his own party. Resentment was welling up and he had clearly lost his hold over the caucus. Perhaps if he had made a more positive and dynamic speech, he could at least have won more sympathy. In the "great hall" of Parliament that afternoon nearly all the seats in the public gallery were banned all non-violent civic associations. She wondered, too, whether P W Botha wouldn't like to go down in history as the man who freed Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and their fellow-prisoners.

The President, a dab hand at the cut and thrust of debate, took it all in his stride.

If Nelson Mandela, he replied on the issue which continued to hold world attention, was prepared to contribute to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future the Government would respond in "an open-hearted manner".

In what was to be his last contribution in a debate on a presidential vote P W Botha 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."

Many wondered about that remark ...

● MONDAY: PW meets Mandela.

Ian Smith warns, SA divisions 'sad'

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CAPE TOWN — The one-man-one-vote principle had never worked in Africa and never would because it was not part of African culture, Rhodesia's former prime minister, Mr Ian Smith, told Stellenbosch University students. Star 19/8/67

African nations had accepted it as "the price of independence" imposed by their colonial masters, Mr Smith told students. The principle meant that "the most incompetent, the most unintelligent and the laziest person has the same say as the most competent, the most intelligent and the hardest-working" in the society. "It's madness . . . I think it's wrong anywhere."

In spite of the Republic's imperfections, Mr Smith said, there was "more freedom and justice and honesty in South Africa than in 90 percent of the countries to the north".

"I would ask if the present divisions in South Africa are not cutting ground from under the Government," Mr Smith said. "It is sad if your opponents find you divided, and some of your people siding with the enemy."

Condemning the land campaign as a vote-catching trick, he said the Zimbabwean government had given a million hectares to black farmers. This land has been destroyed, he said.

(Report by C Sawyer, 122 St Georges St, Cape Town).

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RESENTMENTS BUBBLED OVER . . . Mr P W Botha has never forgotten the Rubicon speech.

Reasons behind the bitter, icy PW-FW 'family' feud

Star 19/8/89

PATRICK LAURENCE looks for reasons behind the stunning, even shocking TV farewell to the nation by its State President.

AS THE immediate excitement of the dispute between ex-President P W Botha and Acting President F W de Klerk subsides, it is clear that it was infused by deep personal antipathy from Mr Botha's side.

It was perhaps partly for that reason that large sections of the nation — including disfranchised black people — watched spellbound as the final hours of the quarrel were chronicled in newspapers and on TV and radio.

Outward signs

They were offered ringside seats to a spectacle of broedertwis at the highest level. It was irresistable. Family feuds are ugly and nasty for participants but compulsively fascinating for spectactors.

The outward signs of Mr Botha's personal dislike were obvious even before the squabble burst into public.

Mr Botha had not congratulated Mr de Klerk on his succession to the leadership of the National Party on February 2, either then or latter; perhaps he was irked because Mr de Klerk had narrowly defeated the Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, whom he favoured.

Mr Botha, moreover, had visibly snubbed Mr de Klerk by refusing to attend a special farewell banquet which his successor organised for him at the time of the NP federal congress in late June.

While Mr Botha's aversion for Mr de Klerk was obvious, the reasons for it were less clear. With the advantage of hindsights and conversations with people closer to the action, some can be identified.

When Mr Botha relinquished the leadership of the NP, he hoped to continue to exercise power as President, having built up the Office of the State President into the single most powerful institution in South Africa, at the centre of the network of committees which make the National Security Management System.

Mr de Klerk, however, mobilised the NP to thwart that amibition.

Convalesence

When Mr Botha, having convalesced for hardly more than two months after his January 18 stroke, tried to reassert his dominance, Mr de Klerk countered by asserting his own primacy as leader of the majority party.

Powerful men used to getting their own way do not take kindly to younger men who push them aside, even if their ideological credentials are impeccable. They see them as usurpers.

But Mr Botha's understandable resentment was compounded by another factor. In travelling overseas in a bid to re-open doors for South Africa, Mr de Klerk was doing what Mr Botha wanted to do but seemed to do it better.

In the space of a few weeks Mr de Klerk left South Africa for meetings with several key leaders.

And the pending visit on August 28 for talks with President Kenneth Kaunda was too much for Mr Botha to bear. It was, it seemed, the proverbial final straw.

CP's growth

But Mr Botha's dislike for Mr de Klerk preceded his emergence as the "great usurper".

One reason, according to well-placed observers, was Mr de Klerk's failure to check the growth of the Conservative Party.

Mr de Klerk was elected leader of the Transvaal NP in February 1982 shortly after Dr Andries Treurnicht, then Transvaal leader, broke away to found the CP.

But, far from being strangled at birth, the CP grew steadily during the seven years of Mr de Klerk's leadership of the Transvaal NP. In the May 1987 general election the CP won all 22 of its seats in the Transvaal.



ALWAYS THE GENTLEMAN . . . Mr F W de Klerk never lost his cool either in public or private.

Mr Botha was so displeased he is said not to have congratulated Mr de Klerk for successfully repulsing a strenuous effort by the CP to unseat him.

Mr de Klerk is reported, furthermore, to have objected to the first draft of Mr Botha's now notorious Rubicon speech four years ago, insisting on a more conservative version.

The consequences were a disaster for the rand and the economy. And Mr Botha was the man who took the blame

Another factor may have exacerbated Mr Botha's animosity. His successor was alway punctiluously correct in public — and in private, by all accounts - towards him.

As most people know from personal experience, nothing is more irritating in a family feud than a protagonist who remains calm and polite.

Mr Botha's illness can have helped either. It probably aggravated his innate choleric disposition.

(Report by P L Laurence, 47 Sauer Street Johannnesburg)

Bush's good wishes

A LETTER of congratulation from US President George Bush to Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk on taking over as Head of State has been received at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

According to press reports from the US, the letter "radiates goodwill" and not only congratulated Mr de Klerk but also wished him strength for the difficult time ahead.

Mr de Klerk declined to comment.

ANC shadow looms over poll

Stew 19/8/89.

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The allegations of an ANC tie-in with Acting State President F W de Klerk's talks with President Kaunda are overshadowing what the Government regards as the main purpose of the meeting, reports GERALD L'ANGE of our Africa News Service.

THERE are two good reasons why the South African Government is worried about the way the shadow of the African National Congress is creeping over the coming meeting between Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk and President Kaunda of Zambia in Livingstone.

The embarrassment of being seen to be having dealings with the ANC during the election campaign is only one reason. The other is that the ANC issue threatens to spoil what the Government is reliably understood to consider to be the main purpose of the meeting: to restart the diplomatic drive into black Africa that came to a halt with former President P W Botha's stroke in January.

Coming as it did at President Kaunda's initiative, the meeting offers a good opportunity for furthering Pretoria's efforts to win acceptance in Africa, which were making dramatic progress under Mr Botha until he was sidelined by the stroke.

President Kaunda, who had established a working relationship with Mr Botha, wasted no time in approaching his successor, presumably because he wants to establish a similar relationship with Mr de Klerk so that he can continue his personal crusade to replace apartheid with a nonracial system.

Mr Botha never had to worry much about an ANC taint in his dealings with President Kaunda, notably at the "maroela summit" on the Botswana border in 1982.

But his attacks on the Kaunda-De Klerk meeting in his angry departure from office have ensured that his successor now has such a problem.

The embarrassment has been worsened by President Kaunda's statement, at a news conference, that he will report not only to the Frontline States, of which he is chairman, but also to the ANC on his meeting with Mr de Klerk.

It is perhaps unfortunate for Mr de Klerk that the Livingstone meeting is taking place shortly after the mini-summit in Harare next week at which the Organisation of African Unity will try to formulate a new strategy on South Africa.

Not only will President Kaunda play a leading role at the Harare meeting, but the other participants will include a high-level ANC delegation.

Thus the ANC shadow will stretch straight from Harare to Livingstone.

It may not help that President Kaunda has said he sees the meeting only as a "get-acquainted" one and that he will not be acting as a mediator for the ANC.

It is ironic that former President Botha would almost certainly have had another meeting with President Kaunda had he not been felled by his stroke.

After his meetings last year with the presidents of Mozambique, Malawi, Zaire and Ivory Coast and the king of Lesotho, the next step was expected to have been a visit to South Africa by President Chissano of Mozambique.

A meeting with President Kaunda would very probably have been considered valuable by Mr Botha's advisers as he is the chairman of the Frontline grouping, was recently president of the OAU, has great stature in Africa and has long been at the forefront of black Africa's political dealings and deliberations on South Africa.

It was inevitable that Mr de Klerk would take up the diplomatic drive into black Africa where Mr Botha had left it.

Its management has never been out of the hands of the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, and he will not have wanted to waste any time getting it going again.

The exercise is aimed not only at expanding trade and other relations between South Africa and black Africa but also at bringing these largely secret dealings increasingly into the open and to get acceptance of Pretoria's gradual approach to the dismantling of apartheid.

Foreign Minister Botha, who will accompany Mr de Klerk to Livingstone, has described the meeting as "the continuation of the African initiatives".

He has consistently denied that the Government intends talking to the ANC through President Kaunda.

But he and Mr de Klerk clearly now face a difficult problem in getting the Livingstone talks, if not the African initiatives, out of the shadow of the ANC and the election.

(Report by G L'Ange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

Army informer now senior DP employee

W/E ARGUS 19/8/89

304A

By VIVIEN HORLER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE army corporal who helped to entrap three national servicemen into conspiring to pass on military secrets to organisations such as the End Conscription Campaign is now a senior employee of the Democratic Party.

Mr Jannie Swart, named as "a Corporal Swart" in a Supreme Court judgment which set aside the findings of the military hearings which pronounced the three servicemen guilty, is now the DP's national director of training and development. He is based in Durban.

Yesterday he welcomed the decision and said he hoped to meet the three servicemen to discuss the matter with them and to express his regret. The matter had caused him "much torment", he said.

A Full Bench of the Supreme Court — Mr Justice J H Conradie, with Mr Justice G Friedman and Mr Justice C T Howe concurring — said in their judgment:

"It became the habit of all three applicants (Mr Hein Mönnig, Mr Peter Plüddeman and Mr Desmond Thompson) and a Corporal Swart to gather at tea time almost every day and engage in intellectual discussions and debate of a theological and political nature.

"Because the applicants displayed an interest in extra-parliamentary politics, Swart felt it his duty to report the discussions to his colonel. Swart was told by the colonel to keep him informed. The applicants and Swart thereafter proceeded (in a discussion clandestinely tape-recorded by Swart) to discuss what information could be collected by them for disclosure to persons outside the military establishment.

"Swart then helped to entrap the applicants ..."

Later he gave evidence at the various hearings against the three servicemen. All the hearings, including that in the Supreme Court, were heard in camera for security reasons, but the Bench's judgment was made available to all.

Mr Swart, who is 27 and has a degree from Stellenbosch University, was on national service at the time.

Approached by Weekend Argus yesterday, he said: "I am relieved this matter is at least now finalised, because it caused me much torment over the two years that it has dragged on."

DP sources told Weekend Argus the issue of Mr Swart had been discussed when the party was formed in April and many people had been unhappy about his appointment.

Said one: "Jannie banked on the fact that all the hearings would remain in camera. He claimed when he applied for the job that at the time he had been a fresh-faced boy confronted with a situation in which he felt out of his depth, and this is why he had approached his superiors.

"In fact he set the three servicemen up, providing them with documents they could never have had access to on their own.

"If he is so innocent, why doesn't he get up on a platform and tell everyone how the army persuaded him to give evidence?"

All three of the party's leaders have, however, denied that he is a security risk.

Mr Wynand Malan said: "He did discuss this matter with us and we regard it as a matter of the past."

Added Dr Zac de Beer: "The account he has given satisfies me that he acted according to his lights and conscience in the matter and couldn't have avoided giving the evidence he did."

Weekend FOCUS 1

THE FINAL DAYS is a reconstruction of the momentous events which led to the resignation of President P W Botha.

Although President Botha appeared on SABC-TV and gave one major interview to the Nationalist Press during the crisis, persistent efforts by us to question him directly were unrewarded.

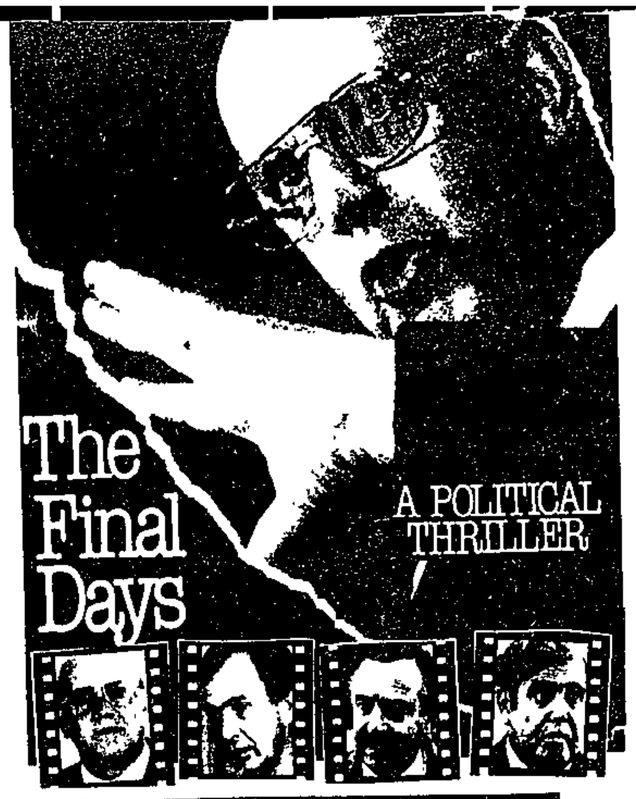
The information for this series was gathered over many months from various sources — from on-the-spot reporting, intensive research plus interviews and conversations with politicians and others in the know. With it come the insights and observations of a seasoned political correspondent who was assigned as "President-watcher" from the time P W Botha was elected head of state.

The FINAL DAYS is by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent of The Argus.

. . . PW HUNG ON

WHILE arguments raged in the National Party about his future, President Botha was determined to stay.

In a shrewd move, reminiscent of Ronald Reagan's style, he went on television to put his case, seemingly to the nation over the heads of the party's political bosses. If invoking sympathy and support was the intention it worked, in part, for MPs were soon getting calls from voters siding with the president.



PART FOUR

The time was Sunday evening, March 12. The setting was the Bothas' lagoonside home at the Wilderness. The interviewer was Johan Pretorius, SABC-TV political editor.

Dressed in a light grey suit the president sat in a yellowish-upholstered chair in his sitting room, hands crossed.

He looked older, thinner — and calmer. He was tanned and spoke evenly, rarely showing much emotion

What upset impatient Nationalist MPs most about the interview was that P W Botha knocked the idea of an early election, because a redelimitation of parliamentary seats had not been completed — and again he left no doubt that he wasn't thinking of retiring.

He wasn't "living in conflict" with F W de Klerk, he assured viewers, and it also emerged that he wanted to talk to the Nationalist caucus and federal council.

Still, tensions were clearly rising — as P W Botha must have sensed

THAT same weekend F W de Klerk announced a snap meeting of the National Party's federal council for the evening of Monday, March 13.

The test had come for the new leader. He and his brother, Dr Wimpie de Klerk, academic, journalist and sometime political counsellor who coined the terms "verlig" and "verkramp", had been brought up on politics in the home of their father, the late Senator Jan de Klerk, himself a Cabinet Minister and party provincial secretary.

FW had a reputation for walking the middle road, always being careful to avoid being indelibly labelled. Yet now he was treading a political tightrope, trying not to offend the President, but having to take a stand. Nationalists were looking to him. For the sake of party morale, he dare not let matters drag on.

There were indeed sharp contrasts between PW and FW. The former was an aggressive fighter, often intolerant of criticism and loathe to listen to contrary advice, while FW was the urbane, controlled debater, more open to other opinions.

Events were to show De Klerk could be tough.

WHILE the beleaguered president fought for political survival, one of his most trusted and senior ministers, Acting State President Chris Heunis, was also tumbling headlong into trouble.

In spite of denials of supporting P W Botha against F W de Klerk, Heunis was under suspicion in Nationalist circles about his role and a visit to the president at the Wilderness. Some MPs wondered whether he'd had a hand in the president's sudden TV appearance.

Heunis readily confirmed a visit to P W Botha, to discuss matters of state, but said the meeting was after the TV interview.

The avuncular and garrulous Heunis, one of the chief architects of the new constitution, had probably reached his political pinnacle in steering the country into the tricameral parliamentary system.

But now, as Cape leader, he was steadily losing his grip on his followers, not only through his long and dedicated association with P W Botha, but also through a dismal performance and ungracious display in front of TV cameras in the early hours of the morning after the '87 general election results when he came within a whisker of losing his "safe" Helderberg seat to Dr Denis Worrall, then standing as an Independent.

ON Monday, March 13, the National Party irrevocably turned against P W Botha.

The 34-member federal council, the party's supreme body, gathered in the parliamentary building at 6.30pm for a meeting which was scheduled to last for an hour-and-a-quarter. In the event, it took twice as long.

F W de Klerk was overwhelmingly endorsed, even though the likes of Heunis and Willie van Niekerk again fought a rearguard action in urging that the president be given time to make his own decision.

But the federal council held that "at this stage of our constitutional development it is, in principle, in the best interests of the country and the National Party that the national leader of the NP, as the majority party in the House of Assembly, should fill the office of State President.

"The principle should, with appreciation of the position of the serving State President, be promoted in consultation with the Cabinet and the State President."

The council, and the caucus afterwards, unanimously adopted a motion of confidence in F W de Klerk.

Later that night, a relaxed De Klerk emerged from the caucus room some time after the others had left, and told waiting journalists that special provision would be made for the incumbent president who would be invited to have talks with the federal council and the caucus, on dates to suit him.

After those fateful meetings De Klerk telephoned the president.

The party, finally, had taken its toughest decision, but there was no reaction from the president who was back at his Tuynhuys office the next day.

Indications were that the matter might be raised at the pre-budget meeting of the Cabinet on March 15, the first one the president was to chair since his illness. But it was not to be.

AFTER chairing the pre-budget Cabinet meeting the president returned to parliament for the first time since his health setback.

Wearing a dark suit, he walked over from Tuynhuys shadowed, as always, by bodyguards.

He entered the "great hall", the venue for joint sittings of the three chambers of parliament, at 2.10pm. Ministers and MPs from all sides strolled across the floor with its multi-coloured carpeting to wish him well.

Smiling and shaking hands he took the VIP seat, fronted by a carved coat-of-arms, immediately to the right of the Speaker's chair.

To those who watched there was no sign of conflict as he exchanged remarks with De Klerk and Heunis.

When proceedings began Finance Minister Barend du Plessis declared that parliament was thankful the president was recovered sufficiently to be there. P W Botha acknowledged the "hoor hoors" with a nod.

THE president seemed to be "staring down" F W de Klerk and the party caucus over his future status.

Expectations were that the impasse over leadership would be raised at the next Cabinet meeting, on March 22, just before the Easter recess.

Meanwhile, the party machinery was remorseless. On March 21 the propaganda sheet, *The Nationalist*, said P W Botha's actions on a new party leader had created more problems than solutions. No one in the caucus had foreseen how risky such a step would turn out to be.

With the Easter recess at hand no dramatic developments were expected and Nationalist MPs were becoming resigned to having Mr Botha around for a while yet.

But the day before the Cabinet meeting F W de Klerk met P W Botha privately for talks which turned out to be the most crucial in the drawn-out squabble over the presidency.

In essence, what emerged was a compromise; the President, who would consult closely with the Cabinet, would serve out his term — but a general election would be called.

"It's all over, " a source confided.

At last De Klerk seemed to have carried the day; but P W Botha, however bruised by the process, was being allowed to retire gracefully, seemingly in his own time.

THE president attended the long-waited caucus meeting on April 6 after the Easter recess and was welcomed by De Klerk.

The meeting, which went on for about an hour-and-a-half was held in the National Party caucus room on the fourth floor of the old wing of the Houses of Parliament which overlooks Parliament Street on one side, a courtyard on the other.

Apart from some 140 seats there's a curved table with seven chairs, including a taller one for the caucus chairman, and a podium with a national flag alongside. In all likelihood P W Botha used the podium with its carved inscription of Dr D F Malan's injunction: *Glo in jou God; Glo in jou Volk; Glo in jouself.*"

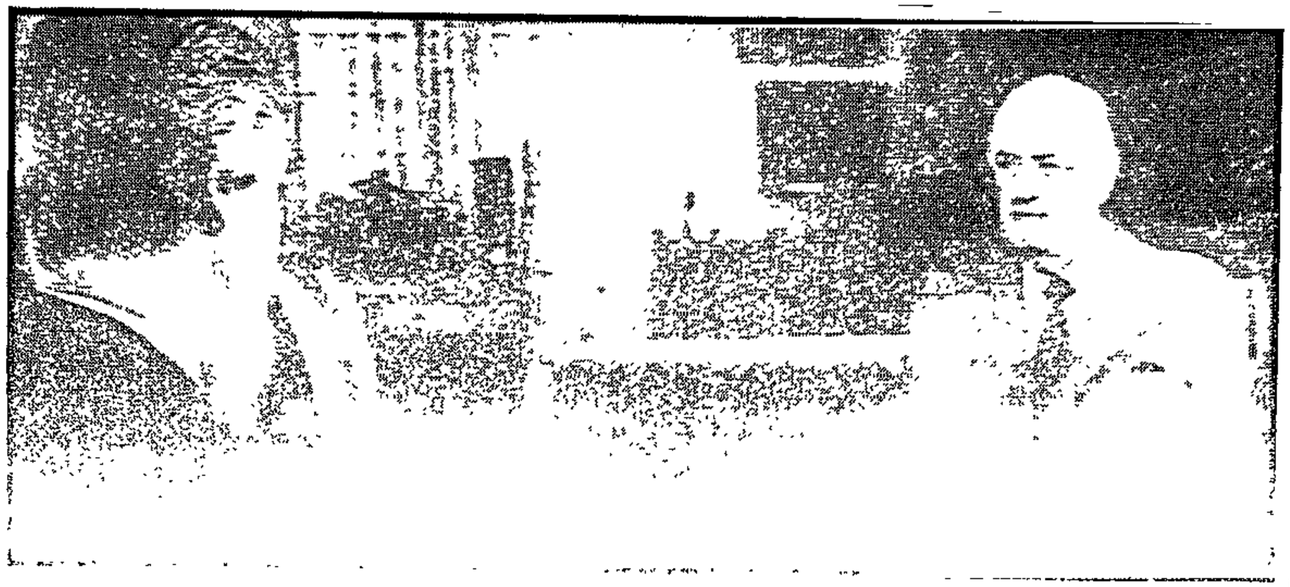
He was uncharacteristically subdued as he spoke from a prepared text. The fire they had come to know so well was gone.

As some MPs recalled, he lamented the shabby way he was being treated, referred to his accomplishments as a long-term Minister of Defence, insisted he had never sought powers for himself.

The MPs sat in embarrassed silence, watched over by the mute portraits of 11 former caucus chairmen Some glanced at one another. To at least one of them the PW of the past, sometimes "arrogant and bombastic" now came across as an old man airing his grievances.

What they were all waiting for came in a roundabout way when he indicated, without saying as much, that he would step down later in the year and that parliament would be dissolved to prepare the way for a general election.

Towards the end of his address PW seemed to tire, MPs noticed. Afterwards there seemed to be a monumental silence. There were no ques-



FLASHBACK

In his first television interview since a stroke, Mr P W Botha then said he planned to remain in power until at least next year.

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tions, not even about the date of the election they so badly wanted.

FW de Klerk thanked the president.

It was becoming clear again how P W Botha, through abrasiveness in the past, had made enemies in his own party. Resentment was welling up and he had clearly lost his hold over the caucus. Perhaps had he made a more positive and dynamic speech, he could at least have won more sympathy.

IN the "great hall" of parliament that afternoon nearly all the seats in the public gallery were taken up, even though it was a holiday.

PW arrived ten minutes before the start of the sitting and was immediately the centre of attention. For several minutes he was in animated conversation with Foreign Minister Pik Botha who leaned over the presidential bench. They were joined by Minister of Health Dr Willie van Niekerk, the Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex van Breda, and the Chief Whip of the National Party, Mr J "Keppies" Niemann F W de Klerk nodded a greeting, then looked away.

The president made a carefully-worded speech in which he signalled his retirement, without actually saying so, and announced a general election, probably in September.

Sources close to him said there was no doubt he would retire — after the election.

Nationalist MPs were irritated that he had not decided to retire right away. Had he done so, some said, "we would have carried him on our shoulders". What goodwill remained was draining away. Later, as the bitterness increased, P W Botha was to brush aside attempts by the party to take leave of him and to pay tribute. He was determined to demonstrate, to the letter, that he had removed himself from party politics.

AFTER the Easter recess parliament debated the president's budget vote.

He won a degree of praise, but not without political opportunism from the opposition. The Conservative Party tried to score from what Dr Andries Treurnicht described as the cruel Nationalist campaign to oust the president.

Mrs Helen Suzman, "as one ageing veteran parliamentarian to another", urged him to use his remaining time to return the country to some semblance of a democratic state instead of a securocratic "banana republic".

What an excellent farewell gesture, she suggested, if he ended the state of emergency, lifted media censorship, released the remaining detainees and unbanned all non-violent civic associations. She wondered, too, whether P W Botha wouldn't like to go down in history as the man who freed Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and their fellow-prisoners.

The president, a dab hand at the cut and thrust of debate, took it all in his stride.

If Nelson Mandela, he replied on the issue which continued to hold world attention, was prepared to contribute to the peaceful settlement of South Africa's future the government would respond in "an open-hearted manner."

In what was to be his last contribution in a debate on a presidential vote P W Botha 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."

Many wondered about that remark ...

(Compiled by T Wentzel and edited by A Drysdale, both of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

■ Monday: PW meets Mandela.

After all, did PW do FW a favour?

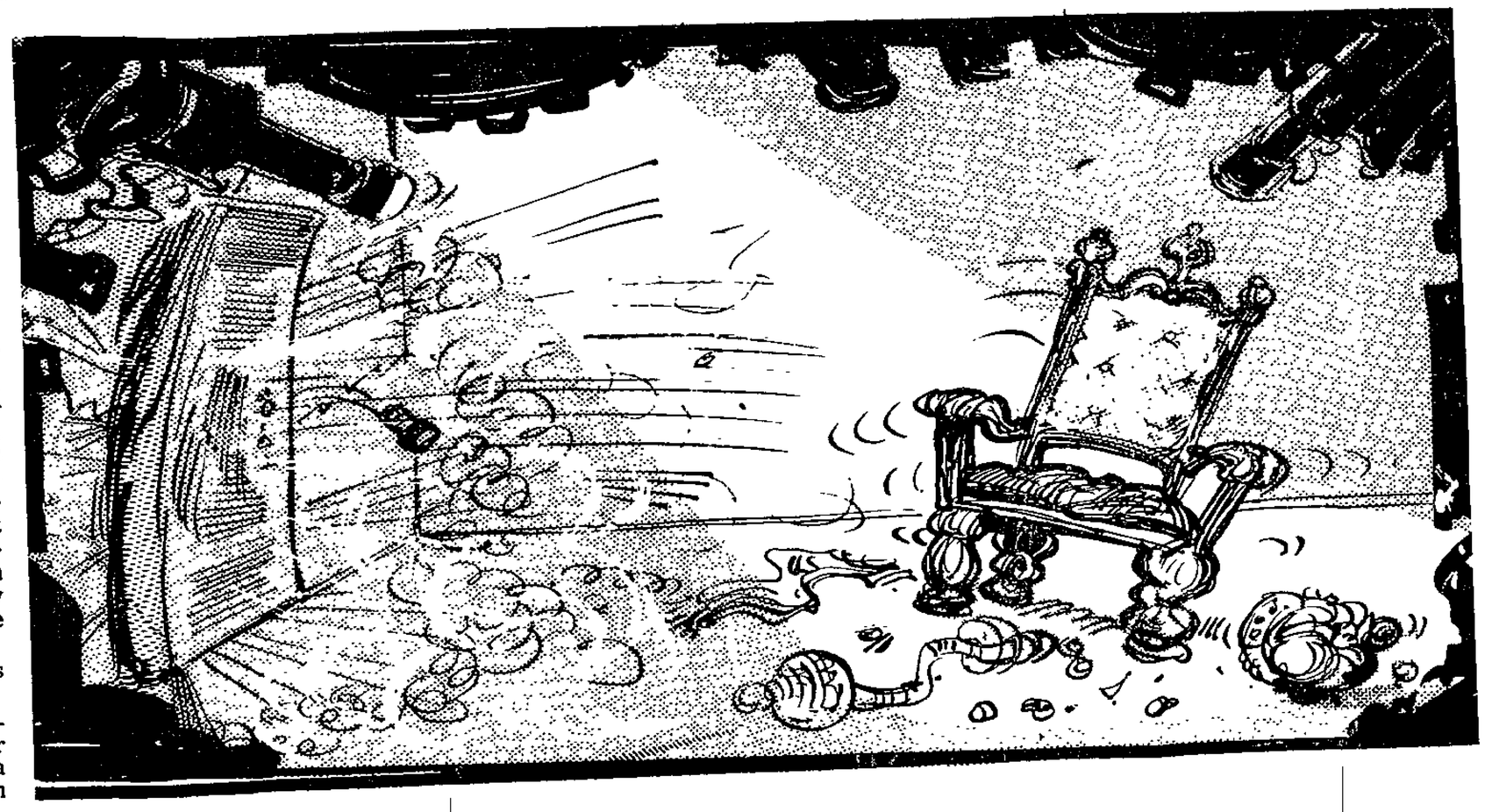
S/Times 20/8/89. 304A Cont

WHAT an inglorious, graceless exit Mr P W Botha made from public life. The compassion which, at a human level, one might have been inclined to feel towards a septuagenarian ending a lifetime in politics was quickly evaporated by that unseemly display of bellicosity on television.

It is not a pretty sight to see a crocodile self-destruct. It is unedifying to find an elderly man, at the end of a career marked by much that was distinguished, unable to disguise the malice as he quaveringly, yet deliberately, deployed against his erstwhile comrades the oldest weapon in the conspiracy theorist's arsenal: The time-proven smear that they were virtually selling their country out to the ANC.

Transparently, the purpose was to wound.

It is now plain that the preposterously inflated issue of whether or not Messrs De Klerk and Botha observed the correct procedure in planning a visit to Zambia wa





Willie Breytenbach

Nats land in a bed of nettles

SELDOM has any South African leader inherited so many unanswered questions.

They include the uncertainty about the coming election; the implications of President Botha's resignation; anticipated moves by F W de Klerk; the future of reform; and finally the prospects for negotiation.

Neither has any South African leader assumed power on the eve of an election.

In fact, with the exception of the early '20s, a hung Parliament was never a greater possibility than in 1989. But whether "hung" or not, the most likely gains seem destined to go to the Conservative Party.

Paradoxically, Mr De Klerk may well be the winner in the end. People doubted whether he had a crocodile in his ancestory, but now, after his bruising encounter with ex-President Botha, it is legitimate to ask whether there might not be a klein krokodil somewhere in Mr De Klerk's character.

Another implication of Mr Botha's resignation is a better synchronisation of foreign policy and domestic policy. The role of Foreign Minister Pik Botha in facilitating Mr De Klerk's sudden ascendency this week cannot go unnoticed. This also means a quicker than was expected move away from the Botha legacy of security supremacy in policy-making.

The implication is that the Cabinet will in all likelihood gain stature in relation to, say, the State Security Council.

This begs questions about Mr De Klerk's next moves. Firstly, not much can be expected until after the election.

And secondly, even after the election, moves will be cautiously considered. After all, licking wounds takes time.

But apart from the Kaunda talks that will continue, the era after the election may very soon move in the direction of "talks about talks"; ie, mainly about preconditions rather than the real agenda. It could drag on.

[redacted]

wider politics — remember that negotiations will take place outside Parliament. And this scenario suggests a probability of working, quite often, with and not against the Democratic Party (or factions thereof).

Other options that Mr De Klerk will have to consider are an improvement in the relations between the NP and Afrikaans-speaking academics. Under Mr Botha this has been damaged almost irreparably.

[redacted]

Then Mr De Klerk will also have to reward English-speakers in politics. It remains a mystery why Mr Botha, realising that the majority of English-speakers supported the NP, failed to bring them into government to a greater extent.

This could speed up reforms and negotiations. And linked to

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merely the proverbial last straw in a subterranean fight that had been going on for much of this year.

In the first place, it is a nonsense to suggest that talks with the leader of a black state automatically makes the participants handmaidens of the revolution. By such criteria Mr Botha himself — a veteran of countless, and praiseworthy, meetings with leaders of countries that are not unkindly disposed towards the ANC — should have be been restricted under the Internal Security Act a long time ago.

Mistake

No, the Kaunda issue, recounted in such boring detail on TV on Monday, was merely an attempt to justify the niggling pedanticism of a man who had not taken easily to life on the political sidelines.

Having made his initial mistake in not retiring when illness should have given him the first intimations of mortality, Mr Botha made his second when he insisted — in his typically imperious way — on

by Tertius Myburgh



clinging feebly to the reins of power and thus hobbling a new NP leadership trying to knit itself into a team.

It was never a secret that the strain between Tuynhuys and the Cabinet had become intolerable in recent months. It went far beyond the more obvious insults, such as Mr Botha's calculated omission to publicly congratulate his successor, and his non-appearance at a farewell party.

As the weeks wore on following his return to office it sometimes became difficult, say insiders, to preserve even ordinary standards of civility in spite of the extravagant care taken by Mr De Klerk and others to observe proper protocol.

The incident over the Kaunda meeting was, therefore, an accident waiting to happen. Thus a minor technical question was elevated to an issue of spurious principle. Angry at finding himself unable to continue ruling, if not from the grave then from his home at Wilderness, a frustrated and bitter man could no longer contain his irritation with a successsor whom he seems to regard, for reasons that remain unexplained, as unsuitable.

Dignity

The irony is that, in the manner of his going, Mr Botha perhaps unwittingly did the man he so disapproves of a great favour.

First, few South Africans could have failed to compare the conduct of the two men in front of the biggest television audience in years.

Mr De Klerk displayed dignity and reassuring grace under fire — in stark contrast to the petulence and inflated grandeur of a departing leader who tried his best to sandbag his comrades as a parting gesture.

More, Mr Botha's resignation has enabled the new leadership to emerge from his shadow and to inject — from an attention-grabbing position at centre stage — fresh energy into a hitherto lacklustre election campaign just three weeks before polling day.

Many voters who had been flirting with the idea of deserting the NP may now be inclined to "give the new boy a chance".

All in all, then, Mr Botha's final, flailing gesture may yet have the opposite effect to what he seems to have intended.

The place of the ex-president in history is assured. He broke many of the old moulds and had the courage to begin dismantling apartheid. His meeting with Mr Nelson Mandela was an act of incalculable significance. He helped to set Namibia on the road to independence. For these deeds and others he has never received adequate recognition — a fact that doubtless contributed to his irascibility.

Soon after assuming the highest office he warned his countrymen to adapt or perish. However, at the moment of departing that same high office, he revealed to a couple of million TV viewers that he had himself not adapted very much at all. It is sad.

At the same time Mr De Klerk will assess Mikhail Gorbachev's and George Bush's southern Africa policies. He may be well advised to pay more attention to what Mrs Thatcher has in mind.

Her bottom line is a triple-track policy on promoting negotiations between and among South Africans, including the ANC, resisting pro-sanctions campaigns in the UK and in the Commonwealth (after 1992, also in the European Community — but here she is more vulnerable than elsewhere), and improving bilateral relations with Frontline states.

Mr Mandela's apparently imminent release after the election will go down very well, both in Whitehall and in Downing Street.

Given a very close election outcome, the National Party may well be forced to consider reform alliances in Parliament and in some of the more exciting regional initiatives aimed at peace-making, peace may also be on the cards domestically.

But Mr De Klerk should be forewarned: After the two crucial elections in the region — the South African and the Namibian — pressures will be enormous.

So, if the '80s may be characterised as the decade when some reforms were initiated and executed, the '90s will probably be remembered as the decade when negotiations were initiated, and some even completed.

But those with an interest in negotiations should not delude themselves: The going will be tough. Moreover, neither the National Party nor the ANC seems to be ready for negotiations. The ANC's sabre-rattling this week underlines this point.

● *Willie Breytenbach is from Stellenbosch University's Department of African Studies.*

Consider the need for a 'buffer' government

304A

S/Times 30/8/89



by Hermann Giliomee (left) and Lawrence Schlemmer



TO argue or plead for an abrupt and comprehensive transformation of the structure of political power in South Africa is fanciful, naive or unwittingly revolutionary in its implications.

Both Zimbabwe and Namibia are, however, frequently taken as models (or emerging models) of precisely such a transformation. Presented in this way, these models are creating expectations of the possibility of a sudden shift.

What is conveniently overlooked in references to both the Rhodesia-Zimbabwe transaction and the impending SWA-Namibia shift is that both these territories had a very important "buffer" phase in their recent history.

Rhodesia had a period of multiracial government under Bishop Muzorewa and a constitutional acceptance by the dominant white party of an evolution to majority rule within 10 years.

Namibia has had a period of multiracial rule under the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, which has a mixed Cabinet and has phased out statutory residential discrimination.

Irresponsible

It is fashionable to discredit these buffer periods as "co-option", "too little too late" and so on. However, the acclimatising experience of these transitional phases was crucial. Without them, a "transformation" free of massive popular resistance from whites would have been extremely unlikely.

Bishop Muzorewa is commonly held up to ridicule, but we would argue that he was as important as Mr Mugabe's war in facilitating the emergence of the new Zimbabwe.

It is understandable that politicians actively engaged in the struggle for change should attempt to discredit intermediate political processes for a host of strategic reasons, including the fear that the politics of a transitional period will become entrenched.

It is, however, less understandable — indeed suggestive even of gross political irresponsibility — when supposedly experienced Western statesmen succumb to the strategic anxieties of liberation politicians and join the call for immediate "transformation".

It is precisely because a buffer period of transition will facilitate the change towards an accountable political system in South Africa that we now proceed to suggest some of its possible components.

- A government of national unity with a fully representative National Assembly functioning on the principle that the support of both the majority and the minority has to be secured;

- The government has to allow the mobilisation of "progressive" nonracial parties. Unless it allows mobilisation in opposition to its own policies, its legitimacy will forever be questioned;

Alliances

- For the period of the transition the white community, and any other minorities which have the same needs, should continue to elect their own representatives, preferably in some kind of minority alliance. Individuals within a minority group should, nevertheless, be free to support a "progressive" nonracial party;

- The guiding political principle should be one of voluntary association and not a formal race-group definition. Political parties or alliances should be the main vehicle for the articulation of group interests. We believe the following party formations or alliances cover virtually the entire political spectrum in South Africa:

A majority alliance: This will stress nonracial, individual rights and redistribution of wealth in a system of social democracy;

A minority alliance: This will advance the political and cultural claims of minority groups and will defend the interests of property owners, business and many of those employed by the existing State;

Non-aligned formations: These will be comprised of groupings such as workerists/Marxists, who propose control by workers/liberals and who may prefer a classic Westminster winner-takes-all system, and nationalists who clamour for an exclusive African (or white) homeland.

Bulwark

The absolute prerequisite for the proposed scheme is for the NP Government to abandon its insistence on basing the entire political system on racially defined voters' rolls.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, among others, is obviously correct in stating that the main bulwark of apartheid is race classification according to the Population Registration Act.

There can be no moving away from discrimination based on race unless the law which states that people will be classified, whether they like it or not, according to race is removed from the statute book.

- *An extract from Apartheid to Nation-Building (Oxford University Press) by Hermann Giliomee and Lawrence Schlemmer*

ELECTION 1989

Stars foretold P W's fate!

By ALAN DUGGAN

IT was written in the stars — former State President P W Botha had no hope of winning this week's fateful confrontation with members of his rebellious Cabinet.

Psychic and astrologer Val Paul believes Mr Botha — a Capricorn — made a fatal mistake when he defied the stars and tried to go it alone against his equally determined colleagues in the Government.

Explained Val: "So much in Mr Botha's chart shows his own personal battle to let go of the past, to make way for the present and the new.

"On that day (Monday), the Sun was in poor aspect to his natal Jupiter — showing disappointment, plans falling through and frustrations of all kinds. It just wasn't a day to try to win professionally."

But on the same day the signs for acting State President F W de Klerk — a Piscean — were a different story, according to the Cape Town astrologer.

"On that day, the Sun in dynamic Leo (a sign associated with leadership and drive) formed a brilliant aspect to Jupiter in Mr De Klerk's chart.

"This is one of the most fortunate transits ... it brings the ability to project positively, to influence others, yet to do so with foresight and just the right timing and approach. Right away he had an excellent chance of winning."

What did the stars say about Mr De Klerk's future as the country's leader?

Replied Val: "Casting an eye over the planetary movements in Mr De Klerk's life now and during the time ahead, some startling and highly favourable influences are on his side. It's an exciting, positive time for him.

"Pluto and Saturn are in fortunate aspect, helping him to make new beginnings and bring about peaceful changes

"He will also be very concerned with social reform, and his attitude will be flexible. People will admire his disciplined approach to new ideas without an underlying need for personal accolades."

The good news for the former head of state was that he would reap great rewards for his dedication, said Val, predicting that Mr Botha would return to a period of "new beginnings".

But she had a word of warning — a chapter in Mr Botha's life had closed forever, and he should acknowledge this.

"To refuse to close that chapter in his own mind will stand in the way of his happiness and future success — and will be highly detrimental to his health."



Astrologer Val Paul ... Mr P W Botha's fatal mistake was to defy the stars

Former Boks scrum down for the match at the polls

FROM the rugby scrum to the political loose maul is not such a long way after all.

And many a political argument has been won in South Africa by men who have been schooled on the playing fields of Loftus or Newlands.

Election '89 is no exception to a long tradition of famous South African sportsmen who graduated from the Green and Gold to the pinstripes of politics. In all, six former Springboks in various sports are now doing combat in the political arena.

It is often said that political speechmaking, and not rugby, is the country's national sport, and the first week of September will see these two important pastimes vying for the attention of the public.

Classic

The first ex-Springbok to enter the political fray was the imposing figure of Dominee Herman van Broekhuizen. During the Boer War he was exiled by the British to South America but got his revenge two years later in 1903 when he played in the first-ever South African rugby team to beat a visiting British Lions team.

The man who gave the name Springboks to the country's sportsmen, Paul Roos, also entered the august halls of Parliament as the member for Stellenbosch.

Oom Paul's maiden (and only) speech in the House is still considered a classic. He strongly urged the opposition to accept the rulings of the referee (Speaker) and play the political game within the spirit of the rules ... in a railway debate. Sadly, he died soon after his election.

In the '60s there were few more controversial rugby players than Dawie de Villiers — Stellenbosch, Western Province and Springbok scrumhalf, who captained the Boks in a record 22 tests.

By DRIES van HEERDEN

It was no surprise that the former dominee and philosophy lecturer entered politics and enjoyed a meteoric rise to the top.

With him on that famous "betoger-toer" of Britain in 1969/70 was a tall, fair-haired Western Province lock, André de Wet. Now, with considerably less hair, the friendly chemist finds himself in a side opposing that of his former captain.

De Wet is the DP candidate in East London City, where he has an excellent chance of beating the Nats in a seat formerly represented by disgraced MP Peet de Pontes.

The Western Province sides of the '60s must have had quite interesting political discussions in the change-rooms with De Villiers and De Wet often joined by former Opposition leader Van Zyl Slabbert and Constitutional Development Minister Gene Louw.

And joining the political loose scrum is Attie Engelbrecht who represents the DP against Dr De Villiers in Piketberg. His brother, Jannie Engelbrecht, was a permanent fixture on the (right) wing for WP and the Springboks in the '60s.

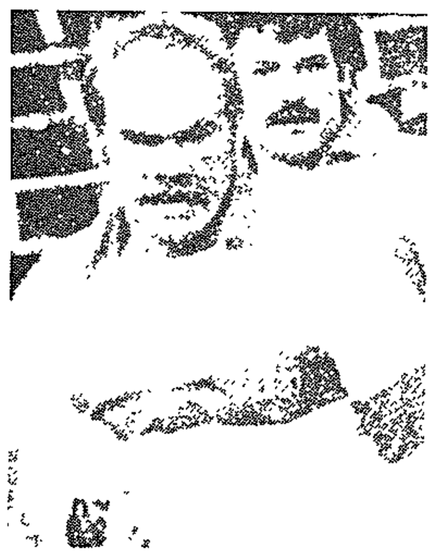
Corrie Pypers was widely known as the fearless — and fiery — loose forward and captain of Transvaal in the '70s. Now he is scrumming down for the Conservative Party in Turffontein.

In fact, CP leader Andries Treurnicht was an above-average rugby player. In 1949 he played scrumhalf for South Western Districts against the All Blacks.

With the new Parliament expected to boast a considerable number of young faces, perhaps they can get a rugby team together to play the ANC who, according to unconfirmed rumours, are ready to tour South Africa as soon as Uli Schmidt renounces violence.



Bok captain ... Dawie de Villiers



Fiery forward ... Corrie Pypers



Friendly lock ... André de Wet

Don't stop the world — Pik doesn't WANT to get off!

By DRIES van HEERDEN, on the campaign trail with Pik Botha

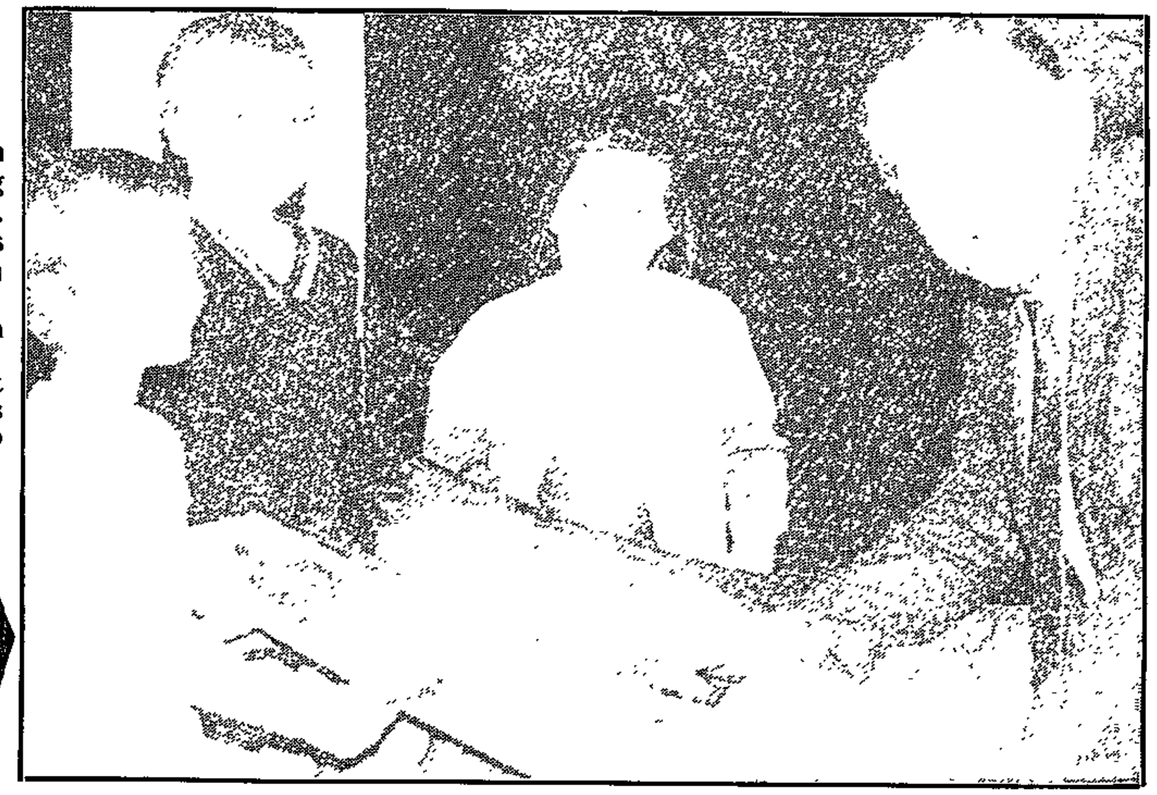
IT is 7.45 in the morning and Pik Botha has already put in a five-hour working day as South Africa's Foreign Minister. Somehow he can sense that this is going to be a fairly regular day which will end only after midnight.

Early morning means he has to be at Linden High School in his Westdene constituency.

It is election time and even the most recognisable face in South African politics has to maintain a high profile in the suburbs to ensure re-election.

At the gates of Linden High he is met by the headmaster, Mr Awie van Rensburg, and is immediately ushered into an office to field yet another call from his own office.

Meanwhile, the children of Linden file into the school hall eager for a face-to-face encounter with the man who so often dominates their TV screens — and the prospect of getting an hour off from school work.



Putting a name to the face ... Pik Botha signs an election poster for some young admirers, Johan Marnitz, Kobus Marnitz and Ilse van Niekerk

Recognition

The man with the bristling moustache and the deep voice does not disappoint them. He responds to the rousing reception from the pupils with a witty and to-the-point talk urging the young people to follow the example of Portuguese explorers in banishing ignorance and superstition to explore new frontiers.

The 100 top academic achievers of the school line up on stage to shake the Minister's hand and receive a token of recognition.

Outside, Pik the Campaigner is at work again. Private secretary Pieter Goosen is handed an envelope from a Westdene voter, a Mrs Swanepoel. "She has income tax problems. Please see what we can do to assist," he says.

Back in the official car with the MCP registration — Angolan peace process is in

Campaign manager Juli Coetzer has organised a tight schedule designed to give him maximum exposure and to reach most of the interest groups in the constituency.

But the carefully laid plans vanish within one minute after a single phone call. On the line is his office in Pretoria informing him that the

globe-trotting, never-tiring Foreign Minister have made his personal staff extremely adept at handling crises. Mr Goosen, his colleague Tom Markram and Press secretary Pieter Swanepoel are completely unflappable.

They know the schedule of their boss is unlike that of any other Cabinet member. For him it is not possible to

Pik Botha is the consum-

ple are overjoyed to receive the famous man in their home He is obviously in a hurry but he doesn't show it.

At last he manages to pry himself away with a "I will definitely come back for a longer visit"

It is well after two when Mr Botha races back from Pretoria and picks up his interrupted schedule.

"I do some telephone canvassing and try to be personally visible and approachable on the streets of Westdene," he says. "And I prefer small house meetings to large public gatherings.

"If everything goes according to schedule I will have spoken to more than 1 500 voters at such meetings come election day. It gives them the opportunity to meet their candidate and for me to respond adequately to their questions and requests."

At the second of his evening meetings, starting at 8.00pm, he says:

"The National Party remains the most important vehicle that can lead this country towards peace and prosperity."

And then he adds a personal philosophy which must have helped him on numerous occasions to survive the often heady days of the P W Botha administration.

Strong

"Nothing provides more security than the knowledge that you are indispensable."

It is after midnight as the Foreign Minister continues to discuss the events of the day with some friends huddled around him in the kitchen of the house where he held his last meeting.

His usually nattily dressed personal staff are starting to show signs of fatigue but their boss is still going strong.

When he eventually does leave for a well-deserved rest in Pretoria the politician campaigner in Pik Botha takes control:

"... w are we doin with

Flat out from 7.45 to midnight

coming in fast and furious.

Despite national and international crises, the whole day has been set aside for one purpose only — campaigning in Westdene, the constituency he has represented for the past 12 years.

Unita and Zairean delegations.

"Oh, no," groans Pieter Goosen. "Why can't we have just one day that goes according to schedule?"

But many months with the

Charm

On his way back to Pretoria Mr Botha does manage to squeeze in a quick visit to the Margeot family in 3rd Avenue, Linden. The elderly coucian. Whether it is a one-on-one encounter, a gathering of a small group, a large hall full of enthusiastic supporters and opposition hecklers or the forums of the world — he knows how to turn on the charm.

special votes," he asks of ... Coetzer.

She whispers a figure.

"It is good, but still not enough," he says. "We must step up our efforts."

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

S-Times 20-8-89

Chris 'a David against Goliath'

By DRIES van HEERDEN

AT FIRST glance he seems to be the ultimate no-hope candidate. The babe from the stage lost in the political woods where he is standing against probably the most popular white politician in the country.

But actor-turned-political candidate Chris van Niekerk is not at all daunted by the mammoth challenge.

Perhaps it is inexperience, perhaps the over-confidence of youth — but he genuinely believes that with some help from above and the wind from behind he can unseat Mr Pik Botha as MP for Westdene.

Enthusiasm

He agrees that the arithmetic of the election does not favour an upset. After all, Mr Botha can boast a formidable 4 353 majority.

But if the CP's Dr Tobie Hart can make the strong showing expected from him and the DP can muster more than 3 500 votes ... "we are in with a fighting chance".

After all, slap-bang in the middle of the Westdene constituency is the municipal ward of Linden, which saw the big Democratic Party upset earlier this year and helped to galvanise the local party structures into a co-...ent and enthusiastic unit.

Chris van Niekerk, 37, has been an actor all his adult life. But so was Ronald Reagan before he turned to politics. And Eugene Terre Blanche. And even Mr Botha himself dabbled in thespian activities in his Pretoria University student days.

However, Van Niekerk has been one of the country's leading actors for many years now. Until recently he appeared in a leading role (sometimes in the nude) in the play Who Goes Bare?

His background in acting and the face recognition he enjoys from a number of TV commercials stands him in good stead in his campaign for the support of the voters.

Why Westdene? Why Pik Botha? "Why not?" asks Van Niekerk. "Why play the butler when you can play Hamlet or Macbeth?"

Those who expect a diletante politician enjoying a brief fling with politics before returning to the world of floodlights and cue-calls are in for a major surprise.

Van Niekerk is one serious politician who holds deep-felt and passionate beliefs.

"The time has come when young people like myself who are serious about the future of this country should put their money where their mouths are and become involved in politics," he says, while standing in the same DP office where the NP's



Chris van Niekerk . . . facing Pik

demise in Linden was planned and executed.

"It is no use waiting for the older generation of politicians to solve the country's problems. They have already shown that they are not capable of doing so. We will have to tackle the challenges ourselves."

Van Niekerk has a definite and real dream for the country's future. A future where power will be exercised and priviliges distributed not according to the colour of one's skin but according to ability.

"I am in politics for the long haul. This is not a one-off flag-waving exercise or a publicity blitz. Whatever happens on September 6 I will remain the DP's candidate in Westdene in future."

Chris van Niekerk developed his passionate interest in politics early on in life. "I must have been the only 12-year-old Prog in an Afrikaans primary school in Pretoria," he jokes.

He later attended one of the capital's elite high schools, Menlo Park, but recently returned his "alma matership" after the school's previous management committee refused to allow a black athlete to participate at a meeting.

"I believe passionately in certain things There is so much negativism in this country. Perhaps my skills as an actor can be used to show the youth of South Africa that there are still positive things to believe in," he says

Elderly

One major result of his sudden introduction into the harsh world of politics is that it has opened his eyes to the plight of the elderly.

In Westdene the odds may be fairly heavily stacked against this compassionate young candidate. But a one-off campaign this will not be. He is sure to play leading roles on the political stage in future.

Report by A van Heerden, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

Kobus and Carole take on the NP in Durban

By LESTER VENTER
...litical Correspondent

...NY of Umhlanga's stiff ... lip, old English sugar ... constituents are very ... to have Mr Kobus ..., a former National ... senator and constitu... expert, standing as Democratic Party can... Frightfully so.

Kobus Jordaan him... ...'s Kobus with an 'o' ...ie' and then 'Jaw... process of becom... of the DP and stand... ...tion in a seat with ... country's best... ...ers has been edu... ...d intriguing.

...learned something Afrikaner in this that he is not the of himself that he ... to be built up ...ars. There is a ...democratic, ac... Afrikaner ... of them. For me ... liberating."

...are having to ...along the way. ... that still con... with only a ...l humour ...t" of the ... and cam...

paign workers are having to abandon the stereotypes of their inland cousins.

Mr Jordaan's campaign staff consists of former Progressive Federal Party members, New Republic Party supporters and ex-Nationalists. The campaign manager is Mrs Desi Halse, who stood — and lost — for the PFP in the 1987 election.

Mr Jordaan says the "broad South Africanism" displayed in the DP's leadership, candidates and rank and file, is particularly appealing to voters. At the crux of the Umhlanga vote is the influential NRP rump of supporters in the constituency — traditionally a United Party and, later, NRP seat.

In 1987 the NRP's leaders formed an election coalition with the PFP, and the PFP put up a candidate in Umhlanga.

But it turned out Umhlanga's voters could not stomach a move to the left, and they voted instead for the NP's man, Mr Renier Schoeman.

Mr Schoeman, an urbane and energetic constituency man in the two years he has held the seat, believes the Government will retain the allegiance of the former NRPs.

"They are inherently not on the left of the political spectrum, and that's where the DP finds itself today.

"It wasn't an appealing proposition for the voters in '87, and it won't be in '89," he says.

Providing a counter-balance to the North Coast's sugar barons are the more down-to-earth, largely blue-collar workers in Umbilo, a



CAROLE CHARLEWOOD
Pounding pavements

Durban suburban constituency. There the DP is fielding "that woman" (as her opponents are fond of referring to her) — former TV journalist Carole Charlewood.

□□□

She is challenging the NP's incumbent, Mr Piet Mathee, and, just to make political life in Umbilo that little bit more interesting, the Conservative Party has put in a disarmingly charming English-speaker, Mr Carl Werth.

Mr Mathee says the CP is there for one reason only — to split the Nationalist vote.

Not so, says Mr Werth, all three parties should poll a roughly equal number of votes and any one of them can win.

He may just have a point there.

Umbilo is one of the many constituencies around the country where the chips are down, economically.

Anything up to a half the voters are living on average-to-lower incomes and the major portion of the remainder are pensioners — all people who are feeling, as never before, the pinch in housing, food and transport.

Like everywhere else, the declining economy has brought increasing crime to the streets of Umbilo.

Mr Werth says his canvassers have stopped going out at night.

"That woman" is on the streets on her own.

"I'm doing a lot of canvassing on my own. I find myself in flats with no lights on the landings. I hope I'm not going to end up getting hit on the head," says Mrs Charlewood.

If enough of Umbilo's penny-stretching voters share her idealism, she may just end up with a happy landing on September 6.

The war is over, but the battle for SA lingers on

ST Times 20/8/89. 3044

Karl P Magyar

formerly of the Wits Department of International Relations, now working in the United States, suggests an important breakthrough awaits SA



THIS year is well on its way to becoming a major watershed period in the affairs of southern Africa.

Changes, some deliberate, others unplanned, have been introduced which call for a total reassessment of the entire region. Southern Africans, as well as external participants in this region, are redefining their interests.

Sparking this turn of events has been the termination of South Africa's participation in the Angolan war; the independence of Namibia; the departure of the Soviets; and the yet to be tested ceasefire between Angola's government forces and its guerrilla opponent, Unita.

At once, we were able to corroborate that events in Namibia and Angola were indeed "linked", and that peace would have to address both conflicts simultaneously. But we are not as certain about the precipitating cause of this broad settlement.

Credibility

Was it Angola's exhaustion? Was it Cuba's successful management of the extended air coverage of southern Angola? Was it international sanctions which prevented South Africa from replacing lost aircraft, and which exacerbated a deteriorating economy? Was it the power of mediative diplomacy by the Americans? Or was it because Gorbachev acceded to power in the Soviet Union and evaluated foreign policy through sober economic rather than messianic ideological prisms?

Whichever the single or combination of reasons, the consequences are wide-reaching and reverberate throughout the entire region.

South Africa has gained perhaps more than any other actor in these regional developments. With the Soviets winding down their strategic ambitions in southern Africa, South Africa was able to walk out of Angola and yield her economically troublesome colony without facilitating the establishment of new aggressive insurgent bases on her border.

As the Soviets have pulled the rug out from under the feet of the ANC, South Africa's government has gained considerable credibility among its minority white faction.

In neighbouring Mozambique, the government, as well as the Renamo guerrillas, have come to rely on South Africa's anointment. This does not mean that medals should be showered on South Africa's Foreign Ministry. Rather, Gorbachev should be given his due for all the hitherto unimaginable advantages which have accrued to South Africa.

The other countries of southern Africa have also been affected. Although few are enchanted with Castro's cigar-chomping legions in their back yards, they must now come to terms with a rejuvenated South Africa which has established a respectable degree of military credibility.

They can't harbour the ANC as easily any more and they know only too well that South Africa will be in a position to "arrange" for the interdiction of the Benguela or Beira railways in return for any attempts to destabilise South Africa. In fact, South Africa's manipulation of Unita and Renamo has been so successful that it will be difficult to acquiesce in their total extinction as they can be utilised at short notice to engage in disruptive activities to do South Africa's bidding.

With our present-day hindsight, we have reason to believe that without South Africa's extensive support, Unita would probably have been totally vanquished.

The implications of this concerns the potential of South Africa sponsoring an anti-Swapo insurgent force in Namibia, and possibly in other troublesome neighbouring countries, should it be necessary to do so. Surrogates can be useful to South Africa as they are at least comprised of national forces — and they do the dying in place of whites.

Hostages

The unrevealed numbers of black South Africans, Namibians, Angolans, and Bushmen who had been inducted into South Africa's efforts in Angola attest to this.

This leaves South Africa's neighbours in a no-win situation. Their efforts to divest themselves of South Africa's domineering influence have failed. The fact that they have intensified their economic relations with South Africa is not surprising in view of their innate economic problems, but this should not be viewed as a vindication of South Africa's precariously balanced internal order.

Southern African countries would prefer a stable majority-based government in South Africa. There is sense in this as they expect, probably correctly, that even if there may be an extended period of instability should a majority government attain power through violence, South Africa's economic prosperity and a new infusion of external funding in the region will not advance until reasonable long-term prospects are assured.

Under continued shaky white domination, external financial resources will ignore the region and the sparse resources which remain in South Africa are rapidly dissipating.

In short, South Africa's neighbours are held hostage by the economic and social disruptions in South Africa to which no end is in sight.

The year 1989 has brought a number of changes in South Africa's external posture, which is due more to fortuitous circumstance than to deliberate design. For most countries with a cohesive domestic society, such diplomatic gains would be the cause for jubilation. However, although such gains would add to a normal country's security, South Africa's problems are domestic, not regional.

Having pursued Swapo for 23 years and the MPLA since 1975, South Africa is today abandoning these objectives in the region. External audiences will be interested in learning of the justification for such a costly commitment. In view of the present state of affairs in Angola and in Namibia, South Africa will be hard put to demonstrate why it couldn't have accomplished the same results without waging a war in the first place.

This may explain why there appeared to be a widely supported effort to expedite P W Botha's departure from power. It appears that South Africa has won the wrong war.

South Africa should use this period of regional detente to concentrate on resolving the major problem, the domestic situation. The ANC will not topple the government — which is precisely why South Africa should consider legitimising that organisation instead of eradicating it.

South Africa now speaks from a position of strategic security, but blacks have not yet fully exploited their power in the marketplace, the factories, and in their non-violent resistance potential. And they can be expected to ally with further externally originated economic sanctions.

Dangers

With 64 percent of South Africa's economy being tied to importing and exporting activities, the country is too vulnerable to develop in isolation and to retaliate.

A review of conflicts in Africa yields a sobering lesson. Since the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya in the early '50s, blacks have never won a significant battle against whites. But they have never lost a war.

From the vantage point of an external observer, the South African administration appears to be blamed for continued intransigence, but the occupation of the top jobs by new members of the same party amounts to little more than a game of musical chairs.

The words are slightly different, but the melody lingers on.

Whites cannot expect to talk to the ANC on terms dictated by that body, or others. For the ANC to retain its legitimacy within the black community, its own agenda must be respected lest whites succeed in splitting that movement — and then proceed to talk to the wrong segment.

Battlefield

And there is another dimension to such potential negotiations. Whites should understand that there is no great mystery in learning about what blacks want. They want what whites have. This suggests that whites should first negotiate with whites to agree on what they are prepared to yield. Failing this, black demands and white refusals may well exacerbate antagonism rather than advance the transition to a new order.

The new leader of the white government will be in a position to preside over a momentous period but, unlike his predecessor, he will not be able to blame external communists, black revolutionaries, or the menacing far right. And he will not be able to claim victory in distant wars while presiding over the destruction of the domestic economy — which is the most significant battlefield.

Bush plans a kinder U.S. but not for SA

Judith Chettle

looks at the tougher side of the President

GEORGE BUSH, being the gentleman he is, is probably sincere in wanting to make the US a kinder, gentler place.

Nothing wrong with the aspiration, but President Bush, who has made a career of clothing naked ambition in buttoned-down, lip-sealed loyalty, also wants the kinder, gentler place to be a more Republican one — and this could make US policy towards South Africa far less kind and almost certainly not gentle — despite all the sensible sounds from Congress.

The truth is that the Bush administration is probably the most aggressively political and non-ideological one since that of Jack Kennedy.

Coup

Kennedy, you remember, made nice-sounding noises about doing things for one's country and founded the Peace Corps, but when it came down to hard-core questions of ideological commitment, or anything that might alienate mainstream Americans, Kennedy and his tough henchmen dragged their feet.

Kennedy's great coup undoubtedly was co-opting the intellectuals and the media.

President Bush may not be winning over the intellectuals but he is effectively defanging them with his niceness, his absence of ideology and his readiness to meet them or their protegés — the meeting with Albertina Sisulu being one of many such examples.

All of which means that, during the Bush administration, what will determine US policy towards SA and everywhere else will be what will also help the Republican Party to become the majority party in the 21st century.

An interesting and certainly instructive example of how this goal is affecting the agenda can be seen in the current race in Florida to fill the late Claude Pepper's seat.

Mr Pepper, a Democrat — once called "Red Pepper" for his leftist views — had survived in politics himself by a certain amount of judicious trimming; when he died a few months ago in his late 80s, he was on record as a supporter of continued aid to Unita, a reflection of his increasingly Cuban-American constituency.

Those same Cubans are now claiming that the seat is rightfully theirs, as they make up more than half of the district's voters.

In a district which has been traditionally Democrat, with a large number of Jewish and black voters, this assertion is understandably fuelling ethnic tensions within the local Democratic organisation. Democrats are calling for restricted immigration — a code word for anti-Hispanic resentments.

The Republican Party, which regards the race as a crucial opportunity to gain a seat in a state once heavily Democratic and now edging towards a Republican plurality, is backing a Cuban-American. Lee Atwater, national chairman and consummate political animals, eager to add more Hispanics to the party.

For South Africans, however intriguing the role of traditionally conservative and anti-communist Cubans may be as a new ethnic pressure group, the more profound and long-term result of this race is the evidence of the aggressive role Republicans like Atwater are playing to woo once-loyal Democrat supporters.

Aggressive

Although Hispanics, long considered by Democrats as their own, are more up for grabs than blacks, senior Republicans are also aggressively courting the latter, particularly the college-educated and upwardly mobile.

And when it comes down to policy, men like James Baker and his gang of five at the State Department are going to make decisions based as much on what is good for the President and the party as for the country.

That is why Mr F W de Klerk did not get to see President Bush.

Tutu calls for general amnesty

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu has advised Acting State President FW de Klerk to declare an amnesty after the September 6 general election, lift the state of emergency and "unrestrict" restrictees

In his first comment on the resignation of President PW Botha, Tutu said things must be in a very, very bad state if they (the Cabinet) can't tolerate Botha for another three weeks"

"I really felt sorry for him He looked a pathetic figure," he said at a Press conference.

He called Botha's resignation a "coup".

Botha was the second State President to be forced out and it showed that "real power belongs to God If power is based in immorality they'll bite the dust"

De Klerk's coming to power was "just a change in initials"

"I don't think we can pretend that we're entering a new phase. I don't think it matters who sits there as long as they are the National Party . . ."

De Klerk did not deserve the time the world wanted to give him to change the country.

"All he wants is to give us apartheid." – Sapa

■ By D Cruywagen, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town

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PW Botha: the man and his pearls of wisdom

FOLLOWING are some of the more interesting utterances made by former State President PW Botha during his political career

We are a strong country in a rather sick world – **Prime Minister, 1982.**

Where in the whole wide world today can you find a more just society than South Africa has? – **Minister of Defence, 1976.**

Accept where I am going or I will not lead you – As **Prime Minister, NP Transvaal Congress, 1979.**

The separation of races happened long before the Nationalist government. God separated the races – As **Prime Minister, 1984.**

I hate no black man I hate no brown man The same God that made me put them there too. My God is not only for the Afrikaners. – As **Prime Minister, 1979.**

Don't shout at me, but pray for me I am an ordinary man with few talents. I need the help of all. – As **Prime Minister to a black audience in KaNgwane, 1979.**

Never in the history of this country have so few people done so much for so many without acknowledgement by the international community – As **State President, 1987.**

The Afrikaner has not stolen the country from anyone – As **Prime Minister, 1982.**

It is totally wrong to create the idea that we are a bad lot of Nazis denying other people their rights in South Africa – As **State President, 1985.**

The Republic of South Africa has a new formula under the National Party's leadership black nations can get freedom without firing shots or revolution. – As **Prime Minister, 1984.**

There is not an Indian community in the world that is better off than the Indians in South Africa That is the type of apartheid that I stand for That is the type of apartheid which is not dead – As **Prime Minister, 1979.**

As long as there is a National Party government, we won't hand over the authority of South West Africa to Swapo. – As **Prime Minister, 1981.**

I am an African – As **Prime Minister, 1981.**

I know African leaders are listening to me, even if they do not admit it – As **State President, 1986.**

(The ANC) knows it is not supported by a majority



Former State President PW Botha . . . while his caucus may have grumbled about to grin and bear it. But the election of De Klerk has given his party the leverag

3047

THE PW vs FW SAGA



Acting State President FW de Klerk . . stormy rise to powerful position.

OUT!

CP Reporter

ON January 18 this year State President PW Botha had a stroke. While as far as the public knew, this was his first, there was speculation that it was his second.

Before the stroke Botha was a powerful man who had given himself virtually dictatorial powers as South Africa's first executive president.

His position was unassailable and ministers lived in fear of the "Big Crocodile" as he became known.

There was no sign that he would retire, and while his own caucus might have grumbled about his abrasive style of dictating from the top, they had to grin and bear it

The view among political observers was that he had become increasingly isolated, embittered and out of touch, and that he was kept in power by the lack of an obvious successor in the NP

Botha was, however, sitting pretty until the stroke

It must have clouded the judgement of the power-hungry Botha: while still recovering he made the fatal mistake to resign as party leader, announcing that the party leadership and presidency would be separated

His party swung into motion and elected FW de Klerk as new party leader This set the scene for a bitter battle which the younger man eventually had to win

Botha still had the power, but the election of De Klerk gave his party the leverage to oust him eventually

The big question now was whether Botha was going to stay on or resign It soon became clear that he would not step down easily, becoming an embarrassment to the party he had served for so long

Chris Heunis, Botha's long-time friend and Minister of Constitutional Planning, who became acting State President, said the administration and functions of government would continue as normal

MPs said De Klerk was now anxious to consolidate his leader-ship by placing his personal stamp on government

Three weeks after the stroke, Botha signalled he was on the mend and that he would resume "my task as State President" in the first week in April

There was growing anger in the NP, expressed in loyal Afrikaans newspapers, about Botha's refusal to resign Former National Party Minister Hendrik Schoeman bluntly told Botha had to make way for a younger man.

Soon after Botha said he was determined to serve out his term of office, but it was too early to speculate on whether he would stay on for another term.

Newspapers now speculated that the NP might be forced to remove Botha. The feeling in NP ranks was that the torch had been passed to a new leader.

Botha then announced he would resume his duties on March 15, when the Budget would be read in Parliament.

The long knives came out and Botha became increasingly isolated in his own party

The National Party caucus and most of the Cabinet now came out in virtually open support for FW de Klerk.

Botha announced that an election for all three houses would be held and that he would quit after the election

A NP banquet to bid farewell to Botha had to be cancelled when it became clear that he would not attend

With splash headlines the newspapers reported Mandela's meeting with Botha at Tuynhuys It was generally seen as an attempt to steal De Klerk's thunder

The final showdown came on Monday after a confrontation between Botha and the Cabinet in which he was advised to retire to his holiday home

A proposed visit to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia by De Klerk sparked it off

Botha announced his resignation in a TV address, making accusations against De Klerk and Pik Botha about the Kaunda trip

The belligerent old bull has finally been driven from the herd

■ By K Coetzee, 204 Eloff St Ext Selby

ed about his abrasive manner, they had leverage to oust him.

Old bull finally driven from herd

Peacemaker Kaunda to meet the man De Kler

CP Correspondent

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda undoubtedly did not realise the consequences of his announcement on August 10 that he would be meeting with South Africa's then President-in-waiting, FW de Klerk, on August 28

This announcement resulted in the decision by PW Botha to resign as State President on Monday

But the positive side of the drama is that De Klerk is adamant he wants to meet the Zambian President

He announced this following his swearing in as acting acting State President and confirmed it in a letter to Kaunda on the same day

Undoubtedly, the Livingstone meeting will be a major bridge-building exercise not only between Zambia and South Africa, but probably also between the South African government and the ANC

In August 1985, the Zambian leader arranged historic talks between a group of leading South African businessmen and high-ranking ANC officials in Zambia That meeting started the "great trek" of white and black South Africans to Lusaka and other parts of the world for talks with the ANC

The building of bridges between the Zambian and South African governments is imminent In his letter to former President PW Botha on August 14, Kaunda said he wanted to get to the man De Klerk better

"I cannot pretend to know your successor well at all In fairness t and to me it is important that to know each other a little more cially about how we look at thing the future as individual persons

"All that I, therefore, hope and is for us to continue to help build tive co-operation for peace for gardless of race, colour and creed

Frontline peace talk offer

CP Correspondent

ZAMBIAN President Kenneth Kaunda this week promised that the six Frontline states would help the South African government to resolve its conflict with the ANC if it conducted itself honestly in the Namibian independence process

Kaunda, chairman of the Frontline States, admitted it would be difficult to get the two together

"FW de Klerk says that he will not meet the ANC until they renounce violence and the ANC says they will not talk until apartheid falls," he said

Kaunda warned that unless a solution was found "immediately", the situation in the region could explode within less than two years, engulfing Southern Africa in bloodshed

Addressing a Press conference on Wednesday morning, the Zambian leader said after the August 28 meeting with South Africa's acting State President, FW de Klerk, he would report to the OAU and the ANC "so that they may decide on the next course of action on the apartheid issue".

"We are carefully watching South Africa on the question of Namibia If it fares well we are willing and ready to give South Africa the benefit of the doubt – we might begin to get somewhere to bring South Africa and the ANC together," Kaunda said.

He expressed surprise at the resignation of former President PW Botha over his decision to meet De Klerk in Livingstone

Indications by Kaunda that the Frontline States would act as mediator between the ANC and the government is another dramatic development about the issue

On August 10 the ANC announced it had a detailed plan for a peaceful settlement It envisaged a process similar to the one being implemented in Namibia under Resolution 435.

On August 15 the ANC announced it was prepared to send a representative to the De Klerk/Kaunda meeting on August 28, if requested. This led to speculation that discussions at the Livingstone meeting would include negotiations between the ANC and the government

This was supported by what Kaunda told US congressmen in Lusaka on Tuesday that he would find out what De Klerk stood for and report to the ANC and the Frontline States

The 14 countries on the OAU special committee on Southern Africa meet in Harare on August 21 where a new strategy to end apartheid could be adopted.

The ANC, PAC and Swapo will attend the meeting, where the ANC's settlement plan is expected to be discussed

It is understood the ANC consulted the OAU on the outline of the plan during its annual summit in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at the end of July

The meeting with Kaunda on August 28 itself would be a major test for De Klerk

Kaunda is on record as saying "If De Klerk is the Joshua for South Africa on apartheid, he will have my full, active support 24 hours a day to the last step of his battle to dismantle apartheid – but not to reform it" – Ano



Kenneth Kaunda, prepared to help De Klerk



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supported by a ... in South Africa – As State President, 1986.

The freedom of one person so easily becomes the oppression of another – As State President, 1986.

If we let (Nelson Mandela) free, we will set free an arch-Marxist supported by Marxists in Moscow – As Prime Minister, 1980.

■ Extracted from *PW BOTHA IN HIS OWN WORDS*, compiled by Pieter-Dirk Uys

■ By K Coetzee 204 Eloff St Ext, Selby



Muntu Myeza, assumption of power is not a new move.

It's like changing jockeys in midstream'

CP Reporters

DESPITE the fact that President FW de Klerk has only just been sworn into the highest office in the land, political commentators and opposition groups have already started comparing him with PW Botha and are waiting for the same mistakes to happen.

Black Sash member Judith Hawarden said "FW is the same as PW ... this is apparent since FW de Klerk has indicated that provisions of grand apartheid like segregated schools will continue. It is obvious that he is playing around with reform."

Orange-Vaal General Workers Union spokesman Abby Mbangeni said: "FW's five-year-plan to bring meaningful change in SA is another waste of time. He is merely buying time for apartheid. Blacks have no reason to be excited about the appointment of the new State President."

Past president of the Black Consumer Council, Ellen Khuzwayo, reacted critically to the appointment of the new State President. "How is he different from others?" she asked.

Henry Jeffreys, publicity secretary of the Save Boksburg Campaign said. "This is indeed not a great event. Unlike his predecessors, De Klerk comes across making a lot of promises and all we have to do is wait and see, not forgetting the policy his party stands for."

Secretary-General of the Media Workers Association of South Africa Sthembela Khala said: "He is just like PW Botha.

"There is no difference, they are birds of a feather. It is like changing jockeys in midstream."

South African Chemical Workers Union national organiser, Hendrick Molete, said he was very pessimistic about FW's five year plan.

A spokesman for the Black Consciousness Movement said. "The forced resignation of PW Botha exposes the crisis not only within the National Party, but of the ruling white minority class as a whole."

BC spokesman Muntu Myeza said "The assumption of the presidency by FW de Klerk may appear as something new, but in reality it is as old as the National Party itself."

■ Compiled by L Kaline of 204 Eloff St Ext Selby



Ellen Khuzwayo, president BCC, reaction to the news

De Klerk vague, says Soviet envoy

CP Correspondent

HE doubted whether the substitution of PW Botha by FW de Klerk as State President would help the National Party in the election, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's ambassador at large, Vyacheslav Ustinov, said in a recent interview.

He believed Botha's resignation on the eve of the elections was evidence that the situation in South Africa's echelons of power had reached a crisis.

"Botha was considered to be an ambitious, stubborn politician. In all probability, he was not burning to resign his exalted post.

"Botha's dismissal definitely shows that an acute situation is crystallising in South Africa's political life.

"The crisis reflects diverse approaches to the ways the country can develop."

One could not predict what effect this crisis would have on the September election. However, the NP would probably not strengthen its position, he said.

If it did not get the necessary votes, it would have to enter into an alliance.

"With whom? With the Conservative Party? Hence the danger that South Africa's politics will further veer to the right.

"South Africa's new acting State President, Frederick de Klerk, is making extremely general statements."

His programme wanted to preserve political apartheid although the breakdown of segregation in everyday life could continue.

"True, nothing can be done before the elections. Some shifts may be possible. A fourth African chamber of Parliament may be introduced – but the final say will belong to whites.

"It is obvious that attempts will be made to change South Africa's image to bring back foreign capital.

"To brighten their image they may ... an old idea – a so-called "constellation of South African states".

But will the other African countries agree and is South Africa itself ready for this step in the face of its own economic difficulties?"

It would be difficult to create such a ... unless peaceful settlements were achieved in Angola, Mozambique and Namibia, he said – Ano

No role for NP, says Worrall

ACTING State President FW de Klerk is correct in saying South Africa is entering a new era, but it is an era in which the National Party has no role, according to Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall.

Dr Worrall told a Bloemfontein meeting this week the NP was effective in South African politics when white interests dominated.

"Whites determined the solutions and blacks were expected to fit in."

Now the interests of all South African citizens had to be taken into account, said Dr Worrall.

But the NP lacked the credibility, the emotional resources and the political will to succeed in this new era.

"For this reason the election is wide open.

"The mood of white voters is one of anger. There is a sense of being ripped off economically.

"They are appalled by the clash over power and the prerogatives of the Nationalists' giant political egos."

Dr Worrall said ordinary voters sensed the opportunity to break the logjam in white politics.

Attendance figures at public meetings confirmed this, as DP meetings were "buoyant" while NP meetings were poorly attended and it was hard to find enthusiastic NP supporters.

He said the circumstances surrounding PW Botha's resignation as State President had left the party in disarray, particularly in the Cape and Free State, where there is "residual respect" for Botha.

Worrall concluded that De Klerk was right to talk about a new era, but was "mistaken in identifying a change in NP leadership with a new era – because every step towards a post-apartheid South Africa is a step away from NP-dominated politics".

■ J Saunders, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg



Denis Worrall ... NP lack political will to succeed in South African era.

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The coldest response is from the black majority who regard the government's sudden obsession with a bill of rights as a delayed reaction of a desperate government trying to cling to power at all costs

Many also see it as part of the government's international campaign to rid South Africa of its polecat image – when in fact the bill is aimed at entrenching white minority rule

The question that everyone seems to be asking is whether the

He warns that blacks may come into power and do what the white government does to them

Moloto expects too much from the government in such a short time His threats of a civil war and a vengeful black government are unfounded. To him the traditional concept of "ubuntu" or humanity is not a living reality

He also feels that drawing up a bill of rights should be left to intellectuals and lawyers like himself, and not to those who are struggling with basic survival.

American Civil Rights Movement was successful because of the presence of a bill of rights.

However, Dlamini advocates a bill which comes from the top down He does not address himself to the difference between the South African liberation struggle and the American civil rights struggle

The mass democratic movement regards the bill with scepticism, though some liberally-inclined organisations believe a bill of rights can be

that 87 percent of the country is in the hands of relatively few citizens because of apartheid

He said the bill should be responsive to the peculiar circumstances of South Africa taking into consideration our colonial history, acts of dispossession and the exploitation of the majority This calls for redistribution of land, wealth and resources

Second and third generation rights - which are socio-economic rights and the right to peace, health and development

Charter which was drafted in Kliptown in 1955 can lead to a fusion of African and Western values and provide a foundation for a good government

The charter is the first systematic political and constitutional vision of a post-apartheid South Africa based on international peoples and human rights norms

He said the charter was relevant because it had strong social welfare leanings which included the right to development as found in the African Charter

Isaac Mukhari of the Institute for Public Interest Law and Research said the Law Commission must instead call on the government to release all political prisoners, unban banned groups and encourage free and open democratic discussions by everyone

There are many different approaches to the bill of rights issue among anti-apartheid groupings, but most of them include discussion with the ANC

Mozambique has not abandoned socialism

CP Correspondent

20/8/89

NOT long ago, a special ceremony was held in Maputo Gifts from Soviet public organisations for relief among Mozambicans who had suffered from natural calamities and the war against MNR rebels, were presented to Mozambique

General secretary of the Association of International Solidarity, Abner Matemba, described the gifts as a 'manifestation of the Soviet people's genuine internationalist solidarity with our people's bid for social and economic progress".

He said "Those water-tanks, textiles, sewing machines, school uniforms, writing things and soap were all bought with money donated by Soviet citizens to the funds of the Soviet Afro-sian Solidarity Committee, Soviet Women's Committee and the Soviet Peace Fund."

Following Frelimo's fifth party congress recently, many western media concluded that the Mozambican government had abandoned Marxism-Leninism

But for those who began to doubt the stability of Soviet-Mozambican relations, delegates to the congress stressed socialist principles and President Joaquim

Chissano said friendship and co-operation with the USSR remained a key factor in strengthening Mozambique's sovereignty.

After a week-long congress of the ruling party, more than 600 delegates on July 30 approved a new programme under which references to Marxism-Leninism were dropped.

Frelimo ceased to be "a vanguard of the worker and peasant alliance", becoming a party of "all Mozambican people".

This was hailed in South Africa and Western countries as a clear indication that Mozambique was opening the way to a free enterprise system

The Frelimo programme was also described as underlining the growing influence of the West in Mozambique and the decline of Soviet influence

But what is the real situation regarding Soviet influence in Mozambique?

To put the record straight, the Mozambican Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pascoal Mocumbi, told a Press conference in Maputo on August 1 that Frelimo never called itself Marxist-Leninist Rather, Frelimo had used Marxist-Leninist principles

Mocumbi said the terminlogy had changed but the party was still committed to socialism

The Soviet national daily newspaper *Izvestia* said Frelimo's programme provided no grounds for claiming Mozambique had abandoned Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Izvestia's Southern African correspondent, Boris Pilyatskin, wrote from Maputo that the socialist aims of the reforms in the country had been repeatedly mentioned in President Joaquim Chissano's reports and in speeches by delegates.

The Frelimo central committee report praised perestroika and glasnost and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's role in these processes, added the Soviet paper.

The Soviet Union today aids Mozambique in diverse ways

It is supplying long-term food and agricultural aid for the starving people of Mozambique.

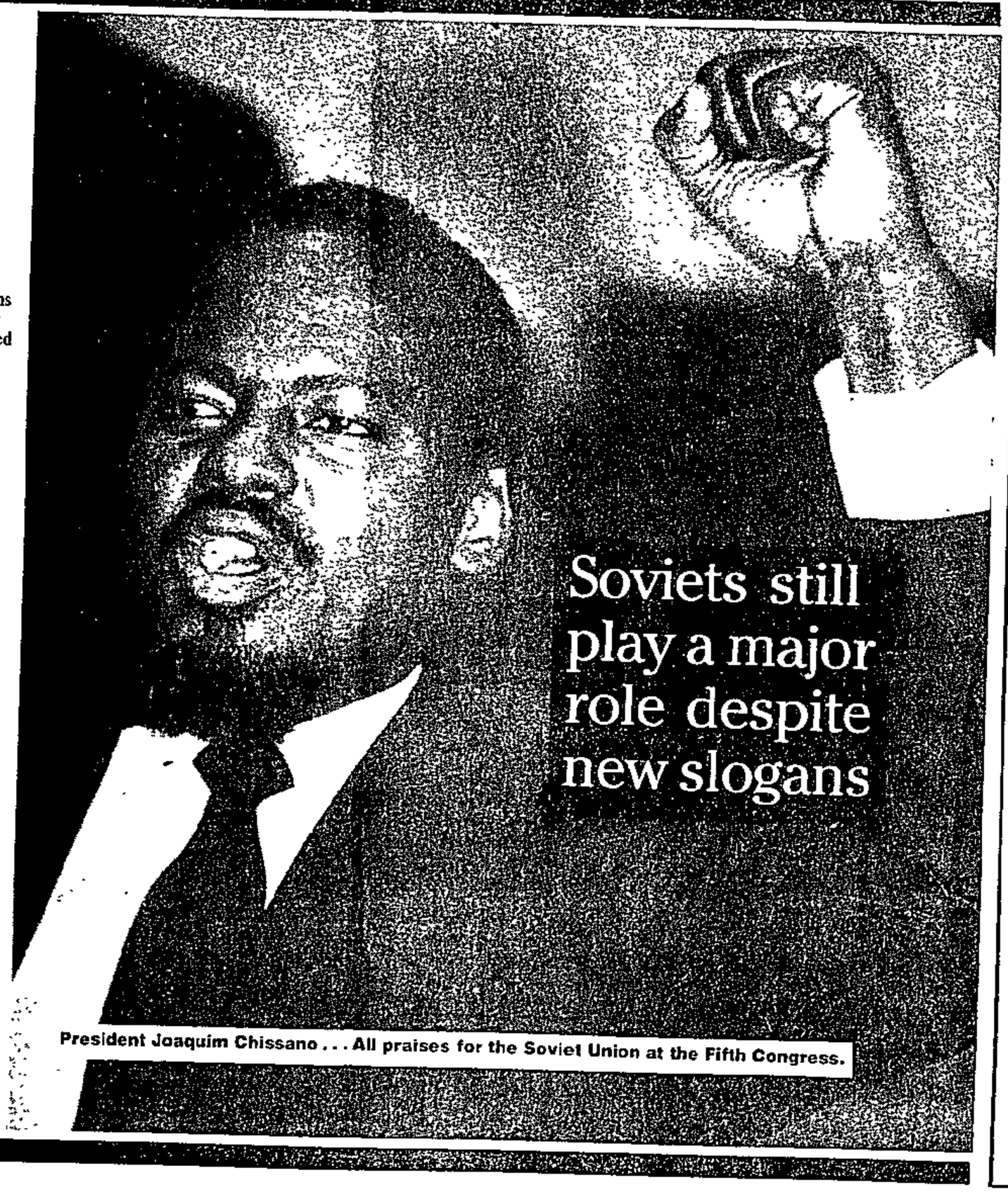
The largest project is the joint company Mosopesca, set up in 1979, which accounts for about 70 percent of the commercial fish caught in Mozambique today

Mosopesca vessels, supplied by the Soviet Union, are used for training Mozambican sailors.

Soviet experts also help streamline the work of the Maputo port and ships are repaired at a complex supplied by the USSR.

Soviet doctors help to streamline the medical services.

At a hospital in Inhambane last year, they saved the lives of 39 Mozambicans.



Soviets still play a major role despite new slogans

President Joaquim Chissano . . . All praises for the Soviet Union at the Fifth Congress.

practising witchcraft and causing a lot of misunderstanding and conflict between families, friends and the community

I wonder if these witchdoctors practise because of a calling by ancestors or has it become just another profession?

Our people must be careful of witchdoctors Today you see witchdoctors having friends and being involved in township gossip

Do people trust sangomas? What type of person still believes in such practices?

Today we are looking forward to liberation The nation has no time for lies We must progress, and unite the people

I wish to appeal to the Black Healers' Association to encourage healers to affiliate and hold meetings to discuss matters relevant to helping the sick – not just to issue evil muti to destroy others – **Millie Mabuyakaulu, Tembisa.**

Apartheid alive in Zulu government

YOU only need a glance at the so-called KwaZulu government to see that it practises apartheid with its own people.

How else can one justify the hiring of numerous whites as attesting officers for black clerks?

They earn more than the clerks merely for their revered signatures and then travel home in posh ZG motor cars Those whites have got it made in the KwaZulu government.

I will NOT believe Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi if he swears there are no blacks qualified to make a signature.

What about the fiasco called a tax office at Umlazi? One clerk told me they haven't got a computer Amazed? **One Who Wonders, KwaMashu.**

No joy in Ikageng

NOTHING has been improved in Ikageng near Potchefstroom since the new mayor took over after the October elections.

We expected a lot from them as they were described as young, hard working and literate people.

But the only "improvement" has been harassment of motorists by municipal police at the main entrance of the township

Also, some residents with electrified houses pay abnormal rent.

– **The Great GPM, Ikageng.**

Another entrance to Bara

I WENT to Baragwanath Hospital to visit a friend and though I went as early as 9am, I could not get in because it was not visiting hours I explained to those in charge that I had to get to work by 2pm

No one was interested in my story until one clerk said "Etsa nnipi tse pedi tsa Southern Comfort le five piece Kentucky " (Bring two nips of Southern Comfort and five pieces of Kentucky chicken) I had to rush out and buy what he wanted to get inside the hospital

So, don't forget the extras when you go to Bara – **Prince Molepo, Carletonville.**

Cohen 20/8/89



Rights bill for SA?

Unfair past needs attention

By SIMON MATHAMBO IGOMANE, research fellow with the Institute for Public Interest Law and Research, Pretoria.

AGAINST the background of the state of emergency and national suppression ises the question of a bill of its from the most unlikely ator – the South African ernment.

he government-appointed th African Law Commission ntly published a working er on group and human rights his is an attempt to uade the right wing to accept a of rights with race-based up rights" as their guarantee elf-determination

ie bill of rights issue has with wide-ranging reaction different quarters

vernment supporters are uding the government's tive as a ray of hope lling a new era in South

country is ready for a bill of rights or not Can it co-exist with repressive and discriminatory laws?

Many blacks think it is premature and do not expect any benefits from it unless the government meets some preconditions

Justice Moloto, director of the Black Lawyers' Association, says the government must "at a stroke of the pen" scrap all discriminatory laws, release political prisoners, dismantle bantustans, unban banned organisations, grant amnesty to all exiles and end the state of emergency – all within a year.

Moloto thinks a civil war will break out and many blacks and whites will perish if a bill of rights is not urgently introduced.

His opinion that the government can meet all the preconditions at a stroke of a pen is not likely Political suicide is not on the government's agenda

Professor Dlamini of the University of Zululand believes that while many people regard the government initiative with scepticism, they should not be blind to the potential role of such a bill in bringing peace and change

Black people wanted to use it as a remedy for all the socio-economic inequities of the past, he said.

In his opinion, a bill of rights offers limited help but can create a dispensation in which economic prosperity can be realised.

Dlamini said blacks should not overlook the fact that the

used in negotiations for a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

The more radical organisations see the government's initiative as an attempt to head off campaigns mounted by the mass democratic movement and overseas anti-apartheid groups

They put the ball firmly in the government's court to unban banned organisations, scrap discriminatory laws, release all political prisoners, grant amnesty to exiles and end the state of emergency before negotiating for a bill of rights

Unisa law lecturer and National Association of Democratic Lawyers vice-president, Advocate Mathole Motshekga, said for a bill of rights to be universally acceptable, it must not lose sight of the fact

respectively – are also of particular relevance to this country

This is because Western bills of rights were drafted when colonialism was at its height and Third World people counted for nothing

Motshekga feels we need to create a non-racial new state in which all citizens are in solidarity and work toward the common good.

He believes the government intends to introduce a bill of rights in line with its five-year plan to sugar-coat unacceptable constitutional reforms and bypass the people's demand for the total abolition of apartheid.

Dr John Hund of the Institute for Public Interest Law and

for Human and People's rights

Its provisions are compatible with the classical Western interpretation of human rights

Some people rightly think a bill of rights is premature at the moment

Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa Frederik Van zyl Slabbert, said a bill of rights should not be seen as a vehicle for constitutional change or as a remedy

He believes it will be impossible for the National Party to introduce it under the current system as it will enshrine privilege for one group and lack of privilege for another – becoming

PEOPLE'S PRESS

Where City Press readers speak out

Preference will be given to short, neatly written or typed letters. While pen names may be used, all letters must include writer's full name and address

The Editor
PO Box 57473
Springfield
2137

Alarm as Press laws hit papers

THE Committee to Protect Journalists is alarmed about legal actions launched against South African editors and reporters

Last week, *Sowetan* editor Aggrey Klaaste was charged with publishing a speech by Harry Gwala, who is a "listed" person and therefore may not be quoted The same charge was filed recently against *Sunday Times* editor Tertius Myburgh *Weekly Mail* editor Anton Harber, and former *Weekly Mail* reporters Joanne Bekker and Franz Kruger, were charged on July 20 for disclosing the conditions of detainees

On July 13, *Saamstaan* editor Derick Jackson was summonsed to appear in court for quoting a photograph of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela. And in May, officials charged former *South* editor Rashid Seria under the emergency regulations for printing reports about school boycotts.

In June, *Vrye Weekblad* editor Max du Preez was given a six-month suspended sentence for quoting "listed" Communist Party leader Joe Slovo

We are aware of the laws restricting reporting, but strongly believe these laws and the legal actions taken against the journalists directly contradict international agreements such as Article 19 of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human rights, which guarantees the right of journalists to publish ideas and information.

We urge that the legal actions against our colleagues be dropped. – **Caroline Drake, Associate Director, Committee to Protect Journalists.**

Sangomas, come right

I WISH to express my views about the inyangas, sangomas or witchdoctors we see practising today

My concern is that these people do not display genuineness in their service to black people.

Nonsense, says ANC about trek

20/8/89. Cape Times 30/8/89

CP Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday described as "nonsense" reports that it was moving out of Zambia under pressure from the Zambian President and his government.

This was emphasised to the Africa News Organisation by an angry ANC spokesman who dismissed such reports as having been used out of context.

"No, we are not under pressure from Kenneth Kaunda to move out of Zambia. We have been building a new centre in Tanzania which will in the end accommodate 5 000 ANC members from all over the world, including South Africa. "The project was started three years ago and is not supposed to accommodate ANC members from Zambia only. The Tanzanian project was agreed on long ago and definitely has nothing to do with either pressure from President Kaunda or the forthcoming meeting between De Klerk and Kaunda on August 28.

"Moreover, there have never been more than 1 000 ANC members in Zambia at any time since the ANC was banned in 1960. So, how can we move 5 000 members from Zambia?

"The Tanzanian centre will also accommodate the steady stream of South African people who need resettlement – Zambia cannot support all these people."

He referred to an ANC Press conference in Lusaka this week.

"At that conference it was explained that 5 000 ANC cadres from Zambia, South Africa and other countries would be sent to Tanzania for training."

Press reports in South Africa and abroad claimed that the ANC evacuation from Zambia completed the removal of the ANC from all South Africa's neighbouring countries and therefore put most of the members more than 1 300km from South Africa, making it almost impossible for them to infiltrate the country.

The London newspaper, *The Independent*, on Friday published a report, stating that Kaunda had told the ANC to leave Zambia and that about 5 000 members would soon be moved to Tanzania.

Kaunda felt he had done enough for the ANC and that he now wanted to play a different role in the Southern African region, *The Independent* said. – ANC

Groups welcome new anti-apartheid talks

CP Correspondent

THE ANC and the PAC have welcomed the announcement that anti-apartheid forces are holding a conference on October 7 to map out the most effective way to end apartheid.

The Conference for a Democratic Future was announced in Johannesburg on Wednesday.

The ANC welcomed such a conference at a time when the majority of South Africa's people were excluded from voting.

A spokesman said the conference was an important initiative to unite anti-apartheid forces within the country.

"It is also indicative of the growing strength and vision of the organisations of the oppressed black majority which, after four years under a state of emergency, have not been cowed into submission by the Pretoria authorities."

PAC spokesman in Harare, Waters "Bishop" Toboti, said that in line with the spirit of the conference, it was up to the people of South Africa to determine the course of our struggle".

There was no room for division.

"We need a principle unity in our fight against exploitation and oppression".

How to negotiate the rocky path to peace

S/Times 20/8/89R

3049



Michael Olivier

chairman of the Five Freedoms Forum, argues that we must clear the decks before negotiations can begin

THERE is much talk today about negotiating a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

We hear it on election platforms, on the SABC propaganda shows, at conferences and forums; we read about it in the media, in five-year plans and political party manifestos; it formed a major part of P W Botha's last speech on television.

But how much understanding really exists in the minds of the millions of South Africans whose future is at stake?

There is undoubtedly growing pressure from all quarters for a negotiated settlement to the crisis in SA, but there is very little clarity about who should be negotiating on behalf of whom, what should be covered in these negotiations, and even what form these negotiations should take.

Rejected

What is evolving, however, is a growing clarity on what factors are preventing any real movement towards negotiations, and it is possible that an analysis of these may lead to a better understanding of what steps may be taken to break the stalemate that exists.

The National Party Government has put forward various proposals for "power-sharing" in recent years — all have been rejected by the majority of people in SA, because they contain some form of white veto, they are based on the concepts of apartheid and they make it difficult for any black leader with credibility to participate.

In 1986 the Eminent Persons Group made a number of suggestions to resolve the confict. These were rejected out of hand by the Government of the day. Since then, the same case has been made by a wide range of people and organisations, including Inkatha, Nafcoc, the Democratic Party, the Labour Party, Solidarity, Chief Enos Mabuza, Tom Boya of UMSA, as well as Assocom and the FCI (in their charter).

They have a common thread; all are aimed at essentially the same goal: To create a climate in which negotiations may start and to level the ground between the various parties to the process.

Support

It is interesting to note that the same five obstacles to peaceful progress have been identified by all of these organisations:

● First, the ANC and all other political organisations should be unbanned.

The Government has made many unsuccessful attempts to co-opt black leaders into its programmes or to create structures and processes that may create a black leadership which conforms to its mould, as in the municipal elections in 1988. There has been little or no community support for these moves.

At the same time, the Government has imposed bans and restrictions on all organisations in the community that have shown the potential to represent any significant number of black people. As long as this situation persists, there is no way to test the feelings of the black community through any democratic process.

The continued ability of the Mass Democratic Movement to mobilise actions of protest indicate that there must be broad community support for their cause. Surely, this should be tested openly in a democratic way? The Government, by its own actions, has in fact acknowledged that the ANC is a major factor in the political arena.

Removing the ban on that organisation (and others), and forcing it to put to the test its support of the constituency that it claims. It would also ensure that its leaders could be democratically chosen and mandated to participate in the negotiation process. It would also place severe constraints on the ANC's ability to wage its "armed struggle".

● Second, Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners should be released, and exiles should be permitted a safe return to SA.

Over the years, and particularly since the imposition of the state of emergency, the Government has sought, as a deliberate strategy, to remove the emerging leadership from all political organisations in the black community. Calling them radicals, detaining them without trial, placing many of them under severe restrictions serve to limit their ability to organise and function in the negotiation process.

● Third, the state of emergency should be lifted.

Power

SA is a country that has grown accustomed to living under a state of emergency. Freedom of speech is curtailed, the media censored, freedom of association is denied, the judicial system has been undermined and in many cases bypassed, the rule of law has been replaced by rule by decree, yet we move into another general election, based on racial grounds to decide the future of millions of people who are not allowed to vote.

Furthermore, the nature and extent of the emergency regulations indicate that the Government is not simply trying to maintain security and law and order, it is clearly intent on retaining power. The security law in SA today does more than deny the legitimate aspirations of those who seek political reform; it is systematically destroying the conditions for evolutionary and stable political change.

● Fourth, apartheid laws that specifically criminalise legitimate political activity should be abolished.

There are many laws and constitutional constraints that deny the black community any right to political activity on a national level, that deny black access to the vote and to political office.

National security laws have closed off the spaces available in public life in which new initiatives in political reform may be generated. Security legisation has smothered the exercise of basic civil rights that are associated with formal participation in decision-making.

The State has used extended treason trials as a deliberate strategy to constrain political activity that would be considered normal in any civilised and democratic country. How is it possible to begin negotiating when the majority of people in the country have no "legitimate" way of electing their own leaders or of mandating them.

Townships

It would be unthinkable for any white political party or organisation to participate in a negotiating process if it could not elect its leaders or find any legitimate way to give those leaders a mandate to negotiate on its behalf.

● Five, the SADF and other paramilitary forces should be removed from the townships.

For any process of negotiation to start, the military presence in the townships must be removed. As long as the SADF is there to enforce white rule and as long as the Government can dictate political processes through the use of military force, there can be no confidence that negotiations will be able to proceed in good faith.

Most organisations that have a role to play in the political future of SA, including the ANC, have indicated their willingness to enter into negotiations if the ground has been levelled.

Choice

What is clear is that the Government is not prepared to allow its opponents the right to legitimate political activity. Simply asking the ANC to forswear violence is a smokescreen.

It serves to hide the fact that a wide range of organisations, from the ANC to the UDF, from the PAC to Inkatha, are either not allowed to function at all, or are constrained on purely racial grounds to limit their activities to a level that in no way threatens white domination of the majority.

So much is made of the ANC's armed struggle; yet, the way is clear to get that organisation to stop this activity. The ANC officials themselves have indicated to the many white people that have recently met with them that they would seriously consider halting the armed struggle if the obstacles mentioned above were removed.

Five major obstacles must be removed to begin the process

The arithmetic for a winning coalition

(3041A) S/Times - 20/8/89

R W Johnson

a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and author of How Long Will South Africa Survive? looks at coalition prospects in the event of a hung Parliament

DESPITE the most open white election since 1953, the smart money until now has been on the likelihood of the Nats retaining a small overall majority.

However, the FW-PW row, with its inevitable damage to NP prospects, has revived speculation about a hung Parliament — and thus of coalition government.

But which coalition? Let us, for the sake of argument, assume a hung Parliament, taking the Sunday Times election prediction based on an 80 percent poll, producing a line-up consisting of 78 NP seats, CP 52 and DP 36.

F W de Klerk has been careful to say that the NP "has options" in such an event — and indeed the numbers suggest three possible coalitions, NP-CP, NP-DP or CP-DP.

In fact, in such circumstances, an NP-DP coalition is virtually inevitable. The reason for this is to be found in Theodore Riker's famous work, *The Theory of Political Coalition*. Riker shows that the first rule of coalition-building is that politicians will tend to construct the **minimum winning coalition consistent with party unity and survival.**

Two key assumptions explain this rule. The first is that parties have to sustain themselves in power by the distribution of patronage and resources to their members and voters: Cabinet posts, nice salaries and fancy pensions for their MPs, favourable tax breaks for their business or farmer constituents and so on.

The second assumption is just that politics is a zero-sum game — that is, someone else has to pay for all those perks and goodies and their losses must be equal to the others' gains (ie, gains plus losses equal zero).

This in turn means that while politicians naturally want a coalition big enough to prevail, they also want the maximum amount of patronage and resources to share out. Which means that they need a good number of losers so that there are more losses to distribute than gains among the winners.

Temptation

Hence they will tend to end up by constructing a minimum winning coalition — and examples through history suggest that this is indeed the case. The only other proviso is that to stay in the game at all, parties have to survive and stay united.

A DP-CP coalition (36 + 52 seats) is a serious temptation because it is the smallest winning coalition of all: The whole panoply of NP patronage would then be available for distribution among the winners — not just all the Cabinet posts but key jobs throughout the army, police, railways, the SABC and the rest of the public sector.

No doubt DP and CP politicians and their supporters would slaver at the very thought of such a share-out. But a DP-CP coalition is ruled out because such a deal would threaten the unity and survival of both parties.

A CP-NP coalition would have the merit of reuniting political Afrikanerdom but, apart from blocking off the road to the future, such a coalition (52 + 78 seats) would be significantly — and unnecessarily — larger than the alternative NP-DP coalition (78 + 36 seats).

The latter is thus by far the most probable choice for it is the minimum winning coalition consistent with the survival principle.

Another way of putting this is to look at what the NP would have to surrender to a coalition partner. The CP, being far larger than the DP, would be bound to demand a greater share of the spoils and patronage right down the line — starting with Cabinet posts.

Of the five key posts — Finance, Foreign Affairs, Defence, Law and Order and Constitutional Development — it is difficult to see how they could fail to get at least two. The list makes it clear how impossible such a choice is: If the NP conceded Defence or Law and Order (ie, control of the army and the police) to the CP, it might as well roll over and die.

A CP Foreign Minister would probably find himself unable to get an invitation to visit any foreign country at all, while a CP Minister of Constitutional Development would bar all roads to a negotiated future. A CP member at Finance would be a direct (and extremely popular) threat to the perks, pensions and future golden handshakes of the entire NP caucus.

The DP, on the other hand, would probably be satisfied with one key post (say Harry Schwarz at Finance) and would be less demanding coalition partners in general.

Price

The DP's insistence that it is more interested in programmatic change than in the spoils of victory would doubtless be music to the ears of NP fat cats determined to keep what they've got — and to Mr De Klerk, who is going to need all the patronage he can get to consolidate his party after the P W Botha debacle and inevitable losses to the CP.

Having the DP as coalition partners would also shore up Mr De Klerk's position in the wake of such losses and would enable him to tell his rightwing that continuing reform was the necessary price of staying in power.

Indeed, a DP-NP coalition has so many advantages for Mr De Klerk that even if the NP keeps its majority, he might be tempted to set up a "national reconciliation government" with the DP. But that, of course, would be to fly in the face of the "minimum winning coalition" theorem — and history suggests that its arithmetic has a power all of its own.

FW plans to limit 'imperial' powers of Botha-style presidency



NO MORE EMPERORS!

S/Times
20/8/89
(304A)



By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA'S costly experiment with an executive presidency has collapsed in the bitter struggle that brought down its first incumbent.

Thus the all-powerful office created BY Mr P W Botha FOR Mr Botha seems destined to END with Mr Botha.

A new State President — stripped of his awesome, almost imperial, powers — is likely to be proposed by the Government soon.

Mr F W de Klerk was elected Acting President this week — having already stated his intention to overhaul the constitutional functions and to curb the near-absolute powers of the office.

Ideas currently in circulation are:

- Reintroduction of a Prime Minister with effective executive powers;
- Creation of a revolving ceremonial presidency which might, eventually, be open for occupation by black South Africans;
- A general acceptance that the office of President should be depoliticised to become a unifying factor in the country — an idea propagated by former President Botha before his departure.

— built into

AYE, AYE, IT'S CAPTAIN JANNIE AT THE HELM!



Selectors pull Bok surprise

By MARK SMIT

WESTERN Province lock Niel Hugo is the only surprise in the Springbok rugby team to meet the Centenary XV in the first Test at Newlands on Saturday

Hugo was named ahead of the more widely fancied Northern Transvaler, Adri Geldenhuys.

The selectors also surprised by including Eastern Province prop Frans Erasmus and Northern Transvaal scrumhalf Robert du Preez among the reserves, though both were sent off during yesterday's Cup clash in Port Elizabeth.

Transvaal captain Jannie Breedt takes over the Springbok leadership from Naas Botha, and there are five new caps in the line-up — props Jan Lock and Heinrich Rodgers, right wing Kobus Burger, and locks Adolf Malan (N Tvl) and Hugo.

The team is: Johan Heunis (NT, vice-capt), Carel du Plessis (WP), Michael du Plessis (WP), Faffa [illegible] (WP) Kobus Bur er (WP),

By LESTER VENTER
Political Correspondent

Move to cut State President's power

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- A general acceptance that the office of President should be depoliticised to become a unifying factor in the country — an idea propagated by former President Botha before his departure.

It was the excessive powers — built into the presidency in the 1984 tricameral constitution, largely at the insistence of Mr Botha — that brought the National Party to its worst damaging crisis in 41 years.

Revolt

They absolved the State President of accountability to his party, and left him with only limited responsibility to Parliament.

When the NP came to the painful realisation that it had to rid itself of a President who had become a liability during the toughest election in more than three decades, it found it could do so only by an open revolt by the entire Cabinet.

This week Mr De Klerk and his top constitutional lieutenants would not spell out the proposed reforms.

But in top NP circles it is being said that Mr De Klerk favours returning to a system of a Prime Minister operating under a largely ceremonial presidency.

The NP's proposals will form part of a general negotiations package for a new constitution, senior party sources have said.

Mr De Klerk cannot change the role of the presidency without altering the constitution. For that he needs the agreement of the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives under the Rev Allan Hendrickse — who is not disposed to giving the NP an easy constitutional passage in Parliament.

Method

However, top Nationalists have lately made no secret of their unhappiness with the powers vested in Tuynhuys.

Mr De Klerk has left it to Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of Education and Development Aid, who is emerging as the new President's top constitutional backroom man, to specify the Government's concerns.

Dr Viljoen recently listed them as:

- The functions and powers of the office;
- The method of electing the President;
- The relationship of the office to the political party in power.

In addition, Dr Viljoen has

□ To Page 2

Move to cut State President's power

Star, 24/8/89

□ From Page 1

nence fears about the method of electing the President.

In a hung Parliament, the combined predominance of opposition parties would lead to the NP losing its majority in the electoral college that elects the President.

As things stand, this could mean that an NP Government could have an executive President, with all his vast powers, drawn from the opposition — or even from the House of Representatives.

That is because the House of Representatives' 25 members in the electoral college could constitute the largest single voting bloc.

Report by L J Venter, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

AYE, AYE, IT'S JANNIE AT T



Jannie and Corrie Breedt with Nadine, Brend

By PIETER VENTER

ONLY a year ago an injured Jannie Breedt was written off as a rugby player — today the coveted mantle of Springbok captain rests on the broad shoulders of the amiable Transvaal loose forward.

And the man who takes over from Naas Botha to lead the Springboks in the first Test against the FNB World XV at Newlands on Saturday is hungry for victory.

"We have to win — and win well," says 30-year-old Breedt. "Remember, we haven't had international competition for three years — so the burning need for victory is there."

Three months ago Breedt returned from playing club rugby in Italy, only to be told there was no place for him in the Transvaal team.

But Jannie fought back to captain the side. Soon afterwards, he was the natural choice to lead the Shadow Boks in the trial matches.

Rugged resilience has been a feature of Breedt's play and character ever since. Considered virtually down and out in rugby terms, he left Northern Transvaal in 1985 where, it was said, he "did not fit into the pattern".

He made Transvaal his home and, in 1986, led the province to its first Currie Cup final in 12 years.

Best

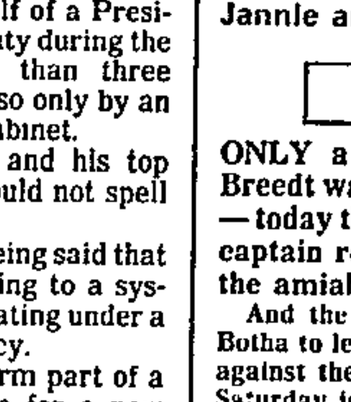
That year he became Springbok vice-captain for the four unofficial Tests against the New Zealand Cavaliers.

Breedt believes South Africa has the most balanced side in the world.

"Our forwards will stand up against anyone and our backs are are better than the All Blacks or anyone else.

"The only thing that can [illegible] of interna-

Look who's been here on safari!



SEE PAGE 7

JANI AND THE DUKE
See Page 6

Raspberry

304A

'Don't set pre-conditions to negotiations'

FW urges blacks to speak to Govt

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, has appealed to black leaders to come forward to discuss obstacles to negotiation rather than stating them as preconditions for negotiation.

He was speaking on SABC television last night in a panel discussion with Mr Mostert van Schoor of the *Pretoria News*, Mr Tertius Myburgh of the *Sunday Times* and Mr Salie de Swardt of *Beeld*.

Mr de Klerk said he was sure if black leaders came forward to discuss obstacles to negotiation, they would find enough common ground to enable a just and equitable dispensation to be negotiated.

He said he envisaged a period of "pre-negotiation" in which there would be intensive dialogue to address problems and obstacles to negotiation.

It was not impossible that during this period amendments could be made to legislation which caused problems and new measures could replace those which had acquired a "negative image".

But simply to revoke such measures without replacing them could lead to instability and in one case would probably cause chaos, he said.

Democratic process

In the pre-negotiation period a democratic process would have to be instituted to formally choose and empower people to enter into "real negotiations".

Mr de Klerk said the only way for South Africa to break out of international isolation was to "put its own house in order".

One of his main goals was to do everything in his power to return to the international community "with dignity".

"But first we must have success in South Africa. Only if we show and prove that we are moving into real negotiations and through that to real solutions will the international pressure abate."

He said the "Give FW a chance syndrome' contained risks because it was creating expectations. If these were not fulfilled in time, the world might turn against South Africa.

But he was positive he could make the changes needed to break out of international isolation.

Although he agreed the time table for change set by the international community was different from his, he was convinced the international timetable would change if South Africa made enough changes.

On other questions Mr de Klerk said:

- He did not believe "for one moment" there would be a hung parliament after the September 6 general election and if there was, a coalition between the National Party and any other party would be "the last option".

Minorities

- His impression was that Mr Nelson Mandela had committed himself to peaceful development and that was why the Government had talked to him but would not talk to the ANC.
- One of the Government's first tasks after the election would be to commission independent experts to gather all available constitutional models and "put them on the table".
- Mr de Klerk said his understanding of the SA Law Commission's report on human rights was that a Bill of Rights would protect certain group rights such as those involving language, culture and religion, but that the protection of minorities would have be enshrined in the constitution.
- He visualised a new South Africa where everyone was a first-class citizen and all had the vote. He believed everyone wished all races could go to the polls together. However, this would depend on the success of negotiations.

The idea of blacks going to the polls was nothing new, he said. The Government had published a draft Bill proposing that all blacks outside the national states participate in elections.

"Before, however, we can have a general election for all South Africans, we would have to have our constitutional amendments in place. That must be negotiated."

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

A farewell banquet was planned and publicised – but P W had not said he was retiring

Star 21/8/89

Growing bitterness of the president

3049

In the fifth instalment of THE FINAL DAYS, a reconstruction of the events which led to the resignation of President Botha, **TOS WENTZEL of the Political Staff** looks at Mr P W Botha's growing isolation.

Tension between the president and the National Party continued into May with increasing indications that the Botha era was coming to an end — but without official confirmation of his retirement.

The incongruous situation of Mr P W Botha as executive president and Mr F W de Klerk as leader of the ruling party persisted. Nationalist MPs stressed everyone had fallen in behind Mr de Klerk and that a satisfactory arrangement had been made for the president to step down.

On May 3, in a short announcement to a joint session of parliament, the president named September 6 as polling day.

It was the last time he would speak in parliament; he would also quit the hustings. As his bitterness about how he had been treated increased, he was determined to prove he was above party politics.

Nat MPs were dismayed at the prospect of an extended election campaign, especially as their political foes had such advance notice. The newly formed Democratic Party, particularly, had time to get off the ground.

But Mr de Klerk, wearing the mantle of party leader and prospective president, declared the election an important step to a new, secure and just dispensation. According to sources close to President Botha, he was increasingly resentful of the way Mr de Klerk was speaking as if he was already head of state.

Heunis retires

On May 11 there was a further indication of the Botha era unravelling when Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Chris Heunis announced his retirement at the end of June. The signs were clear: without the patronage of the president, Mr Heunis would be in the political wilderness. In the end, his long-standing loyalty to Mr Botha was an albatross.

The president moved swiftly to appoint a successor to Mr Heunis. On Sunday, May 14, he announced that Cape Administrator Mr Gene Louw — who had waited in the wings for years — was to be Minister of Constitutional Development.

Why, suddenly, had Mr Louw been elevated? Suspicious people pointed to the hasty replacement of Mr Heunis, compared to the continued vacancy of the Manpower and Public Works portfolio since the resignation of Minister Mr Pietie du Plessis in January.

Was it a ploy to thwart Dr Dawie de Villiers, deputy leader of the Cape National Party, who seemed Mr Heunis's natural successor?

Dr de Villiers's relationship with Mr Botha and Mr Heunis, it was said, had been chilly from time to time. After a meteoric rise the athletic and youthful-looking Dr de Villiers, former dominee, Springbok rugby captain and ambassador to the Court of St James, had been rebuffed by the electorate and, indeed, demoted from the central Cabinet to become an "own affairs" Minister.

In the event, the speculation was idle. Mr Louw was not interested in challenging for the Cape leadership, which went unanimously to Dr de Villiers.

Mr Botha, with his declared determination to be above party politics, declined an invitation to the last caucus meeting of the parliamentary session. On May 12, Mr de Klerk announced the National Party would take leave of the president at a sumptuous dinner in Pretoria, on the eve of the party's federal congress at which its election campaign would be launched.

Mr de Klerk, of course, was talking about saying goodbye while the president had not yet said he was retiring.

The proposed farewell was to prove yet another huge embarrassment.

There was talk that Mr Botha was still furious about the way the NP caucus had moved in for the kill — he might stand them up by refusing to attend the dinner.

Organisers were blissfully unware of the rumours. When asked about the possibility of the president declining, Dr Lukas Nel, Transvaal provincial secretary, insisted the dinner was meant to honour Mr Botha and he would "in the nature of things" be there.

But it was not to be. Last-minute attempts by a number of Ministers failed to persuade the aggrieved president to attend. There was no option but to call it off.

By his own making, President Botha was in danger of ending his political career a lonely figure, isolated from his former followers.

Nevertheless, former Ministers spoke about P W more in sorrow than [illegible] idea of appealing to the [illegible]



President Botha chats briefly to NP leader Mr F W de Klerk during a break at the Cape provincial congress of the NP.

They saluted him for his considerable courage in standing up to the far-right of the National Party to the point where he was willing to countenance the split in '82 which led to the formation of the Conservative Party. That, and because he had scrapped apartheid measures such as the sex-across-the-colour-bar clause of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and influx control in spite of misgivings among some of his followers.

He had also tossed out the coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape and accepted the permanence of blacks, as full citizens, in those parts of the country outside the "homelands".

Given all that, the party faithful saw tragedy in him retiring in circumstances of estrangement, but the president's sometimes volatile temperament and abrasive conduct had wounded many.

During his term of office he also appeared to become increasingly isolated from the outside world and the finger pointed to some of his officials at Tuynhuys.

Maybe he was encouraged in the perception of mass support among all races which [illegible] tion over party hierarchy heads; to the notion of becoming head of state without party political ties, a unifying superleader.

Tuynhuys, as one observer put it, had become like a medieval court where true power resided with the chamberlains in the inner circle; those who had the ear of, and who controlled access to the emperor.

The gloomy tide notwithstanding, President Botha — always meticulously prepared for Cabinet meetings — chaired a meeting of his Ministers in his usual efficient way in Pretoria on June 28 amid no unusual tensions.

Next day the National Party federal congress, attended by some 1 200 delegates in the Pretoria City Hall, duly paid tribute to him — in his absence. A motion of thanks, and the warm introductory remarks by Mr de Klerk, drew a standing ovation.

At the end of the congress Mr de Klerk confirmed that Mr Botha would not take part in the general election campaign as he was no longer active in party politics.

Yet, if anyone suspected the president had succumbed to meekness, the West German Minister of Labour Mr Norbert Blum Mr Botha reportedly told his visitor in no uncertain terms what he thought about Germany's Nazi past and therefore Mr Blum's qualifications to discuss apartheid.

On his return to West Germany, Mr Blum pointedly referred to speaking to some "betonkopfen" (concrete heads) in South Africa.

The only big public farewell President Botha attended was a military parade in Cape Town on July 1 which also marked the SADF's 77th anniversary.

Under cold, grey winter skies and intermittent rain, he sat on a dais facing the city hall, a prominent but forlorn figure.

Emotion was clearly evident and he nearly broke down on several times during his address. In a quavering voice he reminded them of his official connection with the SADF over 23 years.

Meanwhile, there were indications of a shift in the Government's preconditions for negotiations with movements such as the African National Congress.

At briefing sessions on the party's election manifesto, Ministers maintained the emphasis was now more on a commitment to finding peaceful solutions. But the who remained committed to violence.

Then, on July 8 — a Saturday afternoon — came the stunning news that three days earlier ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had been on a "courtesy visit" to Tuynhuys and had spent 45 minutes with President Botha.

Making the announcement, Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee said the meeting had taken place in a pleasant spirit. No policy matters were debated and no negotiations were conducted. But the men had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa".

So guarded was the event that a virtual blackout on details was imposed.

By this sudden, dramatic meeting, was Mr Botha once again asserting himself?

While the meeting was widely welcomed, pundits were saying it could also embarrass the National Party in the general election campaign. After all, the party was attacking Democratic Party members for talking to the ANC ... while its former leader, as head of state, received Mr Mandela.

The president refused to comment.

Ovations

Although Mr Botha was determined to distance himself from party politics he relented and accepted an invitation to the Cape NP congress in Somerset West on July 22. If sentiment played a part, it would have been because his association went back to 1936 when he was enlisted as a party organiser.

He received an enthusiastic reception, including five standing ovations.

Far from being "a sulking old man", as press reports had it, he insisted he was happy because he lived in "a land of hope, a land of the future".

New Cape leader Dr de Villiers praised President Botha as a brave man who had never stood back when there was trouble.

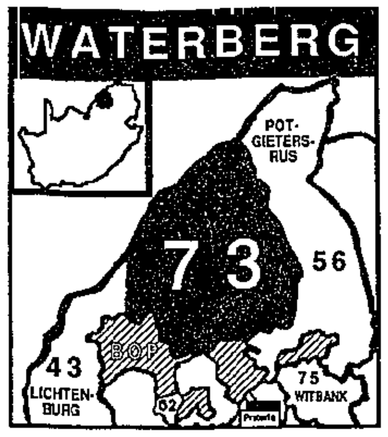
But controversy clung to the president.

As the election campaign gathered momentum, he was at the centre of a political storm which broke over a CP-inspired revelation that police transport had been used to carry game carcasses after P W had been hunting at Fauresmith in the southern Free State.

The official explanation was that the truck was also used to carry equipment for the president's protection and that standard procedures had been met.

The CP threatened to press charges. Nothing came of this threat.

But the buck did not stop there.



By NORMAN CHANDLER, Pretoria Bureau

The Lion of the North, former Prime Minister Mr J G Strijdom, is — even from the grave — the man to be reckoned with when assessing the political fate of the Waterberg, one of the country's largest rural constituencies.

Waterberg is a constituency which has returned staunchly conservative parliamentarians like Mr Strijdom ever since the Bushveld of the north-west Transvaal was first settled.

The National Party, the right-wing Conservative and ultra-right Herstigte Nasionale parties are ranged against each other in a battle for the votes on September 6 of an 18 691-strong electorate, most of whom are Afrikaans-speaking and conservative in their attitudes.

Split vote

The NP — which Mr Strijdom led — is exploiting a brother-versus-brother situation which has developed from the two right-wing challenges.

The NP is confident enough to believe that on a split vote it will squeak home to a sensational victory.

It would indeed be a sensational win as the Waterberg seat is held by the leader of the CP and former NP Cabinet Minister, Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Ranged against him are the leader of the HNP, Mr Jaap Marais — another veteran politician and one-time Nat — and the youngest of the trio, the NP's Mr Francois van der Merwe (30).

The issues confronting voters range from a proposed black



Dr Andries Treurnicht.



Mr Francois van der Merwe.



Mr Jaap Marais.

Shadow of Strijdom hovers over Waterberg

township outside Ellisras (being exploited to extremes by the HNP) through to the economy (vigorously attacked by both the CP and HNP). The Nats are working hard convincing townspeople and farming folk that there is wisdom in reform.

The NP and HNP realise that Nylstroom is almost totally for the Conservative Party, while it seems the CP is the favoured party in Thabazimbi as well, although there is a lot of support for the NP in that area.

It is the two urbanised areas of Ellisras and Vaalwater which hold the key.

Voters in both are being wooed by all three parties.

Vaalwater is the home district of Mr van der Merwe, a tobacco and cattle farmer, who has been hard-selling the reform package to sceptics.

An official at the NP campaign office on the outskirts of Vaalwater says "we're reasonably confident ... there's a lot of work to be done, but we're confident."

Reminded that this was Treurnicht country, the official shrugged, adding: "The NP has a lot of support out here. Many people are fearful of what they have heard of future CP policy should they become the government on September 6 and the thinking man is realising that for the good of South Africa, the NP is the one to vote for."

The list of farmers wanting to hear Mr van der Merwe is growing by the day — perhaps a sure sign that this farmer/pilot must be looked at seriously by Dr Treurnicht.

Herstigte Nasionale Party officials in both Ellisras and Vaalwater believe their candidate, Mr Jaap Marais, will retain his deposit.

The HNP is canvassing every home in Ellisras, preaching a message of insecurity, unease with black advancement, and economics. Officials speak of success in convincing many of the electorate about the wisdom of their party's policy.

They are using the most basic type of political posters.

The posters exhort people to "fight for the man who can fight for your rights", an unsubtle "bly blank my volk" (stay white, my people) with a picture of a white woman and child, and that the NP's reform programme amounts to "gradual surrender".

The proposed new black township has inflamed passions and is being pushed for all its worth by the HNP. Pamphlets denouncing Dr Treurnicht for "voting in favour" of the new township have already surfaced in the constituency.

Whistle-stop

There is some anger that the CP leader has not spent much time in the area — he addressed a meeting at Ellisras on August 16, and another is scheduled for Vaalwater tomorrow. His visit last week also took him to Nylstroom, a whistle-stop at Vaalwater and on to Ellisras, where his wife addressed a women's meeting before the main event.

Against that programme is the one being pursued by Mr Marais — from today until the end of the month he is addressing five meetings at places such as Steenbokpan, Alma and Swartklip. He speaks at Nylstroom on Wednesday, at Thabazimbi on Thursday, and wraps up his campaign at Ellisras on August 30.

(Report by N Chandler, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Political heat strikes contest in Kuruman

By JACQUELINE MYBURGH

Election fever in Kuruman is running almost as high as the area's summer temperatures. Being accustomed to an average December high of 31 degrees, Kuruman voters can stand the heat.

The mood in the constituency is, however, cooler than it was two years ago when the National Party fought tooth and nail to regain a seat it had lost when the sitting MP walked over to the Conservative Party.

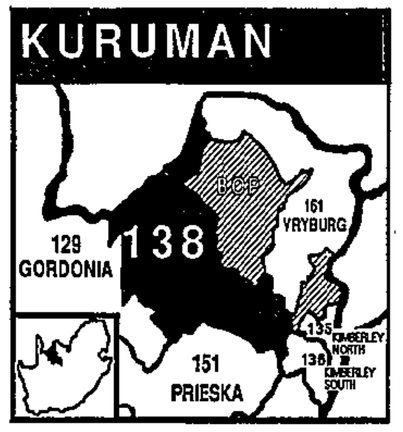
Kuruman (the constituency) is an area rich in minerals such as manganese, iron ore, asbestos and lime, and encompasses an area of about 350 km by 250 km. Some say there's a lot of dust and very few people.

In fact there are about 10 100 registered voters and about 15 percent have already submitted special votes. Most are connected to the mining industry and live in one of the mining towns — Hotazel, Danielskuil, Ulco, Black Rock and Kathu. Vanzylsrus and Olifantshoek are largely farming centres with extensive cattle and sheep ranches.

The atmosphere in the Kuruman area is one of prosperity in comparison to two years ago when many houses in the area stood empty.

But since then good times have returned to the constituency, and the asbestos and manganese mines and Iscor are booming as a result of new contracts.

In the 1987 election, the NP retained the seat (ousting the CP defector) with a slim majority of 352 votes. Some people estimate the result this year will be a photo-finish with a majority of only 100 or 150.

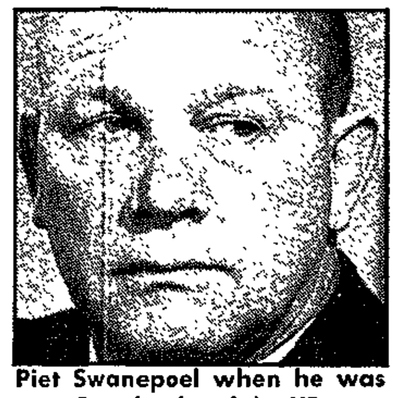


The CP candidate and former MP in the seat, Mr Jan Hoon, is extremely confident he will win. And as party leader in the Cape, he says the NP is in for a whole lot of surprises in the rest of the province.

The day after Mr P W Botha announced his resignation as State President, 12 previously ardent NP supporters approached the CP offices in Kathu for membership forms. And the NP tradition of sending its members to heckle CP speakers is a thing of the past, he says. "They discovered that once someone has attended a CP meeting, they join the party."

Mr Hoon is best remembered for the controversy he caused in 1982 when he deserted to the CP. Mr P W Botha, then Cape leader of the NP, was enraged by his disloyalty and it is common knowledge that there is no love lost between the two men.

The CP has brought in a lot of the party "heavies" to support Mr Hoon's campaign. Drs A P Treurnicht and Ferdie Hartzenberg will speak in the constituency before September 6, and Dr Corné Mulder, Mr Fanie Jacobs, Dr Willie Snyman, Mr Andrew Gerber and Dr Pieter Mulder have already been.



Piet Swanepoel when he was Cape leader of the UP.

The sitting member of Parliament for Kuruman is the National Party's Mr Piet Swanepoel, an oud-Sap, and former Cape leader of the United Party and leader of the UP in the Senate. Born and educated in the constituency, he has farmed there since 1953.

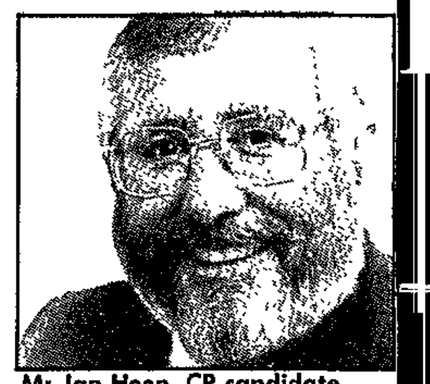
He and his campaign organisers are certain the CP does not stand a chance. They report that NP meetings boast the highest attendance figures, and some CP supporters have "seen the light" and joined the NP.

Disappointed

Following Mr P W Botha's resignation, the Nationalists were disappointed and upset, but satisfied with the new party leadership.

During the 1987 election, when the NP was desperate to win the seat back from the CP, the then State President Mr P W Botha addressed the voters. This year, the new Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers spoke for the NP candidate in Kuruman itself and Finance Deputy Minister Dr Org Marais supported Mr Swanepoel at a public meeting in Kathu.

Agriculture Deputy Minister Dr Kraai van Niekerk will speak in Danielskuil in the Kuruman constituency on August 31.



Mr Jan Hoon, CP candidate, ... "a lot of surprises for NP".

According to both candidates, the issues being debated are basically the same as the national issues: the economy, and policy concerning constitutional development. The CP has attacked the NP government's overspending and the consequent impoverishment of the white man.

Of the five major towns in the constituency, Kuruman and the mining town Danielskuil have CP town councils. Kathu, where Iscor employees live, is represented by an NP town council, but there are nevertheless a lot of CP supporters. The Olifantshoek council is NP dominated and Hotazel, northwest of Kuruman, is also NP country.

In 1987 there was a 70 percent voting percentage, and observers predict this year's will be over 80 percent.

The people of Kuruman are "decent", the town clerk says. For example, posters in the constituency do not boast the vicious slogans so often seen in the northern Transvaal. Most people have already shown their voting colours and it is unlikely that anyone is going to be swayed at this stage.

(Report by J Myburgh, 47 Sauer STreet, Johannesburg).

Good and bad news for F W De Klerk

SA mayors booted out

Sowetan 21/8/89 (304A

PARIS - There was both good and bad news for President F W de Klerk, from the world congress of mayors in Paris on Friday when the twelve strong South African delegation was forced to withdraw.

The good news is that Durban mayor, Derek Watterson, the only white in the delegation, walked out literally arm in arm with the mayor of Soweto and other black colleagues.

The bad news for President De Klerk is that the South African delegation was forced out by pressure from the ANC here.

ANC representative, Solly Smith, who succeeded Mrs Dulcie September, lobbied mayors from a dozen African countries.

The South African delegation attended the congress, which opened on Wednesday until receiving ultimatums on Friday afternoon.

Watterson said: "We were not expelled. I was told by the chairman that African delegates have spoken to him and threatened to leave en masse if the South Africans remained.

"We really had no alternative but to leave the congress. The black mayors with me supported me 100 percent and so did several African mayors, including the mayor of Lusaka."

The World Congress of Mayors is based in Alabama, and the Paris conference was presided over by a black mayor from this state.

The congress was attended by 150 delegates from 33 countries.

Friday's conference had ended by the time the news broke that the South African delegates had withdrawn, and would not attend the closing ceremony on Saturday.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Watterson, who returns to Durban today, said angrily: "Durban has done everything possible to end segregation on the beaches and end apartheid. What is the point of taking action against our delegation. I have discovered that the anti-apartheid movement is a business machine for making money. Anti-apartheid supporters overseas are manipulated by men only interested in making money."



Soweto mayor Sam Mkhwanazi.

SA entering transition period, says ex-editor

Star 21/8/89 304A

The Star Bureau

LONDON — South Africa is heading towards what may be a prolonged transition period and Mr F W de Klerk's presidency is likely to be followed by a black president, former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Allister Sparks wrote in *The Observer* yesterday.

"Mr de Klerk had to decide whether to accept that a non-racial majority system was inevitable and to begin negotiations with mass movements, or whether to continue the old strategy of repression and co-option to retain white control, said Sparks.

"Choosing the first will present De Klerk with the enormously difficult task of carrying his conservative white constituency with him. Choosing the second ... will lead South Africa into another cycle of conflict."

There were no more redundant apartheid items to be scrapped, "only those last big jars — the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and so on — and De Klerk knows that if he touches any of them the system will begin to crumble".

Mr de Klerk's record suggested he did not have the necessary "qualities of vision and boldness".

"Margaret Thatcher, probing him recently for South African concessions in return for her holding the line against sanctions, was treated to a cloying display of circumlocution known as 'Natspeak' which boiled down to zilch."

21 Aug - 1989 ARGUS

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Cont →

PART FIVE

THE FINAL DAYS is a reconstruction of the momentous events which lead to the resignation of President P W Botha.

Although President Botha appeared on SABC-TV and gave one major interview to the Nationalist Press during the crisis, persistent efforts by us to question him directly were unrewarded.

The information for this series was gathered over many months from various sources — from on-the-spot reporting, intensive research plus interviews and conversations with politicians and others in the know. With it come the insights and observations of a seasoned political correspondent who was assigned as 'President-watcher' from the time P W Botha was elected head of state.

The FINAL DAYS is by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent of The Argus.

TENSION between the president and the National Party continued into May with increasing indications that the Botha era was coming to an end — but without official confirmation of his retirement.

The incongruous situation of P W Botha as executive president and F W de Klerk as leader of the ruling party persisted. Nationalist MPs stressed that everyone had fallen in behind De Klerk and that a satisfactory arrangement had been made for the president to step down.

On May 3, in a short announcement to a joint session of parliament, the president named September 6 as polling day.

It was the last time he would speak in parliament; he would also quit the hustings. As his bitterness about how he had been treated increased he was determined to prove he had put himself above party politics.

Nat MPs were dismayed at the prospect of an extended election campaign, more so that their political foes had such advance notice. The newly-formed Democratic Party, particularly, had time to get off the ground.

But F W de Klerk, wearing the mantle of party leader and prospective president, declared the election an important step to a new, secure and just dispensation. According to sources close to President Botha he was increasingly resentful of the way De Klerk was speaking as if he was already head of state.

On May 11 there was a further indication of the Botha era unravelling when Minister of Constitutional Development Chris Heunis announced his retirement at the end of June. The signs were clear: without the patronage of the President, Mr Heunis would be in the political wilderness. In the end, his long-standing loyalty to P W Botha was an albatross.

When he became acting State President — in keeping with his status as the most senior Minister — some MPs nevertheless were deeply suspicious of his closeness to P W Botha.

The President moved swiftly to appoint a successor to Mr Heunis. On Sunday, May 14, he announced that Cape Administrator Gene Louw - who had waited in the wings for years — was to be Minister of Constitutional Development.

Why, suddenly, had Louw been elevated? Such was the mood that again there were suspicions among those who pointed to the hasty replacement of Mr Heunis, as against the continued vacancy of the Manpower and Public Works portfolio since the resignation of Minister Pietie du Plessis in January.

Was it a ploy to thwart Dr Dawie de Villiers, deputy leader of the Cape National Party, who seemed to be Mr Heunis's natural successor?

De Villiers's relationship with P W Botha and Chris Heunis, it was said, had been chilly from time to time. After a meteoric rise the athletic and youthful-looking De Villiers, former dominee, Springbok rugby captain and ambassador to the Court of St James, had been rebuffed by the electorate and, indeed, demoted from the central Cabinet to become an "Own affairs" Minister.

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IN the event, the speculation was idle for Louw was not interested in challenging for the Cape leadership which went unanimously to De Villiers.

P W Botha, with his declared determination to be above party politics, declined an invitation to the last caucus meeting of the parliamentary session.

On May 12 De Klerk announced the National Party would take leave of the president at a sumptuous dinner in Pretoria, on the eve of the party's federal congress at which its election campaign would be launched.

De Klerk, of course, was talking about saying goodbye while the president had not yet said outright that he was retiring.

As it transpired, the proposed farewell was to prove yet another huge embarrassment.

There was talk that P W Botha was still furious about the way the NP caucus had moved in for the kill and the buzz was that he might stand them up by refusing to attend the dinner arranged in his honour.

But the organisers were blissfully unware of the vibes. When asked about the possibility of the president declining, Dr Lukas Nel, the Transvaal provincial secretary, insisted the dinner was meant to honour P W Botha and he would "in the nature of things" be there.

But it was not to be. Last-minute attempts by a number of Ministers failed to persuade the aggrieved and "rejected" president to attend. There was no option but to call the whole thing off

By his own making President Botha was in danger of ending his political career a lonely figure, isolated from his former followers.

Relations, even with stalwarts like the veteran Free Stater Alwyn Schlebusch, the former vice President who was largely responsible for him becoming prime minister in 1978, had broken down.

After Schlebusch had been recalled to the Cabinet to serve as the minister in the president's office in charge of the SABC and the public service there were sharp differences between them about P W Botha's interference in the broadcasting services and on other issues. Things reached such a pitch, apparently, that after Schlebusch's retirement in 1988 further communication between them ceased.

Relations with another former close associate, former minister Hendrik Schoeman, also soured after the latter urged him to stand down for De Klerk.

Nevertheles, former ministers spoke about P W more in sorrow than in anger

They saluted him for his considerable courage in standing up to the far-right of the National Party to the point where he was willing to countenance the split in '82 which led to the formation of the Conservative Party. That, and because he had scrapped apartheid measures such as the sex-across-the-colour-bar clause of the Immorality Act, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act and influx control in spite of misgivings among some of his followers. He'd also tossed out the coloured labour preference policy in the Western Cape and accepted the permanence of blacks, as full citizens, in those parts of the country outside the "homelands".

Given all that, the party faithful saw tragedy in him retiring in circumstances of estrangement from his own people, but the president's sometimes volatile temperament and abrasive conduct had wounded many and counted strongly against him in his hour of need.

Some who know him well

ulking old man'—

observed that in the past few years the president had become more intolerant of criticism and of people who differed with him. They contended that his background as a party organiser was partly to blame in that it developed a style of virtual all-out war on those whom he thought dared to challenge him

During his term of office he also appeared to become increasingly isolated from the outside world and the finger pointed to some of his officials at Tuynhuys.

Maybe he was encouraged in the perception of mass support among all races which led to an idea of appealing to the nation over the heads of the party heirarchy and to the notion of becoming head of state without party political ties, a super leader who could be a unifying factor.

Tuynhuys, as one observer put it, had become like a medieval court where true power resided with the chamberlains in the inner circle; those who had the ear of, and who controlled access to, the emperor.

Even the Press discovered that, in contrast to his tenure as prime minister, it was virtually impossible to get through to the president even for off-the-record briefings. When he did agree to such proposals by political journalists who came face to face with him on rare social occasions, officials at Tuynhuys later maintained they were unable to fit them in.

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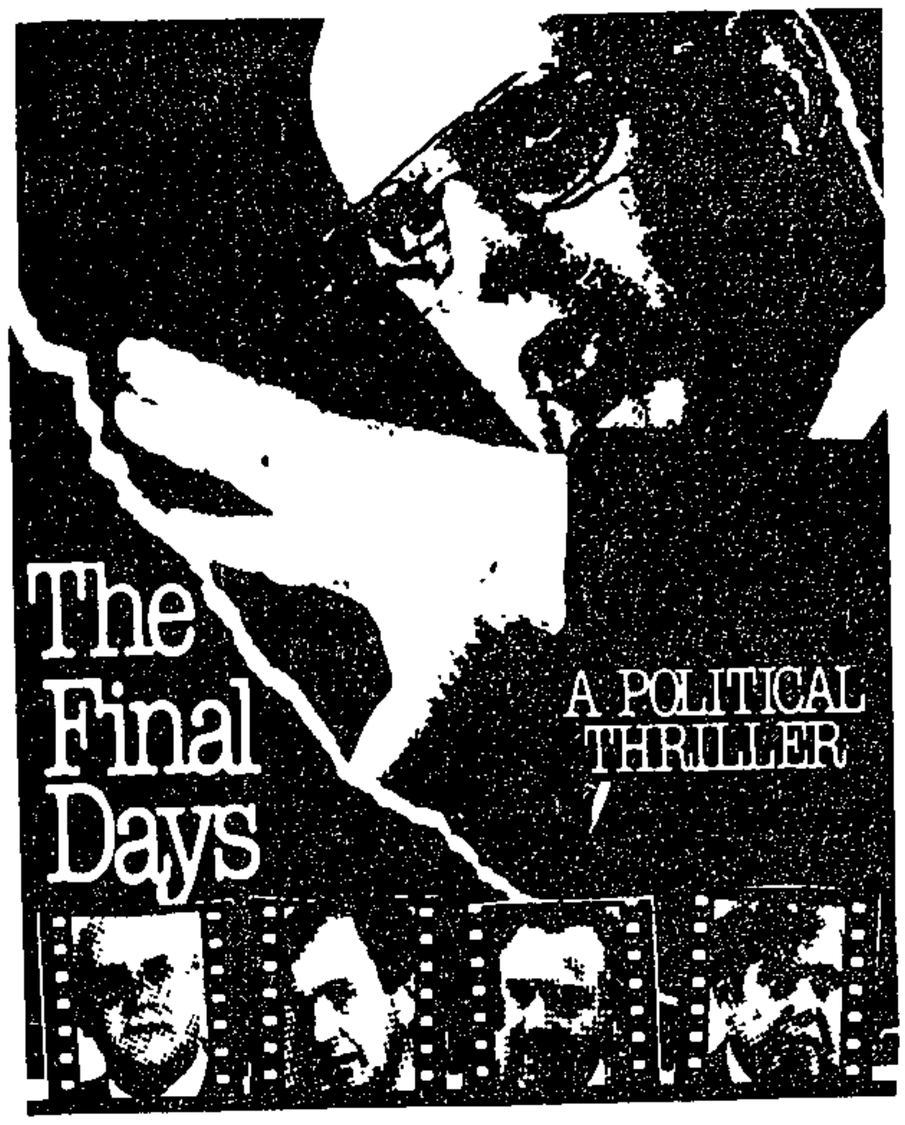
THE gloomy tide notwithstanding, President Botha — who was always meticulously prepared for Cabinet meetings — chaired a meeting of his ministers in his usual efficient way in Pretoria on June 28 amid no unusual tensions.

Next day the National Party federal congress, attended by some 1 200 delegates in the Pretoria city hall, duly paid tribute to him — in his absence. A motion of thanks, and the warm introductory remarks by F W de Klerk, drew a standing ovation.

At the end of the congress De Klerk confirmed that P W Botha would not take part in the general election campaign as he was no longer active in party politics. "He prefers it that way and we respect his wishes."

Yet if anyone suspected that the president had succumbed to meekness, the West German Minister of Labour Norbert Blum found otherwise. In a spirited confrontation P W Botha reportedly told his visitor in no uncertain terms — and tone — what he thought about Germany's nazi past and therefore Blum's qualifications to discuss apartheid.



Blum, for his part, replied it was precisely because of nazism that West Germany spoke out against abuses of human rights wherever it saw them.

On his return to West Germany Blum pointedly referred to speaking to some "betonkopfen" (concrete heads) while in South Africa.

Blum may have been the last, but certainly not the only dignitary to feel the sharpness of the presidential tongue.

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THE only big public farewell President Botha attended was a military parade in Cape Town on July 1 which also marked the SADF's 77th anniversary.

Under cold, grey winter skies which broke into intermittent rain, he sat on a dais facing the city hall, a prominent but forlorn figure.

Emotion was clearly evident and he nearly broke down on several times during his address. His voice quivering he reminded them of his official connection with with the SADF over 23 years.

After all that time, it was a his farewell to arms — "I thank you, and I greet you," he ended.

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MEANWHILE, there were indications of a shift in the government's preconditions for negotiations with movements such as the African National Congress.

At briefing sessions on the party's election manifesto ministers maintained the emphasis was now more on a commitment to finding peaceful solutions, but the party still wasn't prepared to negotiate with those who remained committed to violence.

Then, on July 8 — a Saturday afternoon — came the stunning news that three days earlier ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been on a "courtesy visit" to Tuynhuys and had spent 45 minutes with President Botha.

Making the announcement, Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee said the meeting had taken place in a pleasant spirit, no policy matters were debated and no negotiations were conducted

However, the two had "availed themselves of the opportunity to confirm their support for peaceful development in South Africa."

So guarded was the event that a virtual blackout on details was imposed, even whether they took tea together as was widely assumed. Tuynhuys was repeatedly urged to tell more of this historic *tete-a-tete* between the president and the world-renowned prisoner from Paarl, but it remained steadfastly silent.

Justice Minister Coetsee lifted the veil ever so slightly by telling a platteland audience the meeting had been planned over months and would have taken place earlier had it not been for the president's illness.

F W de Klerk confirmed he had been kept informed.

On July 12, in a statement released by the authorities, Nelson Mandela confirmed the meeting and the accuracy of the account given by Coetsee. He stressed there had been no deviation from his position over the past 28 years, that dialogue with the "Mass Democratic Movement", and in particular with the ANC, was the only way of ending violence and bringing peace to the country.

His own release, Mandela said, was not an issue at that stage. He wanted to contribute to the creation of a climate which would promote peace in South Africa.

Someone who saw Mandela soon afterwards said he was happy about the meeting having taken place.

By with this sudden, dramatic meeting was P W Botha once again asserting himself?

While the meeting was widely welcomed pundits were saying it could also embarrass the National Party in the general election campaign. After all, the party was attacking Democratic Party members for talking to the ANC ... while its former leader, as head of state, received Mandela.

Whatever the speculation, and it was enormous, the president refused to comment on the meeting.

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ALTHOUGH P W Botha was determined to distance himself from party politics he relented in accepting an invitation to the Cape National Party congress in Somerset West on July 22. If sentiment played a part it would have been because his association went back as far as 1936 to his enlistment as a party organiser.

He must have been comforted by the enthusiastic reception, including five standing ovations.

Far from being "a sulking old man", as Press reports had it, he insisted he was happy because he lived in "a land of hope, a land of the future".

Furthermore, he was glad to be able to tell the congress that he had recovered completely.

Newly-elected provincial leader Dawie de Villiers praised P W Botha as a brave man who had never stood back when there was trouble.

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BUT controversy clung to the president.

As the election campaign gathered momentum he was at the centre of a political storm which broke over a Conservative Party-inspired revelation that police transport had been used to carry game carcasses after P W had been on a hunting outing at Fauresmith in the southern Free State.

The official explanation was that the truck was also used to carry equipment for the president's protection wherever he went and that standard procedures had been met.

The CP threatend to press charges. Nothing came of it.

But the buck did not stop there ...

(Compiled by T Wentzel, and edited by A Drysdale, both of 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)

TOMORROW: THE FINAL HOURS ...

TIC cuts ties with DP until after election

CBT Thurs 21/8/87

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) had suspended its relationship with the DP until after the election.

TIC president Mr Cassim Saloojee refused to share an Idasa-sponsored debating platform with DP candidate for Houghton Mr Tony Leon at the Mariston Hotel in Braamfontein on Friday.

The debate on "The significance of the parliamentary platform today" went ahead with Five Freedoms Forum chairman Mr Mike Olivier as replacement speaker.

Mr Saloojee said in a statement, read to the audience of about 70 people before the start of the debate, that the DP had shown insensitivity to the political position of the mass democratic movement (MDM) by fielding nine candidates in the House of Delegates.

In addition, he said, the "DP's position of developing a working relationship" with the Labour Party was "politically unacceptable" to the TIC.

During the debate on Friday Mr Leon said there were personalities and elements in the MDM who were "insensitive toward the position of the DP".

(Report by Riaan Smit, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

Chissano appeal

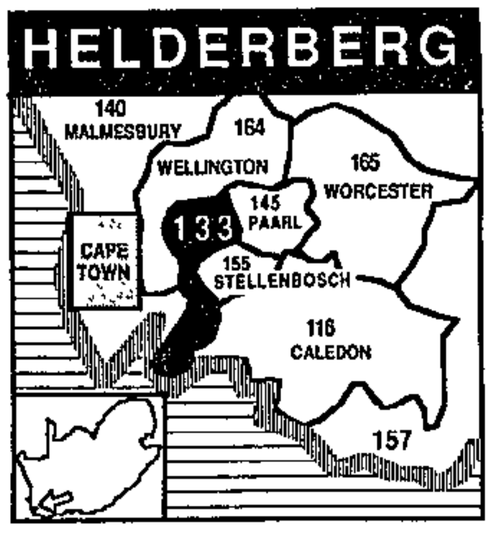
MAPUTO - President Joaquim Chissano has called on the South African Government to make use of the present international situation to take actions to dismantle apartheid.

But, he said, any changes must have the participation of the African National Congress.

Speaking here when he received the credentials of the new Ambassador of Bangladesh, Chissano said apartheid was the principal source of tension and conflict in Southern Africa.

No big guns but lots of dynamite

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE, Political Staff



The battle for Helderberg is more subdued than in 1987, but shows signs of becoming another neck-and-neck election struggle.

Throughout the constituency there is an air of expectancy as people recall the spectacular 1987 battle when Dr Denis Worrall came within 39 votes of toppling the then Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, in, his stronghold.

The outcome of that fight was the first of a series of political setbacks for Mr Heunis, who quit politics on the eve of the present election campaign.

Now Helderberg is the scene of a straight fight between Mr David Gant of the Democratic Party and Dr Francois Jacobsz of the National Party.

The big question being asked in the constituency is: Will Helderberg be captured from the NP this time?

Some observers say it could happen. They claim that support for the Democratic Party is even stronger now than the support Dr Worrall had last time. Others, however, say the support for Dr Worrall may have been a temporary phenomenon which arose from his dramatic appearance on the 1987 election scene after resigning from his ambassador's post in London.

Whatever the outcome, the Helderberg battle looks set to be tense and exciting, although probably more businesslike. Mr Gant is a top businessman whose family have lived in the Helderberg area for generations. Dr Jacobsz, a prominent businessman and director of companies has been chairman of the President's Council's economic affairs committee since 1984.

Mr Gant and Dr Jacobsz say it is a different kind of campaign this time though probably no less intense.

Mr Gant says he personally welcomes the fact that the CP is not in the contest. This, he says, destroys the myth that the DP has entered into some kind of agreement with the CP.

As in most other constituencies, economic issues are in the forefront. The focus has shifted from that of 1987 when the challenge to Mr Heunis, then the government's constitutional "guru", made constitutional issues crucial.

The constituency has many senior citizens whose only income — their pension — has been eroded by inflation and rising prices. They feel the pinch and recognise the need for drastic change to get the country's economy out of the woods.

In the Brackenfell area of the constituency are many young couples who are struggling to make ends meet and in Helderberg's agricultural region, farmers feel the effects of high interest rates and rising costs.

In Somerset West, the main town in the constituency, the only outward sign that the election campaign is hotting up is the prevalence of street posters.

A typical DP poster says "David Gant from and for Helderberg", while an NP poster calls for votes "for a great and just South Africa".

Dr Jacobsz's campaign is being run from two busy offices, within walking distance of each other, also in Somerset West's Main Street.

The style is somewhat more formal than it was then possibly due to a new management profile in place of the seasoned party professionals who helped run Mr Heunis's campaign.

Dr Jacobsz's campaign manager is a retired police officer, Brigadier Hennie Kotze, who declined to be interviewed, saying he was too busy and had nothing to say.

However, the approach in Dr Jacobsz's other campaign office seemed to be more relaxed. A key official there is Commodore Chris Botha, a friendly retired Naval officer, who has been living in Somerset West for the last 10 years. He is in charge of campaign administration.

His impression is that a much calmer spirit prevails in the present election campaign.

"There is a good spirit, no fighting and no malice. My impression is that the Democratic Party is also working more quietly and so far there are no gimmicks in their campaign," he said.

Key people in the NP's office include Mr Chris Kotze, a retired industrialist, who is in charge of campaign finance; Mr Joe Burrows, in charge of tracing voters; Mr Andries Gouws (special and postal votes) and Professor Alten Hulme (postal votes at old-age homes and blocks of flats).

Dr Jacobsz said the present Helderberg campaign was more characteristic of the overall campaign in the country, with emphasis on contesting parties rather than on personalities.

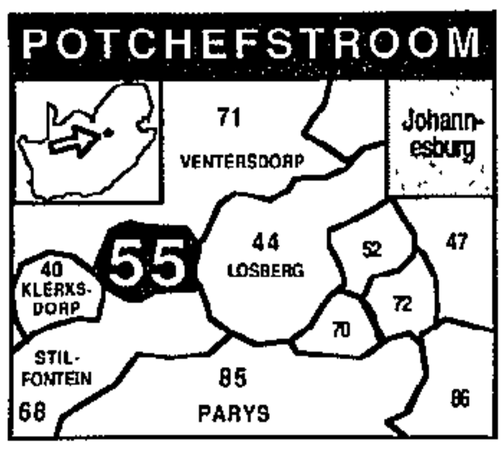
He claims many voters who supported Dr Worrall in the last election are ow returning to the NP, but is cautious about making any predictions.

He does, however, expect the NP to win with a larger majority — possibly a "comfortable majority".

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town).

Headstrong Nat fights to survive

By ESMARÉ VAN DER MERWE, Political Reporter



In the overwhelmingly Afrikaans constituency of Potchefstroom one of the most senior Government men is fighting for his political life.

He is Mr Louis le Grange, Speaker of Parliament, former Minister of Law and Order and Potchefstroom MP since 1966.

Out to topple him is a man who has not lost an election since he became involved in municipal politics in 1982. And Dr Ben van der Berg, chairman of the town's management committee and professor in German at the university, is not bargaining on coming second on September 6.

The only sure thing about the tough two-way battle is that the outcome will be close.

Mr le Grange scraped home to an uncomfortable 558-vote victory in 1987 against one of the CP's bright young boys, former Potch lecturer Dr Pieter Mulder, now the MP for Schweizer-Reneke.

Boasting majorities of between 6 000 and 7 000 in previous elections, Mr le Grange obtained a huge 4 281-majority in the 1981 election.

The parliamentary swing to the right was confirmed by last year's municipal result, when the CP took control of the town council by winning seven of the 12 wards. However, the CP polled fewer votes than the NP — 5 622 compared with 5 921.

Already burdened with a conservative image — in more ways than political — Potchefstroom has been put on the CP list of "certain gains".

Ironically, the foundations of political conservatism have probably been laid by none other than Mr le Grange, who is regarded by some as one of the most conservative Nats.

Manning the Law and Order portfolio during the stormy 1980's of unprecented unrest, he introduced the first state of emergency in 1985 and spearheaded clampdowns on extra-parliamentary organisations.

His unyielding defence of the police in the 1985 Uitenhage massacre and his blunt refusal to demote policemen guilty of abusing their power led to repeated requests from govern-



Mr Louis le Grange . . . conservative Nat may lose to CP.

ment opponents that he should resign.

On the other hand, he did much to improve the lot and status of black policemen, and was an early advocate of reform, encouraging the removal of "hurtful" discrimination.

His long political career almost came to a sad end in 1985 when he contracted cancer. He recovered remarkably, demonstrating a fighting spirit which should rattle even the most determined opponent.

The Clark Gable of the Western Transvaal — tall, dominating and a natty dresser — told The Star yesterday he was working day and night to keep Potchefstroom Nat.

Dismissing Dr van der Berg's claims of a CP victory, he predicted an increased majority for the NP.

"Voters are becoming more and more aware of the realism of our times. CP politics appeal to the heart, but people know they should use their heads when making decisions on September 6.

"We will leave the boasting to the CP. But I am telling you we are going to increase our majority. We have been working very hard and have much improved our organisation over the last two years."

Dr van der Berg, however, claimed growing support for the CP.

"The main issue in this election is the constitutional future. We are giving voters a clear answer as to what our constitutional intentions are. My opponent is avoiding the issue,

"Our figures show that we are gaining support in areas where we have previously fared badly — among pensioners and students. We now have the support of half the pensioners and 45 percent of the students compared with between 25 and 30 percent in the previous election."

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

FW obsession 'can only end in destruction'

Mr F W de Klerk's obsession with the compulsory compartmentalisation into groups could lead only to isolation, embitterment and destruction, the DP candidate in Houghton, Mr Tony Leon, said yesterday.

Speaking at an election meeting he said only "a common South Africanism" in which shared values, rather than race becoming the community characteristic, could lead to the revival and renewal of SA.

SPLIT PERSONALITY

"It cannot be achieved by either the CP or NP, both of which carry the scarred tissue of apartheid on them."

He said Mr de Klerk, the new leader of the NP, had displayed split personality by telling voters of Houghton that the "albatross of apartheid should not be slung around the neck of the NP" but decisions such as making the J G Strijdom Teaching Hospital an "Own affair" institution showed apartheid was alive and flourishing". — Sapa.

(News by K Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson, J M Patten and J de Villiers, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Bread and butter poll — De Beer

'NP has caused economic decline'

By Norman Chandler, Pretoria Bureau

Excessive Government expenditure, capital outflow and low productivity were cited last night as being the three main reasons for the country's economic situation.

Dr Zach de Beer told a Democratic Party meeting at Vereeniging the creeping poverty from which everyone suffered was not something separate from Government policy.

Dramatic decline

Describing the 1989 general election as a bread and butter poll, he said the statistics regarding South Africa's economic decline were dramatic.

"The growth rate is down from 6,7 percent to 1,2 percent, inflation up from 1,7 percent to 16 percent.

"But statistics do not win votes. The question is whether voters are really feeling pain. We think they are."

The DP's co-leader said there had been attempts by National Party spokesmen to allay the hurt voters felt.

He said the fact that Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis had said on August 18 in a letter to a Johannesburg newspaper that remarks he had made about the economy were taken out of context did not change the issue.

"The inflation rate is at least 15 percent and people are hurting. That alone justifies the inclusion of the economy among the major election issues."

Dr de Beer said poor economic statistics did not reflect uncontrollable circumstances. They indicated general misgovernment of the country.

"A sick economy in a healthy society is rare. The reason is simple: economic performance depends heavily on the attitudes and behaviour of people. Good government makes people feel they are fairly treated, they have full and equal opportunities and that there are rich rewards to be had for hard work and thrift.

"These attitudes are the prerequisites of economic progress."

Dr de Beer said in South Africa, despite the assertion by Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk that all South Africans must have a vote, the vast majority had no political rights.

Trust needed

"The reasons for our economic retrogression are excessive government expenditure, capital outflow and low productivity. Duplication of facilities is a major cause of the first, apartheid virtually the sole reason for the second, and the causes of low productivity are largely apartheid-based."

Dr de Beer called for South Africa to be a nation of free people willing to work together in trust and mutual confidence.

"We all want law and order but the foundation of both law and order is justice."

(Report by N Chandler, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).



All this election business is beyond me . . Bus commuters in Norwood recently could not see what a Democratic Party candidate, Mr Tony Leon, had to smile about.
● Picture by Stephen Davimes.

Fewer whites cast prior votes

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Only 5 percent of the white electorate in Johannesburg have cast their votes for the September 6 general election, against 8,2 percent of coloured voters and 10,9 percent of Indians

By the weekend, about halfway through the prior voting period which began on August 3, a total of 15 221 special votes had been cast in the 16 constituencies for whites in the Johannesburg region.

This represented 4,9 percent of those registered to vote.

Officials of the three main parties suggested yesterday the figure was low because most voters still enjoyed the "fun and fanfare" of voting on election day. Some said voters were still getting used to prior voting and that the tempo might pick up before September 6.

The 16 Johannesburg constituencies are Bezuidenhout, Bryanston, Hillbrow, Houghton, Jeppe, Johannesburg North, Johannesburg West, Langlaagte, Maraisburg, Parktown, Randburg, Rossetenville, Sandton, Turffontien, Westdene and Yeoville.

In the four Johanesburg constituencies in the House of Representatives — Bosmont, Eldorado Park, Klipspruit West and Newclare — 6 905 special votes (8,2 percent) had been cast by Saturday.

In the three House of Delegates constituencies in Johannesburg — Lenasia East, Central and West — 3 088 votes (10,9 percent) had been cast.

Final days over as a president quits

In the last instalment of THE FINAL DAYS, a reconstruction of the events which led to the resignation of President Botha, TOS WENTZEL of the Political Staff describes the build-up prior to the momentous meeting called by Mr Botha at Tuynhuys.

The final row between President Botha and his Cabinet started 2 400 km away — with an announcement by President Kenneth Kaunda that he would meet National Party leader F W de Klerk in Zambia on August 28.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha confirmed he would also attend.

The 8 pm SABC-TV report on August 10 of the proposed meeting finally made President Botha blow his top.

He had not been told the date, but he had been informed about efforts to arrange the get-together.

Indeed, Director General of Foreign Affairs Mr Neil van Heerden had been sent to Lusaka to find out what the Zambian President had in mind. He reported back that President Kaunda wanted the two leaders to become acquainted.

Mr F W de Klerk felt it would be better to do so after the general election, but Dr Kaunda was anxious for an early meeting and it was agreed.

In what turned out to be critical if inadvertent mistiming, President Kaunda made the announcement before President Botha had been told the date.



On August 14, President Botha (inset above right) met the Ministers around the horseshoe-shaped table in the Cabinet Room. By the end of the session he had agreed to resign and Mr F W de Klerk (inset above left) was appointed Acting State President.

Official visits abroad

On hearing the news on TV, the President telephoned Mr Pik Botha at the State Guest House in Pretoria and confronted him about the announcement. The Foreign Minister expressed surprise and said the matter would be rectified in the news broadcast.

According to confidential guidelines Ministers were entitled to official visits abroad when deemed essential in the national interest and when approved in advance by the State President.

The President called a number of other Ministers that night but said later he could not get a satisfactory agreement on the arrangement of overseas visits.

At mid-morning the next day, political journalists were astonished to get a faxed message from Tuynhuys in which the President reacted to reports that "certain South African Ministers" would meet Dr Kaunda.

It was a single, explosive, paragraph:

"I am not aware, in terms of the rules governing overseas journeys by Ministers, of the discussions to be held on August 28 as announced by Dr Kaunda."

It was a ringing slap-down. Mr F W de Klerk and his fellow Ministers were flabbergasted when they learnt about it.

Mr Pik Botha, who was electioneering in Johannesburg, hurried to Pretoria where Mr de Klerk had called an emergency meeting of Ministers who were close by.

Afterwards, Mr de Klerk suggested a misunderstanding and added that attempts to arrange an urgent meeting with the President had been unsuccessful.

It appeared that a disgruntled President, who was in his Tuynhuys office, refused to talk to Mr de Klerk on the telephone. That afternoon Mr de Klerk sent a fax asking for an urgent meeting at a time and venue of the President's choice.

Mr P W Botha replied by fax:

"I am surprised to hear that you want to organise a delegation of Ministers. A meeting of the Cabinet is being called for Monday morning, August 14 1989 at 08h30 at Tuynhuys."

Thereupon Mr de Klerk called another meeting of Ministers at his ministerial home in Brooklyn, Pretoria, for the next day, a Saturday.

Crisis meeting

The Ministers held a 2½-hour crisis meeting after which Mr de Klerk told journalists, in essence, that the party leadership did not in the least underestimate the seriousness of the situation.

Senior Ministers flew to Cape Town and on Sunday night Mr de Klerk, Dr Barend du Plessis, Mr Pik Botha, Mr Stoffel Botha, Mr Kobie Coetsee and Dr Dawie de Villiers called on the President at his official Cape Town residence, Westbrooke, for a meeting arranged by a go-between.

Incredibly, it got off to a bad start over misunderstandings about how it had come about. Mr P W Botha thought the Ministers had asked for the meeting; they thought he had invited them.

According to accounts, discussions became quite acrimonious at times. Concern was expressed about the President's health, an issue about which he had become increasingly sensitive. He seemed intent on a showdown. And his Ministers were not about to climb down.

Monday August 10 — the day of reckoning — was a grim winter's day. Squalls ripped across Stal Plein where a phalanx of journalists and photographers waited. In foreboding symbolism the large flags tearing at the flagposts on the square in front of Tuynhuys were were taken down and replaced with smaller "storm" flags.

President Botha arrived at 8.34 am.

For the conference, the Ministers took their places at the elongated horseshoe-shaped table, the President at the head.

There were no tantrums and none of the notoriously explosive PW temper as they went about their grave, and at times emotional business.

Some Ministers' voices were close to breaking and there were tears in their eyes.

Each Minister was given an opportunity to say his piece. They stressed he had been a good President, but they believed the time had come for him to go.

The President, in turn, was to tell them much of what he was to say to the nation on TV that night, that he believed they were "playing with fire" by meeting Dr Kaunda.

But none of them could have accepted that was the real reason for his displeasure.

President Botha had been brooding for months about the way in which he thought the National Party had rejected him. The row now was about the ramifications of meeting President Kaunda, yet Mr Botha himself had met the Zambian leader and they appeared to get along well.

Mr F W de Klerk responded to Mr P W Botha's objections by outlining his and Mr Pik Botha's position, apparently arguing that the Kaunda meeting was not connected with the ANC and that the President had been kept informed as far as possible.

Clearly, the President stood alone. The feeling in the Cabinet was that the softest option was for him to retire and appoint a caretaker president.

When he refused to accept his health as a factor, saying he would not "leave on a lie" his resignation became inevitable.

In the end he had no choice but to submit. Then he took leave of them, shaking hands with them one by one and saying goodbye.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha reflected it had been "monumentally sad. To see him walk out of the Cabinet room was not a sight I wish to see every day." And Mr F W de Klerk spoke of a "heartsore" day.

The meeting closed at about 11.30 am. Half-an-hour later Tuynhuys security staff told journalists the President would speak on television that night, but it soon leaked out that his resignation was imminent and that Mr F W de Klerk would take over as acting president.

Grim, older and more gaunt

In the afternoon the President recorded a television address seated at his desk with the national flag, a bookcase and a flower arrangement as a backdrop. He looked grim, older and more gaunt than the public had ever seen him. But he spoke calmly, following a prepared text, carefully turning the pages which he held firmly on the desk with no sign of trembling.

The President gave an account of the rules governing overseas visits by Ministers and warned against the meeting with President Kaunda.

He dealt with the option of retiring and appointing an acting president and declared he was not willing to "leave on a lie".

"It is evident," he told the nation, "that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and the Government of this country I am being ignored by Ministers serving in my Cabinet. I consequently have no choice but to announce my resignation."

When it was all done State President Pieter Willem Botha left Tuynhuys at 5.30 pm on August 14. The back of the familiar bald head could be seen in the back of a car as it drove out of the gate, past the imposing equestrian statue of General Louis Botha, first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, to join the passin

SA 'willing to discuss ANC plan'

Political Staff and The Star's Africa News Service

The Government will not be upset if President Kaunda of Zambia presents the ANC settlement plan for discussion during his talks next week with Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk.

This was made clear today by the Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, following the adoption yesterday by a committee of the Organisation of African Unity of the ANC plan as its blueprint for peace.

The Government would not be upset, Mr Botha said, even though President Kaunda had assured former president Mr P W Botha he was only interested in getting to know Mr de Klerk better — "and I take it he would not have lied to President Botha".

If the document did come up for discussion, it would be handled in the same way as any difficult problem which had come up in meetings with foreign powers such the Russians, Angola and Cubans.

"We will handle this like grown-up people and as the country which is the strongest in the region." What was important was not what President Kaunda conveyed to the South African Government but what the South African Government conveyed to him.

"Our point of view on the ANC is clear. It has been made public, and it doesn't matter what African leaders do when we meet them," Mr Botha added.

An ANC spokesman confirmed last night that the organisation hoped the OAU-endorsed document would be presented to organisations such as the Non-Aligned Movement or the United Nations and so solidify into a statement or ultimatum, in the same way UN Resolution 435 became the accepted charter for independence and peace in Namibia and Angola.

The result would be to put the South African Government under even greater pressure to negotiate.

Greater financial sanctions

Among other things, the plan accepted by the OAU aims at intensifying the "liberation struggle" through greater financial sanctions.

The spokesman conceded his movement did not believe Pretoria was ready to negotiate, but he said it was important for the ANC to take the initiative at a time when the international community seemed to want a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

It is certain the ANC-OAU document will be tabled for discussion when President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia meets Mr de Klerk in Livingstone on Monday, OAU sources said.

In a surprising development at the OAU ad hoc committee meeting here yesterday morning, the Pan Africanist Congress rejected negotiations with South Africa.

The PAC's position is that the struggle must continue as before.

Ironically, its statement was made minutes after the OAU chairman, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, expressed the wish that the ANC and PAC come to terms and develop a single strategy for change in South Africa.

The ANC plan, widely leaked before yesterday's meeting, proposes that talks should take place between the "liberation movements" and the South African Government to suspend hostilities through a mutually binding ceasefire.

The parties should then establish a base on which to adopt and put into effect a new constitution.

They should also define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to democracy.

But before any of this happens, measures should be taken to release all political prisoners and detainees, unconditionally unban all restricted people and organisations, remove all troops from the townships, end the state of emergency, repeal all suppressive laws and end all political trials and executions.

Support plea

For its part, the OAU undertakes to get support for the process from governments and international movements and have sanctions against South Africa lifted while negotiations are in place.

"We appeal to people throughout the world to support this programme of action," the OAU statement said.



Presidential parade . . . Mr Kaunda (left), Mr Mubarak and Mr Mugabe in Harare.

"We will handle it like grown up people — Pik Botha

Lusaka talks will spark deep crystal ball gazing

By JACK SPENCE, Professor of Politics at Leicester University, England.

The fine print of whatever emerges from the meeting between Mr F W de Klerk and President Kenneth Kaunda in Lusaka on August 28 will be pored over by Western governments and the Soviet Union.

Their leaders will look for hints on regional accommodation between the Frontline states and the Republic as well as a coded message indicating the Acting State President's commitment, once the election is over and he is secure in office, to serious negotiations with black leaders, including Mr Nelson Mandela and ANC colleagues.

Any more precise reference to the latter will be dangerous, for friend and foe alike acknowledge the risk taken by Mr de Klerk in agreeing to a summit in Lusaka, the headquarters of the African National Congress, eight days before a general election in which his party is simultaneously defending itself against Conservative charges of appeasement and trying to outbid its Democratic rivals on the question of funadamental structural reform.

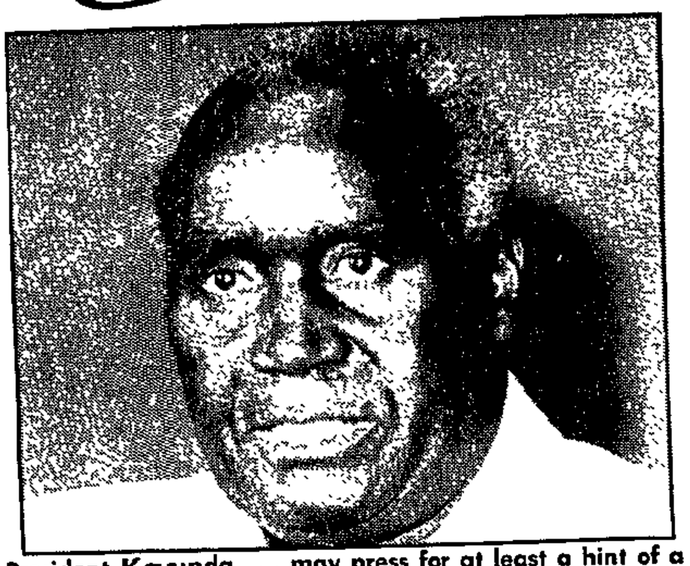
No doubt the drafting of the final conference communique will present problems. Electoral considerations will incline Mr de Klerk to press for a general declaration of intent to co-operate on solving regional conflicts and in the reconstruction of the shattered economies of Angola and Mozambique.

President Kaunda, by contrast, will press to include some hint that Pretoria will at least consider a Namibian accord style mechanism, along the lines of UN Resolution 435 (as proposed by the ANC) and involving election to a constituent assembly, for devising an apartheid-free constitution.

But on the assumption again for electoral reasons, that Mr de Klerk avoids making any such precise concession, the question of what to do about Mr Mandela and what political role to ascribe to the ANC will remain high on his agenda.



Mr de Klerk . . . too precise a reference to plans for talks with ANC could be dangerous.



President Kaunda . . . may press for at least a hint of a Namibian-style resolution.

The outside world will simply not let him forget it. Mrs Thatcher, for one, will maintain her polite but characteristically firm insistence that Mr de Klerk speed up the pace and substance of reform which for the West in general must start with the release of Mr Mandela and a formula for according the ANC a role in the negotiation process.

The first test of Mr de Klerk's credibility will come when Mrs Thatcher faces Commonwealth heads of government in Kuala Lumpur at the end of October.

'Talks about talks'

The sanctions issue will dominate the meeting and Mrs Thatcher's position will certainly be eased if Mr de Klerk has been able to offer a major *quid pro quo* as the price of her continued opposition to widening the sanctions net. Mr Mandela's release into a context where, at the very least, "talks about talks" are taking place is an obvious example.

Whether Mr de Klerk would be able to deliver a bargaining chip of this magnitude to a hard-pressed Mrs Thatcher is doubtful given the short time scale involved and the constraining need to consolidate his position and to review the options available.

No doubt Mrs Thatcher will acknowledge the time factor, but her patience is not infinite, and she above all will give priority to the protection of British rather than South African interests.

No doubt Mr de Klerk would prefer to emphasise the constructive regional role the Republic could play, in the expectation that this would buy time for the complex task of major internal reform. Yet Pretoria's regional and domestic initiatives are linked to the extent that progress in one area depends upon progress in the other.

In addition, the installation of a Swapo government in Windhoek would be perceived by many in the outside world as the penultimate victory against apartheid. Thus regional detente will be difficult to achieve unless there is clear evidence of major domestic changes.

It is true that the Nationalist Government's restoration of order after the traumatic events of 1985/86 has lowered its profile on foreign policy agendas.

It is also true that the signing of the Angola/Namibia accords in December 1988 and the more co-operative attitude of the Soviet Union has encouraged Western governments to believe constructive engagement will pay dividends in persuading Pretoria to negotiate meaningful change with black leaders.

It is precisely because the Namibian issue will soon be off the international agenda and the West and the Soviet Union have a mutual interest in liquidating their antagonism in regional conflicts, that Pretoria cannot escape their attention.

Superpower menace

This is not to say that Pretoria is menaced by a super power condominium able and willing to manipulate self-consciously the process of change in the Republic and bent on imposing a solution to apartheid's ills. Mr de Klerk's government will be under pressure to show evidence that good faith on the reform front is not in doubt.

As the Acting State President he has raised expectations abroad which centre on Mr Mandela's future as a catalyst for negotiation. How Mr de Klerk reacts to this challenge will determine the outside pressures on his country.

22/08/89 (304A) Argus 22/08/89

Showdown . . . and exit P W

PART SIX

THE FINAL DAYS is a reconstruction of the momentous events which lead to the resignation of President P W Botha.

Although President Botha appeared on SABC-TV and gave one major interview to the Nationalist Press during the crisis, persistent efforts by us to question him directly were unrewarded.

The information for this series was gathered over many months from various sources — from on-the-spot reporting, intensive research plus interviews and conversations with politicians and others in the know. With it come the insights and observations of a seasoned political correspondent who was assigned as 'President-watcher' from the time P W Botha was elected head of state.

The FINAL DAYS is by TOS WENTZEL, Political Correspondent of The Argus.

THE final row between President Botha and his Cabinet started 2 400km away — with an announcement by President Kenneth Kaunda that he would meet National Party leader F W de Klerk in Zambia on August 28.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha confirmed he would also attend.

The 8pm SABC-TV report on August 10 of the proposed meeting finally made President Botha blow his top.

He had not been told the date, but he had been informed about efforts to arrange the get together

Indeed, Director General of Foreign Affairs Neil van Heerden had been sent to Lusaka to find out what the Zambian president had in mind. He reported back that President Kaunda wanted the two leaders to become acquainted.

F W de Klerk felt it would be better to do so after the general election, but Kaunda was anxious for an early meeting and it was agreed.

In what turned out to be critical if inadvertent mistiming President Kaunda made the announcement before President Botha had been told the date.

On hearing the news on TV, the president immediately phoned Foreign Minister Pik Botha at the State guest house in Pretoria and confronted him about the annoucement. The Foreign Minister, who had cleared the way and accompanied the president on a number of diplomatic forays into Africa and abroad, expressed surprise and said the matter would be rectified during the news broadcast.

According to confidential guidelines Ministers were entitled to official visits abroad when deemed essential in the national interest and were approved in advance by the State President.

The president called a number of other Ministers that night but said later he could not get a satisfactory agreement on the arrangement of overseas visits.

□□□□

AT mid-morning the next day unsuspecting political journalists were astonished to get a faxed message from Tuynhuys in which the president reacted to reports that "certain South African ministers" would meet President Kaunda.

It was a single, explosive, paragraph:

"I am not aware, in terms of the rules governing overseas journeys by ministers, of the discussions to be held on 28 August as announced by Dr Kaunda."

It was a ringing slap-down. F W de Klerk and his fellow ministers were flabbergast when they learnt about it. None had been consulted.

Pik Botha, who was electioneering in Johannesburg, hurried to Pretoria where De Klerk had called an emergency meeting of those Ministers who were close by.

Afterwards De Klerk suggested a misunderstanding and added that attempts to arrange an urgent meeting with the president had been unsuccessful.

It appeared that a disgruntled president, who was in his Tuynhuys office, refused to talk to De Klerk on the phone. That afternoon De Klerk sent a fax asking for an urgent meeting at a time and venue of the president's choice.

P W Botha, obviously testy, replied by fax.

"I am surprised to hear that you want to organise a delegation of Ministers. A meeting of the Cabinet is being called for Monday morning, 14 August 1989 at 08h30 at Tuynhuys."

Thereupon De Klerk called another meeting of Ministers at his ministerial home in Brooklyn, Pretoria, for the next day, a Saturday.

Grimly determined ministers entering the precincts concealed the indentity of the occupants, but some Ministers were visible.

President Botha arrived at 8.34am.

Minister of Justice Kobie Coetsee waved as he drove in shortly afterwards. The Minister of Constitutional Development, Gene Louw, was the only one to arrive on foot.

In the Cabinet room the Ministers took their places at the elongated horseshoe-shaped table, the president sitting at the head.

There were no tantrums and none of the notoriously explosive P W temper as they went about their grave, and at times emotional business.

Some ministers' voices were close to breaking and there were tears in their eyes.

Each Minister was given an opportunity to say his piece. They stressed he had been a a good president, but they believed the time had come for him to go.

The president, in turn, was to tell them much of what he was to say to the nation on TV that night, that he believed they were "playing with fire" by meeting Kaunda.

But none of them could have accepted that was the real reason for his displeasure

"In international law they talk about the occasion and the cause of war," a source commented. "This was the occasion. The real cause was much deeper and much more complex than that."

President Botha had been brooding for months about the way in which he thought the National Party had rejected him. The row now was about the ramifications of meeting President Kaunda, yet the president himself had met the Zambian leader and they appeared to get along well.

F W de Klerk responded to P W Botha's objections by outlining his and Pik Botha's position, apparently arguing that the Kaunda meeting was not connected with the ANC and that the president had been kept informed as far as possible.

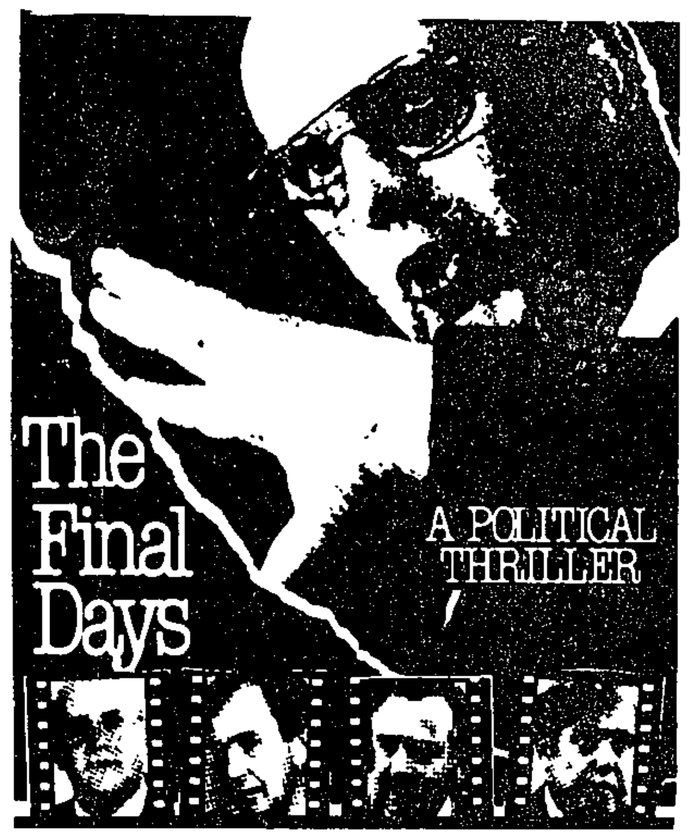
Clearly, the president stood alone. The feeling in the Cabinet was that the softest option was for him to retire to his home at the Wilderness and appoint a caretaker president.

When he refused to accept his health as a factor, saying he would not "leave on a lie" his resignation became inevitable.

In the end he had no choice but to submit. Then he took leave of them, shaking hands with them one by one and saying goodbye.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reflected it had been "monumentally sad." To see him walk out of the Cabinet room was not a sight I wish to see every day." And F W de Klerk spoke of a "heartsore" day.

The meeting closed at about 11.30am. Half-an-hour later Tuynhuys security staff told journalists the president would speak on television that night, but it soon leaked that his resignation was imminent and that F W de Klerk would take over as acting president.



THE president took a walk in the spacious gardens of Tuynhuys, his private secretary Capt Ters Ehlers at his side.

In the afternoon he recorded a television address seated at his desk with the national flag, a bookcase and a flower arrangement as a backdrop. He looked grim, older and more gaunt than the public had ever seen him. But he spoke calmly, following a prepared text, carefully turning the pages which he held firmly on the desk with no sign of trembling.

What he said — and the response — is of recent record. The president gave an account of the rules governing overseas visits by Ministers and warned against the meeting with President Kaunda which he said he would not approve because of the facilities given to the ANC in Zambia and the role President Kaunda was playing in the frontline states and the OAU in seeking a so-called solution to South Africa's "problem".

He dealt with the option of retiring and appointing an acting president and declared he was not willing to "leave on a lie".

"It is evident," he told the nation, "that after all these years of my best efforts for the National Party and for the government of this country I am being ignored by Ministers serving in my Cabinet. I consequently have no choice but to announce my resignation."

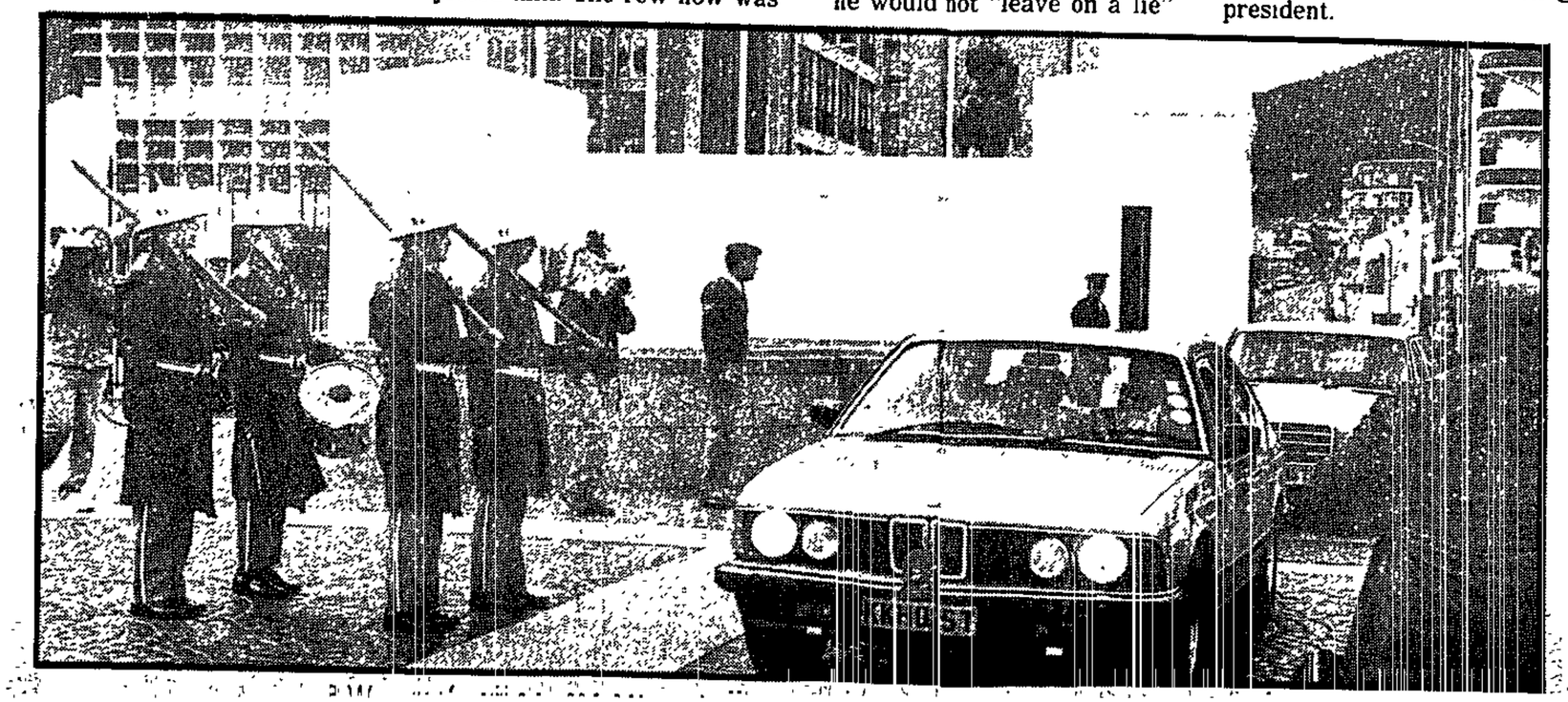
Finally, firmly, he said: "Good night."

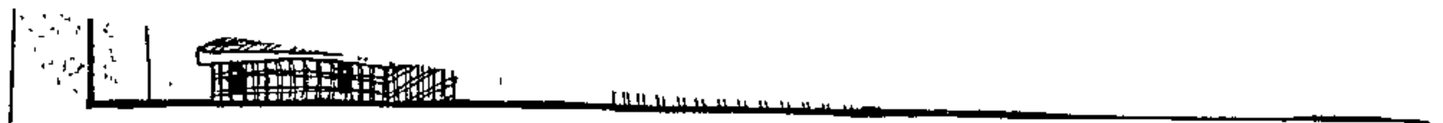
(Later F W de Klerk and Pik Botha were to challenge the president's version of events, question his analysis of southern African politics and refer to lapses of memory by the retiring president.

De Klerk confirmned he had proposed that P W Botha should rest and appoint an acting State President. "We feel and believe that his health would have justified such a step.")

When it was all done State President Pieter Willem Botha left Tuynhuys at 5.30 pm on August 14. The back of the familiar bald head could be seen in the back of a car as it drove out the gate, past the imposing equestrian statue of General Louis Botha, first Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, to join the passing traffic ...

(Compiled by T Wentzel and edited by A Drysdale, both of 122 St. George's Street, Cape Town.)





Dirty tricks in the Free State

Argus
22/8/89
304A

By PETER FABRICIUS of the Political Staff

THE National Party is fighting hand-to-hand on the banks of the Vaal to prevent the Conservative Party gaining a foothold in the Free State.

ELECTION

It is there where the CP has most chance of breaking through the important psychological and provincial barrier and becoming a truly national party.

This makes for a dour "struggle with plenty of dirty tricks". And the CP is pouring so much money into the campaign that the NP is starting to mutter darkly about "foreign funding."

Though the NP still holds all 14 Free State constituencies, the CP won 42 percent of the province's vote in 1987 — more than its share of the vote in its Transvaal heartland.

Two of the northernmost Free State seats — Sasolburg and Parys — are easily within the CP's grasp, even without a swing away from the NP, as the combined CP/HNP polled more than the NP there in the 1987 general election — 513 more Parys and 260 in Sasolburg.

And in a Sasolburg by-election in 1985, when the CP stood back for the HNP, it won the only seat it has ever won — and the only seat the right-wing has taken outside the Transvaal.

In eight Free State seats — a majority of the 14 — the CP's share of the vote is more than 43 percent, which means they will fall in a seven percent swing to the CP.

A two-percent swing will bring in Fauresmith and Heilbron, a four percent swing will add Ladybrand, a six percent swing Smithfield and a seven percent swing will add Bethlehem and Welkom.

Which explains why the CP is concentrating time and money here. The CP's consumption is most conspicuous in the big mining town of Welkom, north of Bloemfontein, where a large contingent of white miners gives the CP a head start.

The CP laughs off the foreign funding charge and claims that all constituencies have to raise their own funds — and a bit extra for head office.

Mr Cehil Pienaar, the CP's Free State leader and Heilbron candidate, jokes that the campaign has got down to "sewer level."

That's a pun on a rather notorious remark made by his NP opponent, the impulsive Heilbron MP Mr Steyn Terblanche.

He said, at a CP meeting, that to prevent the "wholesale shooting of all our children" he would be "willing to serve under anyone and even carry night refuse in the black townships."

Whether or not the context justifies it, the remark is being widely circulated by the CP as an admission by Mr Terblanche that he would be prepared to serve under a black ANC president.

Mr Pienaaar "sewer" also refers, of course, to dirty tricks such as a NP smear pamphlet which shows him with his arm around the neck of a coloured farm worker — supposedly drunk.

Another dirty trick, which the CP suspects the NP might be behind, is a black consumer boycott against CP businesses in Parys.

Meanwhile the NP complains that the CP is distributing false gossip that the parliamentary prayer has been discontinued because of the influx of Moslems and Hindus into the other two houses of Parliament.

Mr Pienaaar says "conservatively" the CP could win 6 to 8 seats — in order, Parys, Sasolburg, Ladybrand, Heilbron, Fauresmith, Smithfield, Welkom and Virginia.

But NP acting Free State secretary Mr Pieter van der Merwe — reflecting general NP confidence — is quite adamant that the NP will "pocket all 14 constituencies. I have no doubt about it."

The NP will win even Sasolburg and Parys, he says, because it is wrong to simply add together the CP and HNP votes of 1987 to get the CP total for 1989.

Many HNP supporters will refuse to vote CP he says, especially in Sasolburg where they regard the former HNP MP Mr Louis Stofberg as a traitor for crossing to the CP.

While the NP candidates in vulnerable Free State seats do not share this optimism, not even Mr Louis Stofberg is prepared to predict an easy win for the CP. He expects to do "a little better".

(News by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Voters must take charge to stop 41 years of 'misrule'

3044
23/8/89



The time has come, says Mrs Joyce Harris of the Black Sash, for voters to put an end to what she describes as 41 years of "havoc" under National Party rule.

We have a government whose Ministers and candidates at election time talk in terms of a future in which there is justice, the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary, *inter alia*.

They talk as though there were no existing situation in which there is no justice, no rule of law, no independent judiciary, and as if there is nothing about which they should feel guilty after 41 years of misrule.

They are denying all responsibility for the present situation, as though they had nothing whatsoever to do with it; nothing to do with the destruction of the rule of law or the abrogation of the judiciary or the introduction of punishment without trial; and as though they had not spent the past 41 years adding exquisite refinements to the laws giving them total control.

Ignorance

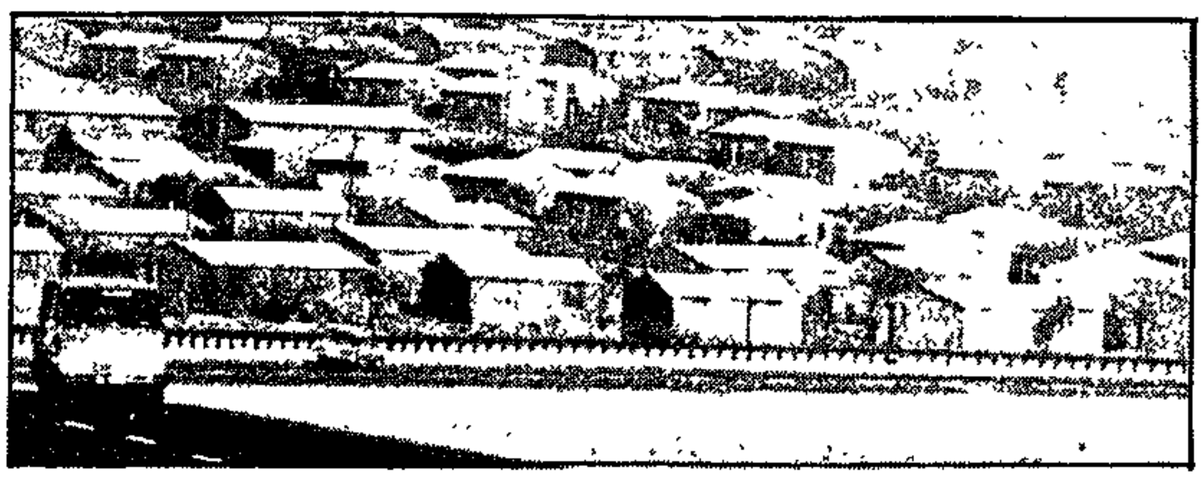
The extraordinary thing is that they are still able to delude a gullible public.

Despite their deafening track record they still have the gall to tell the public that only they can ensure stability and prosperity and, yes, justice and the rule of law and an independent judiciary.

It must be public ignorance of the human and inhuman results of 41 years of NP rule that makes it possible for them to vote for that party election after election. Either that or a total lack of concern for the plight of their fellowmen.

The other night, I went to Soweto, with about 120 other concerned white South Africans, diplomats and the press. We were driven in a convoy of black taxis and we went to break bread with restrictees.

Restrictees are those who have been relesed from detention by a "benevolent", hunger strike-pressured government, only to have restriction orders slapped upon them that turn their homes into detention barracks.



The sprawling skyline of Soweto where fear lurks behind the smiles.

By JOYCE HARRIS of the Black Sash

Words can never adequately convey the fear that lurks behind the smiles, the nervous twitch, the thinness, the sadness in the eyes of the people, especially the young, whose lives are being blighted by arbitrary punishment without trial for crimes which are probably non-existent, the figment of some prejudiced security person's imagination.

They tell of detention for no known reason, of solitary confinement or overcrowded cells, of despair at being shut away indefinitely, of the agony of hunger strike to obtain release. Some are 18 years old. Some as young as 16. Maybe some have committed offences. If they have they should be charged in a court of law.

But all of them are confined to their homes, generally from 6 pm to 5 am. All have to report to a specific police station at least once a day, sometimes twice. All must pay resultant transport costs which their beleaguered families can ill afford. Some must sandwich their schooling between visits to the police station.

At school they are avoided by their peers who fear to be seen to be associating with them. At home their friends are afraid to visit them so they must exist on the outskirts of life while their precious youth fritters away.

And at home they can expect sporadic visits from the police at any time of the night, knocking on doors, barking dogs, demanding entry and disturbing the entire family.

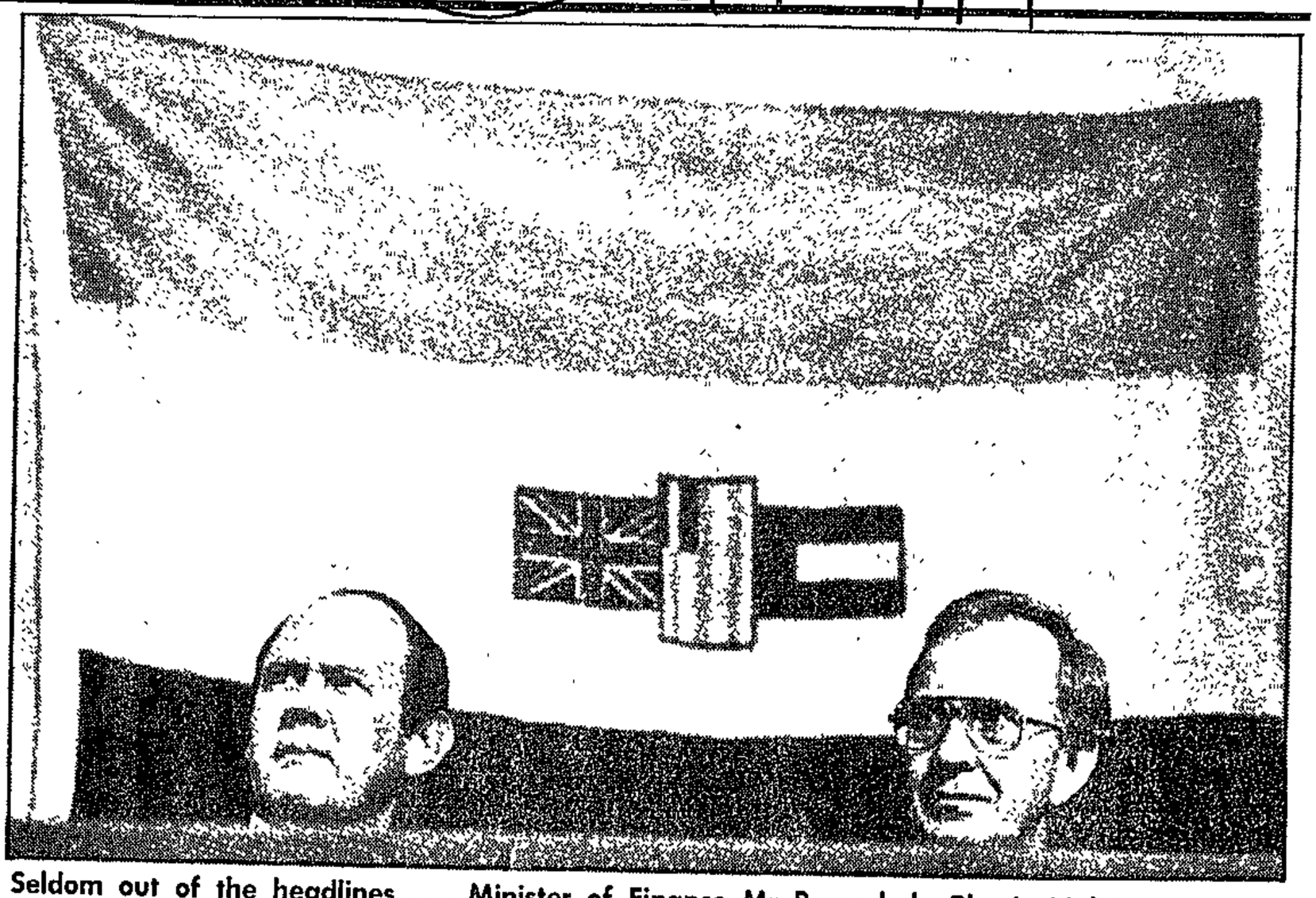
In the end, the family can turn against the unfortunate youngster, driven to desperation by lack of rest and uncertainty. Life for them becomes totally unendurable.

Yet when a delegation of their parents went to Minister Vlok to tell of their plight and plead for relief he was too busy to see them, as was his deputy, as was his secretary.

To add insult to injury they were warned by the police presence that they were holding an illegal gathering. They managed to leave a memorandum before they departed.

This is symptomatic of justice, the rule of law, and the independence of the judiciary that can be expected from a NP re-elected to power. It is time the people of this country took responsibility for the harm and havoc they have caused.

3048 Star 23/8/89



Seldom out of the headlines . . . Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis (right), seen at a National Party meeting last night with Mr Dries Oosthuizen, the party's candidate in Alberton.

Stability main key to investment

By John Miller

Mr Barend du Plessis, Minister of Finance, said political policies, not economics, would count in the coming election.

He said at a National Party meeting in Alberton last night that Africa, and many other countries, had shown the Government that unless there was the political environment in which one could exercise proper economic policies there was no way of attaining prosperity.

There would only be overseas investment in the Republic if there was political stability and if capital was safe.

"These investors are not in the Santa Claus business. They want to be assured their investments will be protected against riots, and that there will be a decent monetary and fiscal policy to protect the integrity of the investments."

He said they wanted to be assured that a new political dispensation would not nationalise their investments.

"This is one of the most daunting political challenges ever faced in the history of man, particularly if one looks at what has happened in Africa."

(Report by J Miller, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

The jinx that dogs SA's white leaders

By Dr AT VAN WYK of the Department of History at Unisa

AR645 23/8/89
304A

FIVE of South Africa's eight Prime Ministers and Presidents since 1910 retired from public life under a political cloud. Another has just followed suit, and of the remaining two one died in office and the other was stabbed to death in Parliament.

HISTORY

On the face of it, one is tempted to suggest that some evil attaches to the leadership of this land. True or not, the record is a sad one.

Louis Botha, inducted as premier on May 31, 1910, was hailed by many as the leader on whose shoulders the mantle of Paul Kruger had fallen and who was destined to lead the Afrikaner from political bondage.

Vision

However Botha (with Jan Smuts at his side) had a much wider vision of a future white South Africa than many of his compatriots. From the outset he endeavoured to mould Boer and Briton into a new South African nation. Coming as soon as it did after a humiliating peace, his policy of conciliation was too much to stomach for many an embittered Boer.

First of the Afrikaner greats to oppose him was his Cabinet colleague, J B M Hertzog who, like Botha, had a vision of a united white South African nation. The difference was that whereas Botha wanted to get started with the job of nation building, Hertzog desired the Afrikaners to first develop spiritually and culturally to en equal level with the English, and then for the two to be merged into a nation.

His was the so-called two-stream policy as opposed to Botha's one-stream. They had the same objective, but differed on strategy. Botha had a favourable all-English response, whereas Hertzog was branded a rabble-rouser, political crank and the Antichrist personified. His political philosophy was tagged "Hertzogism" which, to the English, represented all that they found repugnant in Afrikanerdom.

Death

The split between Botha and Hertzog came in early 1912 and was never bridged. Until Botha's death in 1919 they were locked in political battle. By then Botha had so antagonised fellow Afrikaners by his pro-British stand that he and Smuts were branded as traitors to the Afrikaner cause. Smuts took it all hilosophically, but Botha, not one to take criticism lightly, was visibly hurt. The Labour MP Thomas Boydell said of Botha that he found it difficult to attack him in Parliament because "his soulful eyes had such an appealing look that it was not easy to hit — almost like clubbing a seal."

In 1919 Botha returned from signing the Versailles Treaty a very sick man, suffering from a type of depression that frequently ends in tragedy. And to this day, 70 years after his death, rumours persist that he committed suicide, but for lack of evidence these must be rejected as unfounded.

Like Botha, Hertzog died in disfavour with his own people. For decades he was their acclaimed leader, then came the Great Depression of 1929, aggravted by severe drought and white poverty. These and other factors (not to mention political expediency) forced Hertzog into the arms of his arch-enemy Smuts.

Fought

From, 1933 to 1939 he led the government with Smuts as his deputy, while D F Malan and his firebrand Nats fought them every inch of the way. Now it was Hertzog's turn to be branded a traitor to the Afrikaner cause.

On September 4, 1939, matter were brought to a climax. Hertzog opted for neutrality in World War 2 and had the support of Malan and his Nats. Smuts stood for participation and won the day to become Prime Minister.

Out in the cold with his newly-found old friends, Hertzog struggled manfully to follow a policy of white South Africanism, but had a negative response from people like J G Strijdom, H F Verwoerd and others, who saw him as too willing to co-operate with the English and tagged his policy "Hertzogism". Thus in a little over three decades the condemnation of Hertzog had turned full circle — the "Hertzogism" of the 1940s meant the opposite of what it did in 1912.

Another split followed in 1940 when a conference in Bloemfontein refused to accept Hertzog's political programme. He walked out and died on his farm near Witbank two years later, a heartbroken and lonely old man, a virtual outcast.

Enigmatic

And Smuts? He was the only Prime Minister ever to lose a general election and it happened to him twice — in 1924 and in 1948. Given all kinds of unsavoury names by fellow Afrikaners, he can hardly be described as having been anything but enigmatic. He was neither a nationalist nor an imperialist; he was an internationalist. He had a brilliant intellect and as a statesman he ranked among the greats of his time. His fame during both world wars fighting the cause of democracy (albeit a "white" one) cannot be tainted, and his counsel was sought throughout the free world.

Yet it was of him, two years before his death, that Boydell said: "No man has so many admirers — and so few friends." This might have been his undoing.

Throughout his career he found the toil and strain of party politics a nuisance, if not degrading. In the process he lost touch with the common folk and paid the price when he least expected it.

He was confident of victory in 1948 and planned his international scenario accordingly. His defeat, therefore, must have been all the more humiliating.

Pined

On his deathbed two years later, in intimate talks with his doctor, he never once referred to politics but at times pined for the lost fellowship of his people.

His successor, D F Malan, was seen as the prophet who had led Afrikanerdom through the desert to political stardom. However, on the eve of his retirement in 1954 he antagonised many by trying to foist N C Havenga as Prime Minister on his recalcitrant followers. To say that his underhand methods left a legacy of embittered feelings and led to a deepening of the ever-present North-South rivalry, is to put it mildly. Some would never forgive him, not so much for his favouritism as for his lack of political sportsmanship.

Not Havenga, but Strijdom, became Prime Minister, and within four years died in office to be succeeded by Verwoerd, who was first shot at and wounded and subsequently stabbed to death. (One has reason to speculate as to what might have happened to their respective images if fate had not intervened).

B J Vorster retired from public life somewhat in the role of an outcast in the aftermath of the Info Scandal, and P W Botha in his final days as President acted more like a disgruntled schoolboy than the leader he was.

What is it that, seemingly, dogs the footsteps of South Africa's white leaders?

(Written by At van Wyk, 336 Orient Street, Arcadia, Pretoria).

Elections for the tri-cameral Parliament take place on September 6. Many extra-Parliamentary organisations, which put up serious opposition to the first tri-cameral Parliament elections in 1984, have been restricted. Many people who have opposed State structures and called for boycotts have been detained for various periods. Here poet Don Mattera does not call for a boycott, but tells why he and his family will not vote. MICHAEL TISSONG reports.

They can keep the vote



Don Mattera . . . not calling for boycott

Giving credibility to useless system

ELECTIONS for the House of Assembly, the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives take place in a few weeks time.

Unlike the first tri-cameral elections in 1984 when there were vehement calls for boycotts, widespread detentions of activists, fights at election meetings, pamphleteering of the townships and bloody battles on the two election days for the HOR and the HOD, there is not much furore over the 1989 elections.

The Mass Democratic Movement initiated a campaign against segregation at hospitals and beaches, among other places, but election candidates have largely been left alone.

The main reason for the quiet 1989 elections is the state of emergency which has been in force since June 1986. In terms of the emergency, many extra-parliamentary organisations have been silenced with severe restriction orders.

Candidates in the townships are also being protected around the clock by policemen and armed guards are posted 24 hours a day at venues housing polling booths.

Ironically, in this atmosphere of election silence, township candidates have not been holding public meetings in the main centres of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban.

They have, however, been having a field day in the Eastern Cape and the rural areas.

Poet and author Don Mattera said there was as much to get excited about the September elections as there was to get excited about elections in Bophuthatswana, Venda, the Transkei, Ciskei or any other ethnically based system.

FOCUS

"The puppet shows in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives are no different from the puppet shows in Ulundi, Bisho, Thohoyandou and other such places.

"The white House of Assembly takes decisions for them all

"The HOA controls the economy, education, the military ... everything.

"The other so-called politicians believe they have power, but they are playing the game according to the white man's rules. The white man pulls the purse strings and they jump."

Mattera said he and his family would not vote because it would give credibility to a useless structure.

"Voting is supposed to be a peaceful means of change. But in the ethnic parliaments of South Africa, it is a travesty. And I have chosen to oppose the system.

"The fact that I refuse to vote, should be seen as my refusal to be part of a Nazi-like system.

"While there were some Germans during the Holocaust who said they did not see, hear and therefore could not speak while millions of people were being murdered and incarcerated by a system similar to apartheid, I want my children and their ensuing generations to know that I did hear, I did see and I did speak out against the evil."

He said he was in the Labour Party in 1969 when their aim was to take up the seats in the Coloured Representative Council and then resign to make it ineffective.

"In that period, I met Black Consciousness activists Steve Biko, Harry Nengwekhulu and Strini Moodley and they convinced me that although I had been detained and tortured, I was playing a white man's game by being involved with the LP.

"Today I still see people playing that game.

"If those in the ethnic parliaments say that they hate the system, they should stop taking wages, salaries and fancy cars from it.

"The white liberals in the Democratic Party and those to the left, who say they abhor the system, should also break away from their privileged status and protected white areas and truly join the frontline of the people's forward march to liberation."

He said the alternative to voting was "to acknowledge the right of the black or African people to govern the land".

"So that, in the words of Biko, an egalitarian society shall be set up in which people shall not have the ethnic status of whites or whatever, but shall be regarded as citizens of the nation that will be built.

"To vote in the current system is to acknowledge that minorities are to be protected. I reject this. The notion that there are four national groups in this country is contemptible. How can we have four nations in one nation? What kind of an equation is that?

"On another level, the African National Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement should realise that there can be no successful struggle without the participation of the Black Consciousness Movement and the Pan Africanist Congress as equal partners in the liberation of the land.

"Then again, I accept the ANC as the leader of the struggle because I am a product of that movement.

"What I would like to see happen is the ANC, PAC, BCM and other black organisations come together to create a common front. This was Biko's wish before he was killed and it is the step that will bring us closer to our freedom.

"There was once unity among the oppressed, but in recent years I have seen it crumble before my eyes. Liberals, locally and internationally, have a say because of the money they are able to put into certain programmes. I am afraid that it will take us years to recover."

(Report by Michael Tissong, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg).



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

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CP flounders over Chinese family

CAR Tenth
23/8/89
304A

Political Staff

AN EMBARRASSED Conservative Party yesterday backtracked over the threatened eviction of a Chinese family from a CP-owned house in Pretoria.

Leader Dr Andries Treurnicht admitted yesterday there was confusion surrounding the CP's policy regarding Chinese people and added that the CP "supports the policy which has been followed over many years in this country, namely that Chinese people may settle in white areas".

And the man at the centre of the storm, the CP's chief whip, Mr Frank le Roux, admitted that he had visited Taiwan in 1982 and he had "the highest regard" for the "magnificent" Republic of China, its government and people.

Dr Treurnicht's statement is the first chink in the CP's armour that it wants racially exclusive residential areas.

The row erupted after Mr Le Roux gave notice to a Chinese family to terminate their lease of his house in Waterkloof. After a storm of protest, Mr Le Roux changed his mind and said the family could remain in the house.

Dr Treurnicht said the whole issue had been taken totally out of context through distortion by certain media.

"It is regrettable that small-minded politicians have tried to create the impression that the CP is antagonistic towards the Chinese people and the Republic of China. This is completely untrue," Dr Treurnicht said.

The Taiwanese embassy has expressed "deep regrets" at the reports.

The embassy said the Chinese community in South Africa had been playing a positive role in the development of South Africa and were "very proud" of being Chinese in origin.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Association of South Africa has reacted with "shock and anger" over the proposed termination of the lease.

(Report by B Streek, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.)

De Klerk cannot easily elude the apartheid albatross

B/day 304A 24/08/89

MICHAEL ACOTT

AFRICAN states want SA to negotiate an end to apartheid, but Acting President F W de Klerk says apartheid hasn't been government policy for the past 20 years.

"Apartheid is Conservative Party policy. Don't try to hang it around the National Party's neck," he told an election meeting last week.

It depends on what you mean by apartheid; the word is shorthand for anything from separate entrances to white rule and the apparatus of security measures needed to sustain the system.

It encompasses white bigotry, white privilege and white supremacy. While the NP has repealed some of the discriminatory laws it enacted after 1948, and the CP wants to restore them, claims that apartheid is dead remain exaggerated.

Since the NP split in 1982, the CP has taken for its own some of the most racist chunks of former NP policy. The NP is now attacking — in terms used against it for so long — discrimination it used to defend.

The CP wants a return to all apartheid, from the petty apartheid of segregated parks and buses to the grand apartheid of a whites-only Parliament and separate, preferably independent, black homelands.

They aspire to Connie Mulder's dream that political partition will bring about a country in which there are hewers of wood and drawers of water, but no black South Africans with political rights in a huge, rich, white-ruled Utopia.

De Klerk says that for the past 20 years the word apartheid has not appeared in NP policy documents. That may be so; from the time that Verwoerd's homeland policy gave blacks a vote "in their own areas" and Nationalists a moral justification for denying them the parliamentary franchise, the policy has officially been called separate development.

Everyone else still called it apartheid. Not only was Parliament all white, but so were post offices, buses, parks, restaurants, hotels and — holy of holies — Springbok sports teams.

When John Vorster started tampering with social segregation and P W Botha began undoing political segregation, the political parameters began shifting.

Vorster precipitated the international sports boycott when he banned Basil D'Oliveira from an MCC cricket side in 1968. A year later he precipitated the first right-wing break from the NP when he approved Maori rugby players in an All Black touring side. The barriers started crumbling; sports integration and black Springboks were on their way.

Then social segregation became less rigid with the introduction of "international" status for hotels and restaurants to which blacks could be admitted.

Under former President P W Botha, some key elements of apartheid were abolished, relaxed or fell into disuse. Job reservation, the Mixed Marriages Act, section 16 of the Immorality Act and the pass laws were repealed. Black trade unionism was legalised.

The permanence of urban blacks was recognised in leasehold and then in urban freehold and a black municipal franchise. Blacks were given representation on regional services councils and in provincial executives. The councils do not have majority black approval, but they represent a significant change in government thinking.

Educational barriers started coming down. After being forcibly segregated, universities were first given a racial quota and then allowed to open their doors to all. Private schools admitted blacks, at first under threat and now under encouragement from a government that does not want open state schools.

Political parties were allowed to open their ranks to all races, ending the ban that forced the demise of the Liberal Party in 1968. But political segregation remained; each race could vote only in elections for its own racial institutions.

In 1982, Botha precipitated the second right-wing break from the NP when he accepted power-sharing with coloured and Indian people in Parliament. Whites were dominant, blacks were excluded and the system was rejected by the majority of coloured and Indian voters.

Whites still governed themselves, but it was not called apartheid. It was "own affairs" rule over what were seen as the intimate matters affecting each population group.

De Klerk still supports that system, although he is seeking ways to include blacks in it.

He is talking of a new constitution, negotiated with moderate, representative black leaders, which will give blacks a say at all levels. Asked at a public meeting if this included Parliament, he said it would include "the legislature".

He talks of a less rigid definition of groups; of an end to white domination; of a system of consensus in which no group can oppress another.

He and the NP are actively distancing themselves from the term apartheid. Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok sees apartheid as an albatross around the NP's neck. De Klerk wants to hang it round the CP's neck.

Certainly SA today is not marked by rigid social apartheid which the NP under Malan and Strijdom forced onto the statue book between 1948 and 1958.

Blacks can now eat and drink with whites, study with them, marry them and even live legally with them in formerly white cities when the first free settlement areas are proclaimed. They cannot always play in parks, swim on beaches or ride in buses with them because the NP enacted the Separate Amenities Act. Lambasts CP municipalities for enforcing it and refuses to repeal it.

Botha's public denunciation of Allan Hendrickse's Port Elizabeth swim, and police whipping blacks off white beaches last weekend, are one side of the coin. The other is that many municipal and beach facilities have been open for years. The protest is not aimed at starting social desegregation but at completing it.

But political apartheid remains. Blacks are excluded from a Parliament where the white NP can resolve any dispute in its own favour. And no coloured or Indian politician may have any say over "white" agriculture, local government, education, health services or the monies appropriated to provide "own affairs" infrastructure.

It is all predicated on the NP's definition of race groups and enforced by the cornerstone of all apartheid: the Population Registration Act. Without that compulsory separation of every South African into a racial compartment, there could be no "whites only" signs, no residential group areas, no separate voters' rolls and no segregated Parliament.

If De Klerk sees apartheid as white bigotry, that is certainly CP policy. If he sees it as white privilege, that is now less evident as NP policy.

But he will not find it so easy to duck all responsibility for apartheid at home or to the OAU, while whites are cosseted by the statutory definition of race groups and a constitution designed to ensure their political supremacy.

(304-1)

Magnus probes DP on security

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Defence Minister General Magnus Malan said he was "delighted" that Democratic Party South Coast candidate General Wally Black supported hot-pursuit raids by the SADF.

But he still wanted to know what the attitude was of DP co-leaders Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, he said at a National Party meeting in White River last night.

Newspaper reports said General Black had denied the DP was soft on security. He had also told a Natal DP meeting his party supported cross-border raids if absolutely essential.

"He said the DP has always said hot pursuit is an accepted action. He believes, however, prevention is better than cure.

"I am delighted by his response. General Black is an ex-military man. I have always maintained that the DP has brought ex-SADF officers into the elections to try to shake off their image of being soft on security," General Malan said.

He challenged DP co-leaders Dr Worrall and Mr Malan to give their opinions.

"Do they share the general's view or do they prefer to remain silent in order not to offend the ANC?"

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

How will you handle conflict, asks De Beer

'Whitey would still be boss under Nats'

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Election 1989

"Whitey" would still be the boss under the National Party's consensus policy, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Zach de Beer said last night.

He believed that at the back of NP leader Mr F W de Klerk's mind was the idea that if groups other his own did not agree with him "they can somehow be pressured into doing so".

Dr de Beer was speaking to about 300 people at a DP meeting at Fourways in support of the DP candidate for North Rand, Mr Louis de Waal.

Dr de Beer said if it was true that whites would remain in charge under the NP, "our future contains nothing but destructive conflict".

As far as he could understand, the NP was proposing that each group should elect its own leaders, who would decide by consensus what should be done.

"Now all the history of South Africa suggests that consensus between the elements of our population is actually rare. So we have to ask Mr de Klerk if there is consensus and if he acts in terms of it, fine.

"But you owe it to every voter in South Africa to say how you will proceed when there is no consensus. How is a conflict of that kind to be resolved?"

The CP said "we must try to unscramble the omelette and Balkanise the country", said Dr de Beer. But the NP was — on this and so many matters — "dodgy and evasive".

Mr de Waal said the Government was incapable of either applying or repealing its race laws. But when the CP applied the laws the Government cried foul.

The Government seemed incapable of moving away from a system of equating groups with race, and believed the only way to survive was to legislate the white group forever.

"Eugene TerreBlanche and I are both white and both Afrikaners, but we could never form a group together," Mr de Waal said. "The time has come to say we are prepared to share not because we have the same skin colour, but because we stand for exactly the same things."

Dr de Beer was asked how the DP would avoid South Africa going the same way as Zimbabwe with a black socialist government. He said that the DP would try to protect commonly held values in a Bill of Rights which would be deeply entreched in the constitution.

It was possible that this could all be swept away, "but if you do that, if you sweep away the constitution, you have a revolution, and that can happen even if blacks don't get the vote. In fact, it is more likely to happen if they do not."

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)



A gathering of the Botha clan No, but former State Presider Mr P W Botha and his wife Elize, last night found themselves next to Mr Pik Botha the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the premiere of "The Gods Must Be Crazy II" at Johannesburg's Kine Centre. When Mr Botha was "deposed" last week, he and Mr Pik Botha had some hard things to say about each other. The premiere was a glittering affair, attended by about 1 000 people, including mayors from towns around Johannesburg. The former Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, and Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis were also present. The ActingState President, Mr F W de Klerk, was unable to attend as he had a meeting in Bloemfontein. "The Gods Must Be Crazy II" is a sequel to Jamie Uys's blockbuster of the same name.

'Colour of future State President won't matter'

By Dawn Barkhuizen

The National Party planned to decentralise the powers of the State President so that in the future it would not matter what colour he was, the Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Mr Stoffel van der Merwe, said in Rustenburg last night.

Addressing about 100 people in the town hall he said: "We cannot afford to have a State President in a situation where it is as important as it is today to know what colour he is."

He was responding to a question from the floor about the skin colour of a future State President.

He said the majority of black people did not want war or revolution. They wanted a democracy that everyone could share in. "If it goes badly with the white, it will go badly with the black; and if it goes badly with the black it will go badly with the white.

"We are bonded together."

Speaking on the effects of a hung parliament he said such an outcome would be disastrous. The NP had no intention of forming a coalition government with anyone.

"This would be the worst possible outcome for South Africa. This is the time for this country to take direction with conviction. It cannot do that if there is no majority in Parliament."

He said a hung parliament was one that hung in the air and was unable to go anywhere.

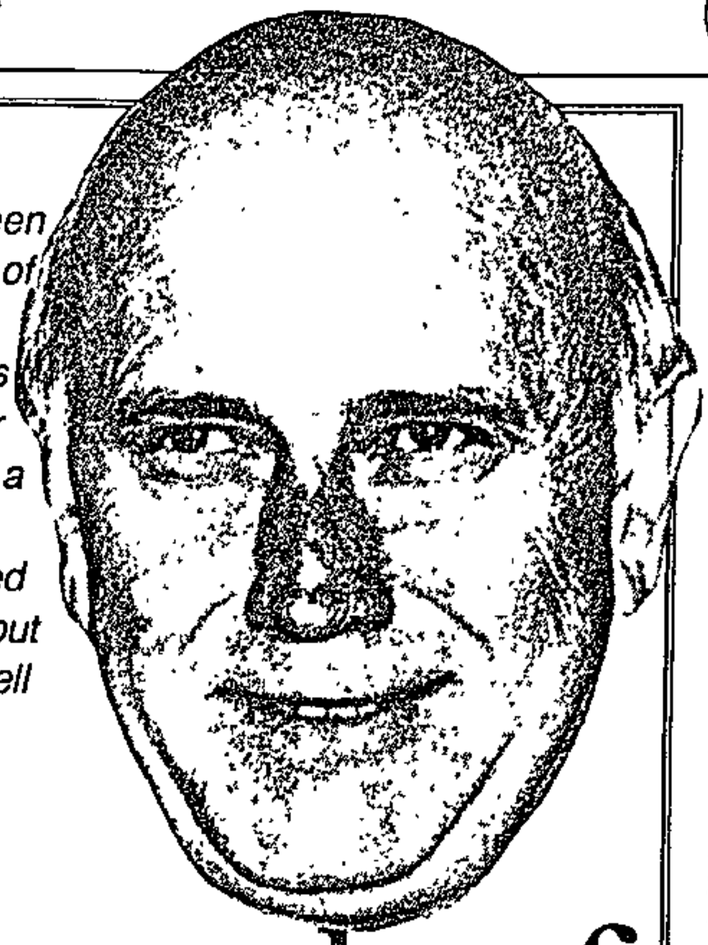
He said the CP was keen on a hung parliament in the hope that it would be able to draw MPs from the NP camp.

"A hung parliament will let South Africa hang by its neck."

(Report by D Barkhuizen, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

The new state president has been hailed as a 'man of vision'. But a careful look at his track record over 17 years reveals a man who has sometimes moved with the times ... but usually moved well behind them

By SHAUN JOHNSON



In search of the real FW

TO delve deep into the 17-year political history of white South Africa's new leader is to discover a man who has supported reform of some of apartheid's lesser laws — but who has never attacked its core.

FW de Klerk, acting state president for four days now, has been hailed as South Africa's "new man of vision" in local and international circles.

The implication is that he, unlike PW Botha, is not ideologically hidebound, and will be able to take the visionary steps required to break the impasse between South Africa's white minority government and the black majority.

His track record in politics offers little support for such an optimistic view. De Klerk is a man who has more usually been behind the times, often just with the times, and only infrequently ahead of them.

Since he became leader of the National Party in February, he has been described variously as a sphinx or an enigma. We don't know whether he'll turn out as reformer *extraordinaire*, cautious crisis manager or ... what? But is De Klerk so mysterious?

He has been utterly consistent on the cornerstones of National Party policy — those which the resistance movements will never accept.

Group rights, no truck with the ANC, and an implacable rejection of one-man-one-vote: this is the De Klerk bottom line. Less centrally, he was a believer in the total onslaught, thought people of different races shouldn't play in the same sports teams, tried to stop videos from being hired out on Sunday, and dreamed that the "dagga problem" could be removed by biologically introducing bugs into marijuana plantations.

De Klerk has been able to do political somersaults — on union rights for blacks and the Mixed Marriages Act, for example. He will be able to offer more in this vein, and even to make adjustments to the bedrock principles. But his preconditions, like the ANC's, are non-negotiable.

The picture that emerges of Frederick Willem de Klerk is of an engaging, clever, pious, profoundly conservative Calvinist. He is also an ambitious, shrewd and pragmatic politician. If he is to make any leaps of faith, these will not stem from *verligte* zeal, but the hard-headedness of a man with a background of classical Nationalist *kragdadigheid*.

Here then, in his own words spanning his political career, is FW de Klerk.

● "Anxiety among the youth about the future, which causes unrest, is due chiefly to a lack of Christian faith." *(As chairman of the federal council of Junior Rapportryers, December 1968)*

● "In the field of labour, black trade unions could have an effect similar to that of one-man-one-vote in the political field." *(As MP for Veereniging, rejecting the concept of the why the Mixed Marriages Act was necessary, July 1975)*

● "There is no evidence that anybody wants to change the basic pattern of separate amenities for the different races." *(As MP, speaking in parliament, 1975)*

● "(The United Party and the Progressive Reform Party) want whites merely to retain the right to survive and exist. While the NP is prepared to fight for the right of self-determination, the opposition is prepared to negotiate this around a conference table." *(As minister of social welfare and pensions, speaking in parliament, April 1977)*

● "Apartheid is a word which is no longer valid and it is irresponsible to use it." *(As minister of posts and telegraphs, social welfare and pensions during parliamentary debate, May 1978)*

● "The major problems ahead of South Africa are caused by external factors beyond our direct control. These include growing communist infiltration of Africa, subversive activities against South Africa, a lack of strategy from the West ... and an American guilt complex projected against South Africa." *(As minister in Republic Day speech, May 1978)*

● "All of us cannot fight, but all of us can become involved in the realisation of the highest possible level of political preparedness. Let each of us consider how he or she can contribute to the strengthening of our military arm." *(As minister, July 1978)*

● "I challenge the leader of the opposition (Colin Eglin) to repudiate the statements made by Dr (Nthato) Motlana (at a PFP symposium). Dr Motlana said — on Republic Day — that all racial groups should continue to exert pressure on the government and advocated the franchise for people of all races. (Cries of 'disgrace'.)" *(As minister, in parliament, June 1978*

● "Insulting language and threats as used by people like Chief Buthelezi could cause the spark of confrontation to be ignited in South Africa." *(As minister of social welfare, addressing Afrikaans students, July 1978)*

● "Granting (blacks) too much, too fast is as dangerous as granting too little, too late. Africa shook with examples of the disasters which followed the handing over of power too quickly." *(As minister of social welfare and pensions, addressing the Afrikaans Calvinist Movement, October 1978)*

● "The government's attitude is that different population groups should form their own (sports) clubs, which could then compete against each other." *(As sports minister, February 1979)*

● "South Africa's ideal of removing discrimination in all areas has already been realised in sport." *(As sports minister, April 1979)*

● "If we have to sacrifice sports ties in order to maintain a political system that will ensure the self-determination of minorities in SA, then we will make this sacrifice." *(As sports minister, May 1979)*

● "To suggest that (Prime Minister PW Botha forced State President BJ Vorster to retire) is a blatant and malicious untruth." *(As minister of mines and of environmental planning and energy, June 1979)*

● "Separation that is necessary to maintain self-determination and to protect the rights of minorities will always remain. But separation that is irritating and unnecessary discrimination will go." *(As environment minister, August 1979)*

● "The NP is facing a new phase. We will have to accept the economic interdependence of the different race groups ..." *(As minister, November 1979)*

● "There is certain necessary discrimation (in schools and residential areas), but there are other unnecessary discriminatory measures which could be removed without damaging the principle of group membership." *(As minister of mines, February 1980)*

● "Constitutional talks with black people differ from such talks with other groups." *(As minister, explaining why Africans were not to be included on the President's Council, June 1980)*

● "The NP is not planning to give a slice of the white man's cake to the black. Rather we will bake a bigger cake with larger slices for all." *(As minister of energy and mineral affairs, March 1981)*

● "I recognise the autonomy of the (black) trade unions." *(As minister, April 1981)*

● "Although there are no direct links between the South African situation of today and the battle of Blood River in 1883, the country must adopt the discipline, faith and decisiveness of the Voortrekkers in Natal. We have three choices. We can abdicate, sit and wait, or we can do something. Our moment of truth has come. We must act, plan diligently and work together to take democratic decisions." *(As NP Transvaal leader, December 1982)*

● "The question is not whether there should be reform, but how it should be effected." *(As minister of home affairs, speaking in the aftermath of reports that he was leading an "anti-reform" clique in the cabinet, August 1983)*

● "A black fourth chamber (of parliament) is not an option." *(As minister, January 1985)*

● "The NP stands by its policy of separate residential areas, schools and institutions for different race groups." *(As minister of national education, February 1986)*

● "The own affairs system is in its infancy, but it will work." *(As mini-*

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THE NATS STILL TALK CONFIDENTLY, BUT IT SOUNDS MORE AND MORE HOLLOW

The Nat marketing machine boobs again

By GAVIN EVANS

THE National Party's publicity men have blown it again.

The anti-Democratic Party advertisement, which appeared in the *Sunday Star*, quoted a "mass democratic movement working document" — but the document has no connection with the MDM at all.

Last week the NP ran into trouble when it used a *Vrye Weekblad* photograph without the Afrikaans weekly's permission. After a court order the NP was forced to print the advertisement with a blank space.

The full-page advertisement published on Sunday was entitled "The Democratic Party cannot afford to be in conflict with the Mass Democratic Movement. This gives the MDM leverage (underlined) and power over the direction the DP takes".

The quote is attributed to an MDM "working document" entitled "An approach to the Democratic Party".

But, according to Wilhelm Liebenberg of the Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee, the document was not distributed within the Mass Democratic Movement, and reflects a position which differs from the MDM's.

"It was written by an individual loosely connected with Jodac, who was writing in his personal capacity.

It was hardly distributed in Jodac, and was not distributed in other United Democratic Front affiliates, mainly because the MDM had already taken its election position by the time it was completed."

The document advocates that the MDM initiate alliances with the DP in order to "draw the party behind the MDM".

"This is ironic," says Liebenberg, "because, by putting up candidates for the House of Delegates, the DP has brought itself into direct conflict with the MDM

"In the Indian areas the MDM will be boycotting their candidates as vigorously as those of any other party."

The NP advertisment also quotes the *Financial Mail* as saying that the Congress of South African Trade Unions "(always part of the UDF) seems to have a bigger influence on the MDM".

Cosatu was never a UDF affiliate.

The advertisment was compiled by Con Botha, the chief director of the NP's Federal Information Service.

Report by Gavin Evans, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

Once-safe Jo'burg West turns into a knife-edge

Jo'burg West is an unusual constituency, with a cross-section of Wits and RAU students, doctors, nurses and railway workers. It was a safe Nat seat just an election ago, but now they could well lose it, reports GAVIN EVANS

TWO years ago Johannesburg West was one of the safest National Party seats in the country.

Today, the NP concedes that Constitutional Affairs Deputy Minister Roelf Meyer is likely to win with a reduced majority, while both the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party believe it's a neck-and-neck race between Meyer and the DP's Willem Hefer

The predominantly Afrikaans speaking constituency provides a socio-economic cross section of the white South African population. Rand Afrikaans University, Goudstad and Wits University students and academics, JG Strydom doctors and nurses, blue collar families from Mayfair, Vrededorp and Fordsburg, yuppies from Melville and Emmarentia, and SABC staff from Auckland Park.

In May 1987 Meyer won with a 3 600 majority, taking 57,5 percent of the vote, with 23 percent for the Progressive Federal Party and 18,5 percent for the Herstigte Nationale Party.

Since then, however, the DP has taken over from the PFP, the HNP has made way for the CP and the NP has run into all sorts of trouble.

Neil Ross, the DP's national director of political organisation, has marked Johannesburg West as a "possible gain" for his party.

Hefer says he is "closing in" on Meyer and expects a knife-edge result with the CP taking 25 percent of the vote, and the DP and NP sharing the balance.

This view is shared by the CP's Andrew MacQueen, who believes the NP is in danger of losing to the DP.

NP campaign manager Alwyn Marx is confident of a clear victory.

"We'll win by two to three thousand with the CP second and the DP in third place."

The DP appears to be conducting a vigorous campaign and has chosen a strong candidate.

A Free State-raised Afrikaner, Hefer, 62, is a Rhodes Scholar who played rugby for the Barbarians and



DP's Willem Hefer

qualified as a lawyer. He served as a South African diplomat in London and Brazil, resigning in 1956.

He went on to head Anglo American's food and agricultural division, retiring two years ago, and has worked against the NP in every election since 1956

"I'm going to give the Nats as hard a time as I possibly can and I think I can win. My aim is to see the tricameral parliament destroyed"

Hefer, who supports close consultation with the Mass Democratic Movement, believes the NP is "fatally on the skids" and is not concerned about "scare tactics" linking the DP with the MDM.

"Particularly among young Afrikaners there's definitely a swing towards the DP. We're finding, for example, that we're getting strong support from the JG Strydom staff, the RAU academics and the SABC personnel"

The DP's success in the municipal by-election in neighbouring Linden, and the PFP's surprise victory in the October 1988 election, are seen as a sign of what's to come.

Hefer believes the result could hinge on how many of the 900 Wits University students in the constituency decide to vote.

"I am hopeful that many more will turn out than in 1987," he says.

Marx believes the DP has got it "totally wrong".

"They have support in Melville and Emmerentia, but none in Mayfair and Brixton, and very little in Auckland Park. Having won by 3 600 last time we're in no danger at all"

He says PW Botha's resignation is having a "positive effect" on voters, and that the Melville and Linden municipal results had little bearing on Johannesburg West.

Meyer, 42, a former lawyer, won the seat in a by-election in 1979 and successfully defended it in 1981 and 1987 He became deputy law and order minister three years ago, and deputy minister of constitutional affairs last year.

MacQueen says his party has "definitely made big gains at the NP's expense", but concedes it would be "naive" to forecast a CP victory

"We're doing exceptionally well but I believe it's going to be very close between the DP and the NP Johannesburg West is definitely a marginal seat"

Since the last delimitation more than 5 000 voters have left the constituency, making a poll of less than 50 percent a possibility.

The seat currently has an official total of 17 524 registered voters — over 22 000 less than the country's most populated constituency (Pretoria East) but nearly 13 000 more than the least populated (Walvis Bay).

Report by Gavin Evans, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

Unearthing the real FW: In 17 years, no reformer

From PAGE 2

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NP leader FW de Klerk

ster, April 1986)

● "We believe in healthy power-sharing" *(As minister, speaking in Zurich, October 1986)*

● "Our opponents want us to abdicate, to lose our legitimacy as a government. They, and even maybe some of our friends, want to reduce the government to just another party sitting around the conference table together with the ANC under the chairmanship of someone else That I can never accept." *(As minister in an interview, 1986)*

● "Foreign pressure won't deter us." *(As minister, April 1987)*

● "Differentiation is not the same as apartheid" *(As minister, April 1987)*

● "We will not become strangers in our own country and we will not expose the freedom the whites acquired here to unacceptable risks .. The NP is committed to developing self-determination on a group and ethnic basis We are not prepared to narrow down that self-determination." *(As chairman of the minister's council, August 1987)*

● "Voluntary association must also include the right to dissociation." *(As minister, May 1988)*

● "I am not a secretive person. I'm a fairly straightforward chap, and I try to be .. I've been described as ultra-*verkramp*, which I'm not, as *verlig*, at certain stages, and as changing from *verkramp* to *verlig* I've remained through tht whole process the same man." *(As minister, 1988)*

● "I want to state unequivocally that the NP is against domination of any group by others. White domination, insofar as it still exists, must go ... In the same breath the NP rejects domination in any other form. Domination by a majority is as unacceptable as domination by a minority. I want to give the white electorate the following assurance today. In its efforts at establishing a new dispensation offering full-fledged rights to everyone, the NP will jealously guard their security and interests ..." *(As minister of national education, February 1989)*

● "All the lip-service being paid to a so-called non-racial society is pure nonsense There is no such thing as a non-racial society in a multi-racial country However closely we may co-operate, however near to each other we may move, SA will retain its diversity, and that diversity will remain a powerful and often beneficial force which must be reckoned with." *(As minister, February 1989)*

● "The government stands firm on its principle that talks with the ANC are absolutely unacceptable as long as the ANC persists in its present activities and attitude." *(As minister replying to questions about Dr Danie Craven's visit to Lusaka, February 1989)*

● "Our strong emphasis on group rights is based on the reality of SA and not on an ideological obsession with racial prejudice." *(As minister, April 1989)*

● "We are not changing a little bit here and there We say a totally new consutution must be created . there is no doubt that we stand on the threshold of a new era in the region" *(As acting state president, August)*

● "I trust the people of SA will, in these times, show the courage and vision required to break the cycle of conflict .." *(As acting state president, warning the MDM about its resistance campaigns, August 1989)*

● "If you believe SA must become more prosperous, you must ask what political solution will assure that." *(As acting state president, August)*

● "Apartheid is the policy of the CP. Don't try to hang it around the NPs neck" *(As acting state president, August 1989)*

Report by Shaun Johnson, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

jodac
invites you to the
UDF's
6th birthday
"mill-in" with us at the Rosebank Shopping Centres
Meet at Admiral's Court (fountains) at 10.00am on Saturday 19 August
(T-Shirts available)

THE TRUST FOR EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA (TEASA)
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TEASA needs an Executive Director to manage all aspects of its work in its office situated in Braamfontein
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The job involves:
- supervising the financial management of the Trust
- keeping the Board informed of all financial transactions of the Trust
- studying current educational initiatives in the country for the purpose of advising the Board in its programme of educational assistance to organisations. Salary: negotiable

Closing date for applications: Friday 25 August 1989. Send applications with CV to. The Chairman TEASA, P O. Box 32508, Braamfontein, 2017

Black driver puts up CP posters

By PHIL MOLEFE

THE passenger of a Transvaal Provincial Administration vehicle was seen this week putting up Conservative Party posters in Magaliesburg, Western Transvaal.

The source, who did not want to be named for fear of reprisals, told the *Weekly Mail* he saw people in a yellow TPA truck putting up CP election posters outside the Magaliesburg Town Hall at about 1pm on Tuesday.

"The truck, similar to those used for street and general repairs, was driven by a black driver apparently sent out by his superior to do this job," said the source.

A TPA official in Krugersdorp, a Mr Voster, said his department was not responsible for putting up posters and promised to contact the driver to and find out what happened

The Ventersdorp constituency, which includes Magaliesburg, is being contested by Fanie van Vuuren (CP), Isak van Zyl (National Party), and JA Fourie (Herstigte Nasionale Party).

An official in the CP office, LA Bothma, said he was not aware of the incident but would investigate

Report by Phil Molefe, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

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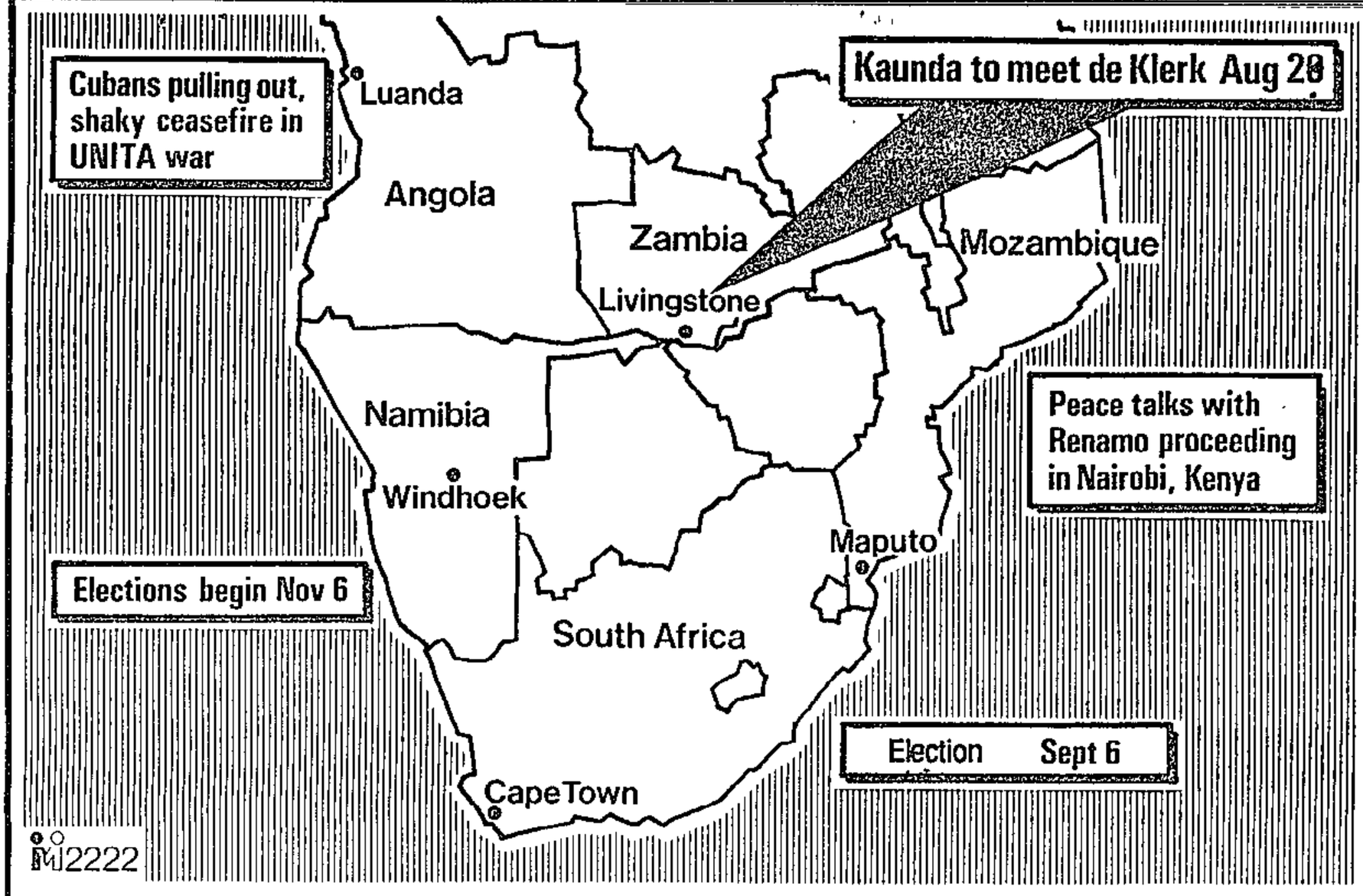

'Learn to cope with change'

By QURAISH PATEL

THE gathering of leaders of the Frontline States in Harare this week underscores an urgency to work out a new strategy on South Africa.

Unlike previous meetings when anti-apartheid rhetoric and resolutions occupied the "South African issue" on the agenda, the Organisation of African Unity's Ad Hoc Committee on Southern Africa is poised to break fresh ground.

The central question of a South African settlement appears to involve a bid to push for a peace plan — one linked to reviving the beleaguered economies of the Frontline States.

So far the Frontline States' rejection and isolation of South Africa has been costly in economic terms.

The Harare summit, examining proposals by the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAN), has announced a united position calling for negotiations in South Africa.

New atmosphere

Decisions taken by the Harare summit will be forwarded to a Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) summit in Belgrade next month

Said Egypt's Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Dr Boutros Ghali, who chaired the meeting: "We believe there's a new political atmosphere and we must cope with this change."

Fourteen countries attended the OAU summit, together with the ANC, PAC and Swapo.

Other considerations are underlying the commitment of the Frontline States to ensure non-violent change on their southern borders.

Mozambique's support for the ANC was effectively scuppered through destabilisation efforts by South Africa. Through its support for Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi, SA ensured that Angola's economic and political problems would divert that country's attention from apartheid.

Regular and dramatic cross-border hot pursuits and military strikes by South Africa into neighbouring countries are intended as warnings of more effective attacks. Faced with internal economic disruption and political upheaval in some cases, the Frontline States' desire for economic co-operation is a desperate one.

In addition, large-scale aid programmes to rebuild their economies have been promised to the Frontline States if the South African issue is resolved.

Destabilisation caused mainly by South Africa is a major obstacle to that aid. For that reason the Frontline States are under pressure to assist in moves that will lead to a settlement.

That brings the question of negotiations, rather than armed struggle, to the fore, and the ANC's insistence that as the major liberation force it would not tolerate any suggestion of subsuming its position to that of independent arbitrators.

The Namibian situation, according to the ANC, is unlikely to occur in South Africa. The PAC apparently also demands that it participates directly in any plan to formulate the country's dispensation.

In keeping with this sentiment, the OAU meeting called on Monday for direct discussions between Pretoria and the "liberation movement" leading to a constitutional conference.

Given these stances, the Frontline States are not expected to play prominent leadership roles in the search for non-violent solutions.

But Frontline States are nevertheless pivotal to proposed courses of action.

Practical support

They, more than the Western powers, provide the liberation organisations with the practical support that make exiled activity possible. And they have to bear the costs of that support.

Recognising this, the ANC said in a July document: "It is important that our position should become an all-African position. This is crucial to our ability to influence the rest of the world."

A briefing session involving the Frontline States and ANC representatives last week confirmed African leaders' continuing interest in negotiations possibilities.

An ANC spokesperson said they were "interested to know if and when negotiations take place what our proposals would be".

The spokesperson said the leaders were given a broad outline of peace proposals by the organisation's secretary-general, Alfred Nzo.

Referring to Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's meeting with Acting State President FW de Klerk, the ANC spokesperson said it was quite possible that he would raise the peace proposals.

However, he had not been specifically requested to do that.

The acceptance by the OAU of the ANC's July document relating to a need for developing a negotiations position, means that an all-African position appears to have been achieved.

Now begins the arduous task of persuading the major Western powers, particularly Britain's Margaret Thatcher, that the way to end sanctions and disinvestment initiatives against South Africa is through dialogue with leaders recognised by the voteless.

When Thatcher visited the African leaders earlier this year, she was canvassing support for a possibility of a political settlement, perhaps even without ANC involvement.

The all-African position is a response to Thatcher. It is total support for the ANC talking directly to the Nats

That commitment dovetails with Soviet Union reviews which tentatively proposed a political settlement rather than a military one, another way of attempting to avert regional flashpoints.

The ANC's announced initiative has also taken account of the Chinese view that the liberation movement should be prepared for "incremental" modifications as a starting point.

That starting point, according to the ANC and African leaders, is a public announcement by the South African government that it desires peaceful change and that it commits itself to representative leaders.

The real problem is whether a white-ruled government, in spite of international pressure, would wield power precisely to give up that power.

To create the atmosphere for negotiations, the ANC is demanding the release of all political prisoners and detainees, the unbanning of all restricted organisations and leaders, the removal of troops from the townships, an end to the state of emergency, the repeal of all repressive laws, and an end to all political trials and executions.

(Report by Q Patel, 74 Borrole Drive, Newlands, Durban, 4051)



Oliver Tambo

IN a dramatic move, the ANC ... veiled a peace plan for South Af...

The document, drawn up in ... Democratic Movement internal... the OAU ad hoc committee on ...

A full text of a statement of pri... declaration issued by the OAU ... lows:

WE believe that a conjuncture of ... if there is a demonstrable readines... ria government to engage in neg... seriously, could create the poss... through negotiations.

Such an eventuality would be an ... preference of the majority of the ... at a political settlement.

We would therefore encourage the ... their overall struggle, to get together ... apartheid system and agree on all the ... transform their country into a non-racial ...

We support the position held by the m... that these objectives, and not the amend... tem, should be the aims of the negotiations.

We are at one with them that the ... new constitutional order based on the f...

- South Africa shall become a united, ...
- All its people shall enjoy common and ... regardless of race, colour, sex or creed.
- All its people shall have the right to par... administration of the country on the basis ... through one person one vote, under a ...
- All shall have the right to form ... and join any political party of their choice, provided that this is not a furtherance of racism.
- All shall enjoy universally recognised human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, protected under an entrenched Bill of Rights.
- South Africa shall have a new legal system which shall guarantee equality of all before the law
- South Africa shall have an independent and non-racial judiciary
- There shall be created an economic order which shall promote and advance the well-being of all South Africans.
- A democratic South Africa shall respect the rights, sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries and pursue a policy of peace, friendship and mutually beneficial co-operation with all peoples.

We believe that agreement on the above principles shall constitute the foundation for an internationally acceptable solution which shall enable South Africa to take its rightful place as an equal partner among the African and world community of nations.

Together with the rest of the world, we believe that it is essential, before any negotiations can take place, that the necessary climate for negotiations be created.

DEKL...

By HARALD PAKENDORF

THE good thing about negotiations is that nobody is against them. The bad thing is that everybody thinks they are just another way of getting what they wanted in the first place.

That goes for the National Party, the African National Congress and all the other participants in negotiations

Yet what comes out of negotiations will most probably be less than they had hoped for. Negotiations, after all, are in essence the beginning of compromise.

This week, acting State President FW de Klerk referred to several aspects of negotiations. Coupled with other speeches he has made in the last months, an outline of NP thinking becomes clearer.

- Negotiations will not be an event, but a process. And a lengthy

the ANC in Harare this week un-
r South Africa.

up in conjunction with the Mass
internally, has been adopted by
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the outcome of such a process should be a
the following principles, among others:

a united, democratic and non-racial state.

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on the basis of a universal suffrage, exercised
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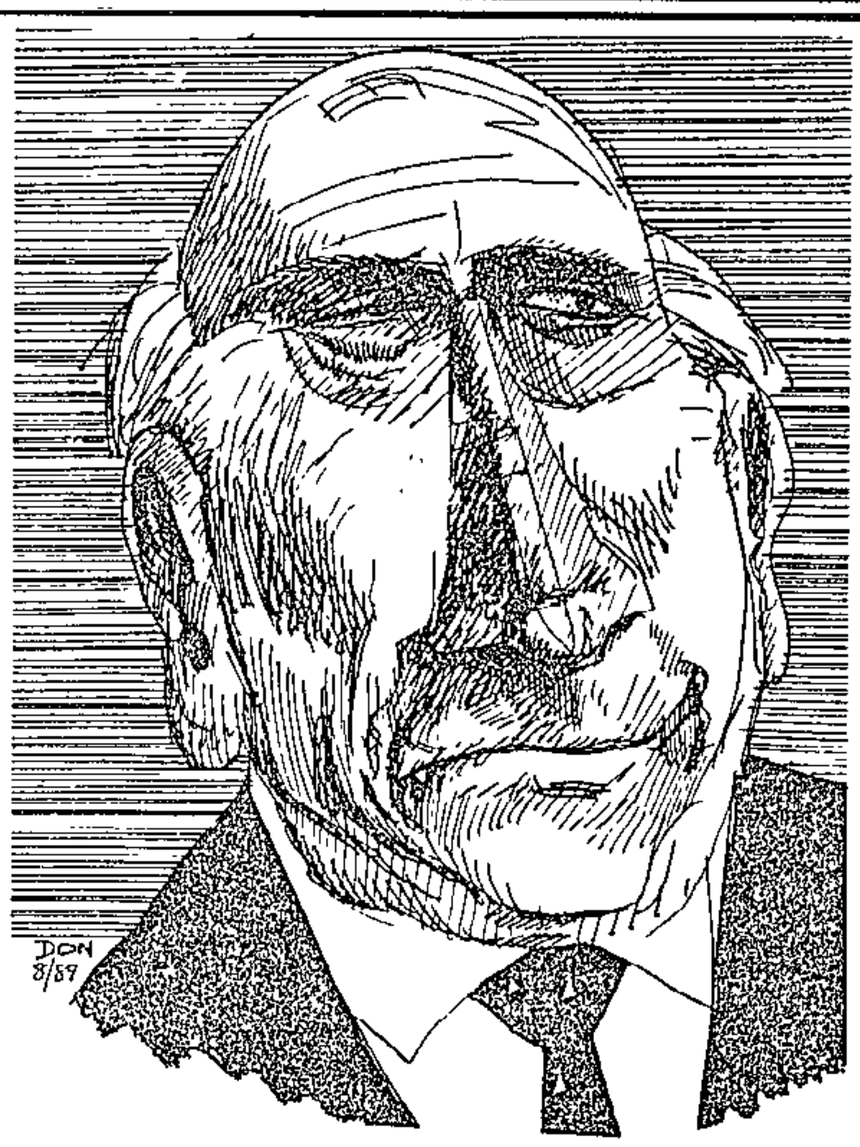
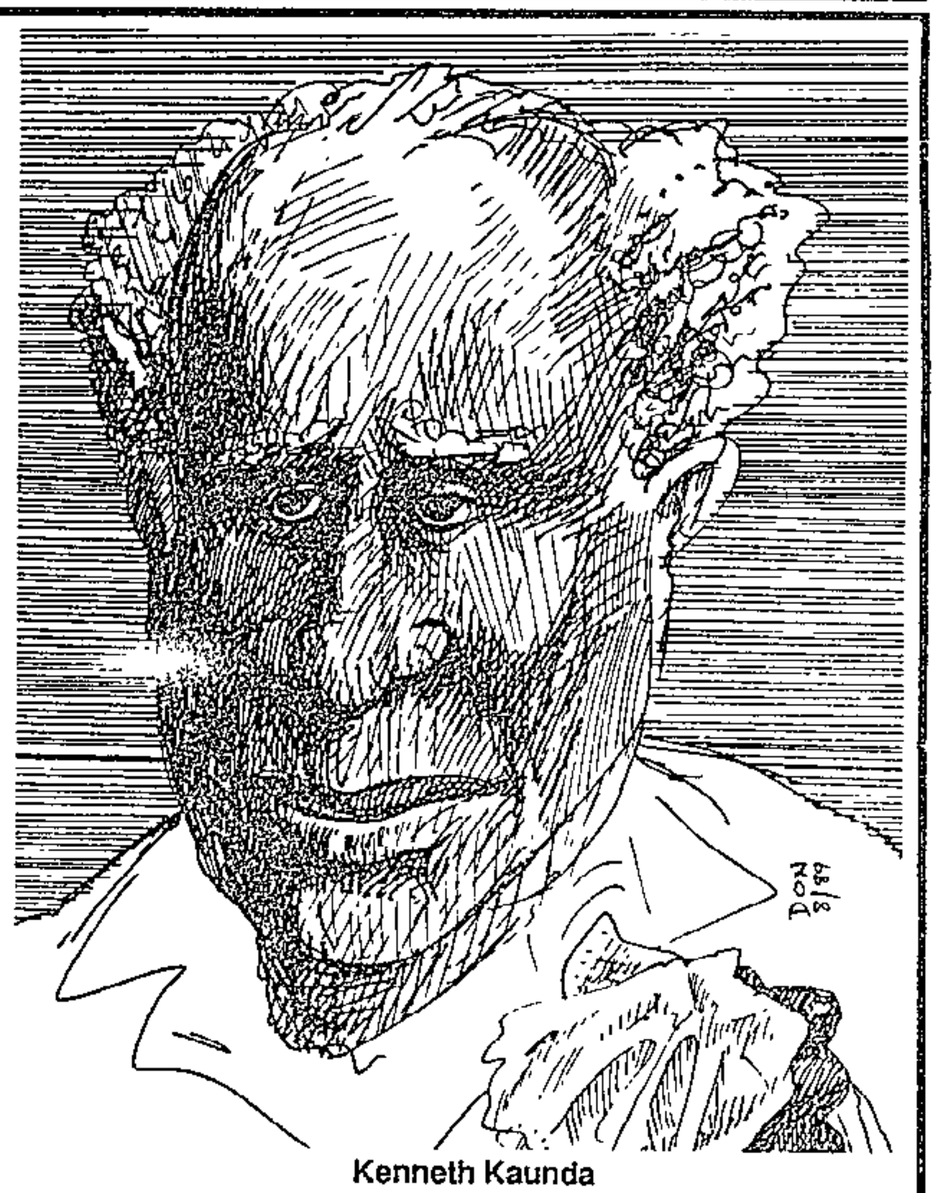


FW de Klerk



Kenneth Kaunda

Pushing for peace

The apartheid government has the urgent responsibility to respond positively to this universally acclaimed demand and thus create this climate.

Accordingly, the present government should, at the very least:

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

These measures are necessary to produce the conditions in which free political discussion can take place, an essential condition to ensure that the people themselves participate in the process of remaking their country.

The measures listed above should therefore precede negotiations.

We support the view of the South African liberation movement that upon the creation of this climate, the process of negotiations should commence along the following lines:

- Discussions should take place between the liberation movement and the South African government to achieve the suspension of hostilities on both sides by agreeing to a mutually binding ceasefire.
- Negotiations should then proceed to establish the basis for the adoption of a new Constitution by agreeing on, among others, the principles enunciated above.
- Having agreed on these principles, the parties should then negotiate the necessary mechanism for drawing up the new Constitution.
- The parties shall define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to a democratic order.
- The parties shall agree on the formation of an interim government to supervise the process of the drawing up and adoption of a new constitution; govern and administer the country, as well as effect the transition to a democratic order including the holding of elections.
- After the adoption of the new Constitution, all armed hostilities will be deemed to have formally terminated.
- For its part, the international community would lift the sanctions that have been imposed against apartheid South Africa.

The new South Africa shall qualify for membership of the Organisation of African Unity.

In persuance of the objectives stated in this document, the Organisation of African Unity hereby commits itself to:

- Inform governments and intergovernmental organisations throughout the world, including the Non-Aligned Movement, the United Nations General Assembly, the Security Council, the Commonwealth and others of these perspectives, and solicit their support.
- Mandate the Frontline States, acting as the representatives of the OAU, to remain seized of the issue of a political resolution of the South African question;
- Step up all-round support for the South African liberation movement and campaign in the rest of the world in pursuance of this objective;
- Intensify the campaign for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa, in regard this, immediately mobilise against the rescheduling of Pretoria's foreign debts, work for the imposition of a mandatory oil embargo and the full observance by all countries of the arms embargo;
- Ensure that the African continent does not relax existing measures for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa;
- Continue to monitor the situation in Namibia and extend all necessary support to Swapo in its struggle for a genuinely independent Namibia;
- Extend such assistance as the governments of Angola and Mozambique may request in order to assure peace for their peoples and
- Render all possible assistance to the Frontline States to enable them to withstand Pretoria's campaign of aggression and destabilisation and enable them to continue to give all-round support to the people of Namibia and South Africa.

We appeal to all people of goodwill throughout the world to support this Programme of Action as a necessary measure to secure the earliest liquidation of the apartheid system and the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country.

DE KLERK OUTLINES NAT POSITION

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one at that. There will not be a conference to which a group of political actors are invited at the end of which a new dispensation will emerge.

- From this it is clear that the NP does not see itself as just one of many actors but as THE actor. It believes it will continue to hold power during the protracted negotiations, and that it will continue to be part of a future government.
- It is adamant that it has no hidden agenda, no "skelm" plan to use negotiations to cling to power.
- It has a condition, negotiations must not end in transferring domination from the NP to another group, any other group. In fact, there must be no more domination
- There is room at the negotiation table for the ANC, as long as it foreswears violence and commits itself to a peaceful process. It excludes itself by not doing so.
- There will be a pre-negotiation phase before real negotiations begin. It is also possible that those participating in the process may have to go back to their supporters to get their agreement.
- Everything should be discussed. Pre-conditions are no reason not to talk. In fact, the pre-conditions should be put on the table and talked about. If certain legislation is a stumbling block, it must be discussed. This includes government actions of every kind. In other words, pre-conditions must be discussed so that negotiations can begin.

This is not new thinking within the NP. It is a summary of negotiating positions put over several months, some going back years.

What the NP has learnt, is that there are several pre-conditions laid down by just about everybody. These amount to a normalisation of the political process: Release Mandela and others, lift the state of emergency, unban organisations.

These come not only from the ANC but also from homeland leaders and from Western countries.

In fact, it is non-compliance with these conditions which has stopped even the government's modest negotiating forum, the statutory council, or Great Indaba or National Council, from getting off the ground.

The government has been saying for over a year now: Do not lay down these pre-conditions, put them on the table. Let us talk about them.

But to no avail. No black leader can move forward unless the ANC is included, and here the ANC has a veto on at least the beginning of talks.

Should it lose that veto, it may find that talks begin without it and might continue without it, weakening its position substantially.

Western expectations and those of the Frontline States are that the ANC must be included. Should the NP government take such a reasonable position that not talking to it will appear to be unreasonable, this may result in the moral highground switching from the ANC to the NP.

Remember, the world also expects the ANC to be willing to talk.

Of course, the NP still has to explain one facet of its negotiating stance, if there are to be no pre-conditions to talks, why insist that the ANC should renounce violence?

While the NP government may not agree to pre-conditions, one can expect it to begin to fulfil some of the present pre-conditions without officially tying them in with possible negotiations.

This could lead to the release of Mandela and others jailed with him, detainees may be charged or released (a process which is well under way), the state of emergency may be lifted, possibly in stages and restrictions on organisations may be eased.

Simultaneously, the government will continue to attempt to draw internal leaders into its own negotiating body while clearing the way for nation-wide elections on a regional basis for all blacks outside the homelands.

Overall then, the government will attempt to appear to be as reasonable as possible while continuing with its own talks programme, attempting to make it difficult for the ANC not to participate, but if it does, that it should do so within the government's parameters.

(Comment by H Pakendorf, of 17 Boschkop Ave, Boskruin, Randburg)

Sowetan 24/8/89

ANC plan will not upset SA says Pik

304A

THE South African Government will not be upset if President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia presents the ANC settlement plan for discussion during his talks next week with Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk.

This was made clear by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha following the adoption by a committee of the organisation of African Unity of the ANC plan as its blueprint for peace.

The South African Government would not be upset, Botha said, even though Kaunda had assured former President P W Botha he was only interested in getting to know De Klerk better - "and I take it he would not have lied to President Botha".

Handling

If the document did come up for discussion, it would be handled in the same way as any difficult problem which had come up in meetings with foreign powers such as the Russians, Angola and Cuba.

"We will handle this like grown-up people and like the country which is the strongest in the region." What was important was not what Kaunda conveyed to the Government but what the Government conveyed to him.

"Our point of view on the ANC is clear. It has been made public, and it doesn't matter what African leaders do when we meet them," he said.

ANC view

An ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday that the organisation hoped the OAU-endorsed document would be presented to organisations such as the non-aligned movement or the United Nations and so solidify into a statement or ultimatum, in the same way UN Resolution 435 became the accepted charter for independence and peace in Namibia and Angola.

The result would be to put the South African Government under even greater pressure to negotiate.

Aims

Among other things, the plan accepted by the OAU aims at intensifying the "liberation struggle" through greater financial sanctions.

The spokesman conceded his movement did not believe Pretoria was ready to negotiate, but he said it was important for the ANC to take the initiative at a time when the international community seemed to want a negotiated settlement in South Africa.

It is certain the ANC-OAU document will be tabled for discussion when Kaunda meets De Klerk in Livingstone.

SOWETAN Correspondent

Surprise

In a surprising development at the OAU ad hoc committee meeting, the Pan Africanist Congress rejected negotiations with South Africa.

The PAC's position is that the struggle must continue as before.

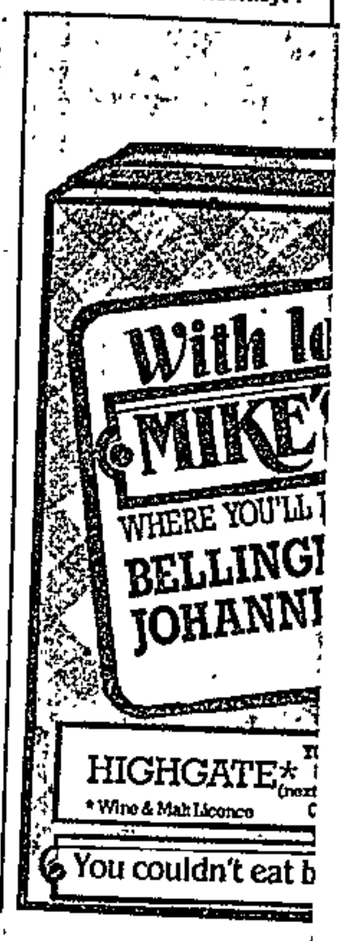
Ironically, its statement was made minutes after the OAU chairman, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, expressed the wish that the ANC and PAC come to terms and develop a single strategy for change in South Africa.

Heated

The ANC plan, widely leaked before the meeting, proposes that talks should take place between the "liberation movements" and the Government to suspend hostilities through a mutually binding ceasefire.

The parties should then establish a base on which to adopt and put into effect a new constitution.

They should also define and agree on the role to be played by the international community in ensuring a successful transition to democracy..



DE KLERK AND APARTHEID

(304A)

A shave and a shoeshine

US cartoonists gave Richard Nixon a "honeymoon" when he became president — they cleaned up the five o'clock shadow from his jowls. Alas, this cosmetic improvement didn't help; the enduring memory of Tricky Dick is that he was the kind of man who, after shaking hands with you, had you counting your fingers.

Nationalist apologists are now arguing that F W de Klerk must be given just such a honeymoon — specifically, *before* the election — by waverers in the Democratic fold who do not wish to see three-way voter splits deliver seats to the CP; and, as relevant, who are keen to support a genuinely reformist president. De Klerk is a man in the Gorbachev mould, they are told — just look at the haircut, feel the charisma.

Not that there is anything remotely Nixonian or murky in F W's past; it's just he must not be judged on the Nationalist record, despite being a Nat.

There is some validity in this. For the first time since 1948, SA will have a national (or, at least, Nationalist) leader not directly associated with the imposition of apartheid; De Klerk is too young to have been squeezed through the Verwoerdian mincer. He has never said that the effects of repression leave him cold. On the contrary — he will, he says, pluck and bury the dead albatross.

The trouble is, we have heard this sort of thing before. P W Botha and, before him, John Vorster were reformers in their day. Things got worse as they went along.

English-speakers, businessmen or whatever, should not believe again that a saviour has arisen. Where are the non-Afrikaners in the Cabinet? Look at the career of Denis Worrall and others in pursuit of reform from within.

De Klerk, perhaps more than any of his predecessors, *might* be the man to move — dismantling the superstructure of repression, negotiating power-sharing, getting us back into the world. The best way to assist him in that would be to ensure a good showing for an opposition which can remind him at all times of why it is unnecessary and immoral for the police to forcibly prevent people of colour from dipping their toes in the lily-white waves of the Strand.

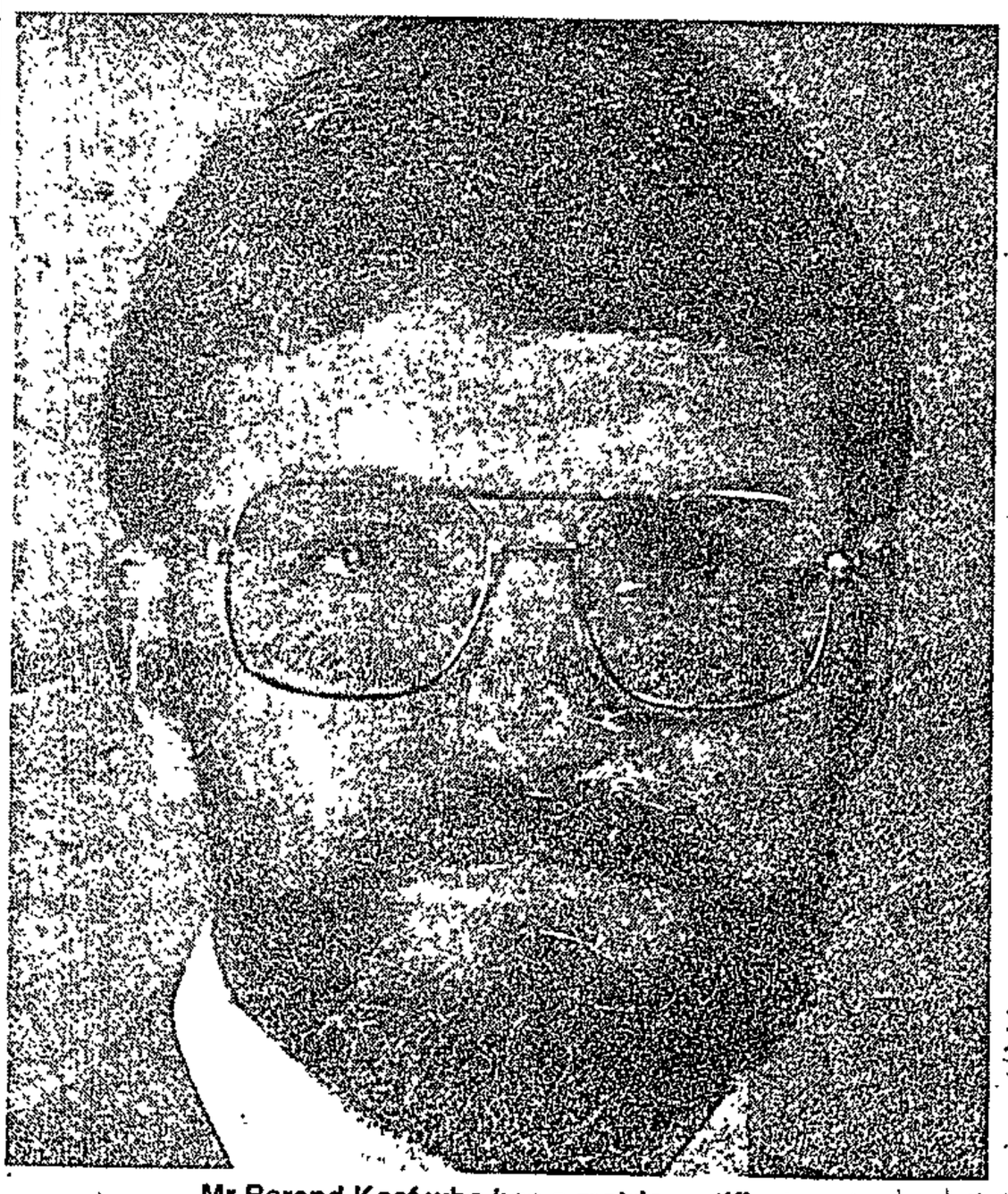
Where the MDM's defiance campaign is a genuine and peaceful response to the enduring inequities of apartheid, no-one, least of all F W and his men, should be calling out the militia. On the contrary, they should hasten to repeal the apartheid laws they claim to abhor. Even where the MDM's tactics are malicious — designed to polarise racial attitudes — they feed on structural injustice.

Voters must vote for the parties which are unequivocal on these matters. The Democrats' stance on human rights is correct; it is government that is fudging the issue, playing to the electorate and bemusing it in the process. If you wish to see apartheid repealed, vote for those who are clear on the issue rather than buying a pig in a poke. ■

CP MAN HAD NO LAW

Sowetan 25/8/89

304A



Mr Barend Keef who has a matric certificate.

By THEMBA MOLEFE

THE Conservative Party parliamentary candidate for Vereeniging who has served as public prosecutor, senior public prosecutor and acting magistrate in Vaal Triangle courts, has only a matriculation certificate.

Mr Barend Keet (29) has also relieved various magistrates in other districts.

Keet has since left the Department of Justice and is now full-time liaison officer of the CP in the Vaal Triangle.

He is campaigning for re-election as a member of Parliament after winning the Kempton Park

● To page 2

SA



SAVE 10c
NOW 45c
Roll of 500

P.T.O.

Sowetan 28/8/89

CP man has no law

3049

● From page 1

seat by 5 430 votes against a National Party rival in the 1987 white general election.

Sowetan is in possession of Keet's campaign document which lists his achievements and lauds him as "well seasoned in politics."

Keet joined the Department of Justice soon after matriculating. His curriculum vitae does not say whether he underwent any legal training except listing his achievements as a soldier.

Lawyers and legal organisations said that the fact that prosecutors and magistrates did not necessarily have to obtain legal qualifications was an indictment on the administration of justice in South Africa.

The Department of Justice said the minimum requirement for an appointment as magistrate is a Diploma Iuris or equivalent qualification. However, section 9 (3) of the Magistrates' Courts Act of 1944 provides that whenever an office of magistrate is vacant any competent officer in the public service may be appointed to act in the vacant office until the vacancy is filled.

Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) director of legal education and research, Mr Peter Mothle, said:

"This is common in South Africa where one finds defence lawyers with Bachelor of Law degrees facing unqualified prosecutors and magistrates.

"The South African judicial system seems to prefer unqualified whites in such position when there are suitably qualified blacks," Mothle said.

LHR's Johannesburg branch chairman Mr Peter Leon said: " This situation is totally undesirable.

"Blacks therefore become victims of bad interpretation, lack of legal defence and magistrates who are not legally qualified."

Leon said magistrates should have law degrees. This was echoed by media lawyer Mr Peter Reynolds who said prosecutors and magistrates should undergo adequate training before sitting on the Bench or leading a case.

(Report by Themba Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria).

304A

FW jets out to Mobutu

IN A surprise move, acting State President F W de Klerk jets to Goma in northern Ziare, near the Ugandan border, tomorrow for talks with Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko.

The visit, three days before Mr De Klerk's talks with Zambia's President Kennth, Kaunda in Livingstone on Monday, was made known on Zairian state radio late last night and subsequently confirmed by South Africa's department of foreign affairs.

A senior spokesman confirmed yesterday the venue for tomorrow's talks would be Goma, a tourist town in northern Zaire near the Ugandan border.

"They will be one-on-one talks between De Klerk and President Mobutu, although both men will, of course, be assisted by senior advisers," the spokesman said.

De Klerk is to be accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and senior officials, and a large party of journalists.

The visit will further enhance De Klerk's image as an emerging statesman in Southern Africa, and give the NP general election campaign a boost.

It is his second foray into black Africa to meet a leader of an African state since becoming leader of the National Party earlier this year, and his first since becoming acting state president last week.

In July he had talks in Maputo with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano.

Although officials are mum at this stage on the exact agenda for tomorrow's talks, it can be expected that President Mobutu's role in trying to help broker peace between Angola's MPLA government and the Unita rebel movement will feature prominently.

It will also be a useful getting - to - know - you exercise for both men.

President Mobutu is an established African elder statesman, while De Klerk is generally expected to become South Africa's state president after the September 6 general election.

Reports yesterday said President Mobutu also wants to discuss the future of apartheid in South Africa with De Klerk.

President Mobutu is considered well-disposed towards South Africa.

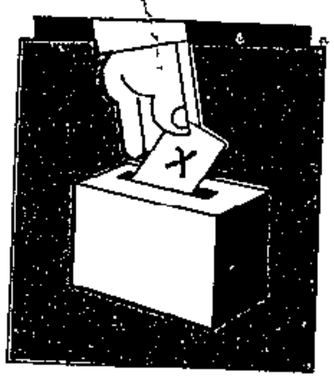
Last year he invited then President P W Botha at Gbadolite in northern Zaire, and subsequently Pik Botha and General Magnus Malan visited him in Kinshasa.

(News by Dirk van Zyl, 514 First National Bank Building, Church Square, Pretoria).

Cont

ELECTION — PWV (304A)

On two fronts



Randburg is the most interesting House of Assembly contest in the industrial and residential heartland of SA (roughly, the PWV area). It's generally accepted that DP co-leader Wynand Malan is the man the NP would most dearly like to unseat. A defeat for Malan would indicate that the Linden by-election, which suggested a 19% swing to the DP since 1987, was an isolated case; and that upper middle-class Afrikaners are not lost to the NP of F W de Klerk.

Though the 1987 figures seem to indicate that Randburg is safe for the DP, it is something of a freak seat. Malan's track record as an MP is very unusual: he won the seat as a Nat, defected and fought the NP in 1987 as an independent (with the support of the PFP), and is now a leading light in the DP. It is also impossible to gauge the appeal of newcomer Glenn Babb, who has been presented as one of the NP's star candidates. But Malan would seem to have the edge, if only because he is the incumbent (and a home-town MP).

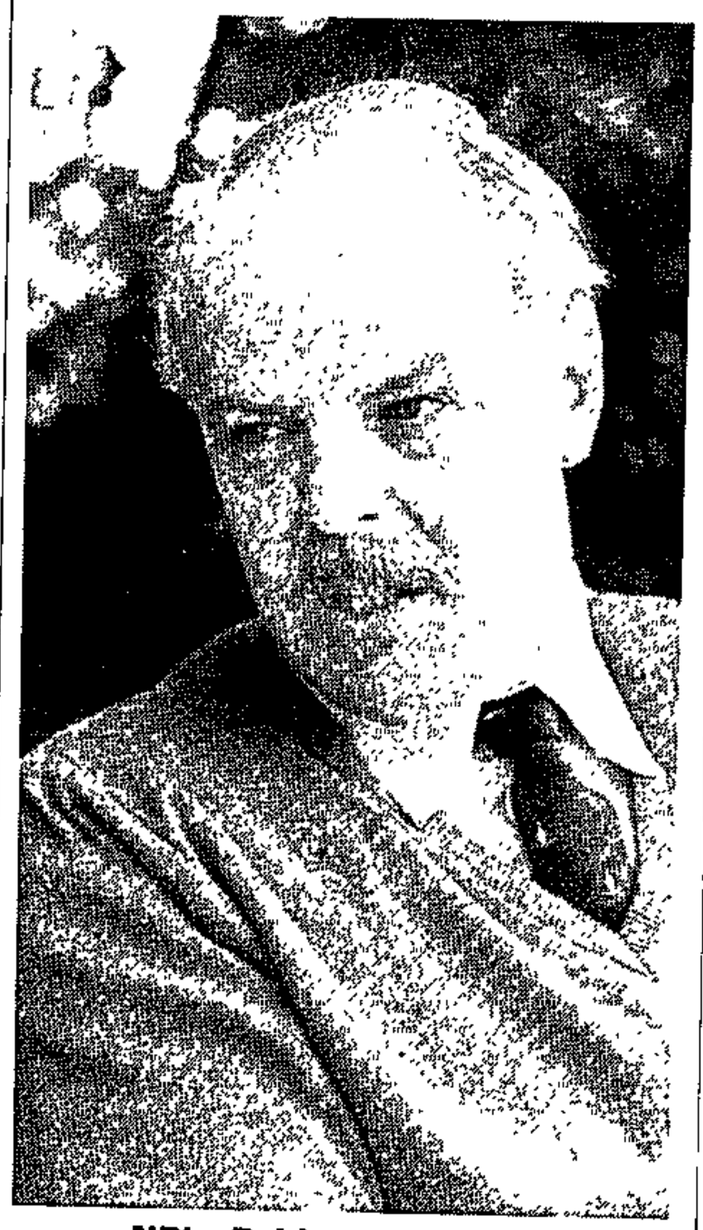
Still basking in the Linden glow, DP strategists are talking of winning Westdene and Johannesburg West from the Nats. This is not as wild as it sounds. Assuming that the CP's proportion of the vote stays the same as in 1987, a 17% swing to the DP would unseat both Pik Botha and Roelf Meyer. A loss for Botha would be comparable to Smuts losing in Standerton in 1948; but NP sources have expressed concern that too much effort has been devoted to retaining Westdene, at the expense of Johannesburg West, where the CP enjoys solid support and the DP have a strong candidate in Willem Hefer.

To win such seats (Waterkloof is another) would be the cherry for the DP: their bread-

3044A Fmail 25/8/89.



DP co-leader Malan ... to win again?



NP's Babb ... presented as a star candidate

and-butter in this election is to regain Edenvale, Hillbrow and Bezuidenhout. In all three seats, complacency contributed to defeat in 1987.

Edenvale is within reach. But Sam Bloomberg's big majority in neighbouring Bezuidenhout could be immune to the CP's entry; the issue may also be confused by the two independent candidates. And all parties battle in Hillbrow just to track down the voters, never mind win them over.

Apart from Edenvale, the DP's best chance seems to be in the marginal North Rand, where businessman Louis de Waal is running a highly professional campaign.

Beyond those seats, the DP will have to look to other provinces for gains. For the rest, the Transvaal fight is between the NP and the CP.

The following PWV seats will almost certainly fall to the CP, unless there is a general swing back to the Nats: Krugersdorp, Meyerton, Geduld, Sasolburg, Wonderboom, Hercules, Innesdal and Springs.

On the other hand, several CP seats are highly marginal, and vulnerable to even a small swing to the NP. The DP is not standing in Roodepoort, where the Nats were complacent in 1987 — it's probably their best chance. Brakpan and Nigel are also reasonable NP targets. In Delmas, Hendrik Schoeman's old seat, the NP's Hennie Senekal (a known conservative) may have a chance against former rugby administrator Daan Nolte.

In the whole of the Transvaal, incidentally, there are very few cast-iron CP seats. If there were a general 6% swing from the CP to the Nats, the CP would retain only Waterberg and Lichtenburg.

The great imponderable, of course, is how the CP and DP will help each other erode Nat support. For the first time in decades, the national choice has solidified into three clear options. The CP has surely taken over all but eccentric remnants of the rightwing vote; the DP has outgrown the limits reached by the PFP.

A sobering thought for the NP is that, of the 76 Transvaal seats, only a dozen or so can be regarded as absolutely safe from Left or Right.

Such a devastation of government ranks is highly unlikely, of course: but it explains why the NP will be relieved to get the election over with its overall majority intact. (See P64) ■

SPECIAL VOTES

Piling them up

Whether it is good for democracy, a number of constituencies are well on their way to notching up polls well in excess of 25% before election day on September 6. This applies mainly in rural Transvaal, as well as to seats for the Indian House of Delegates (HoD) where some expect polls of up to 70% before the main voting day.

At the last general election in 1987, special (and postal) votes for all three Houses amounted to 14,36% of the total cast.

By last Saturday — two weeks after special voting opened on August 3 — the highest figures were recorded in the northern Transvaal, which is CP territory. For the white House of Assembly (HoA) 5 942 (31,8%) had voted in Soutpansberg; 3 463 (15,5%) in Pietersburg; 4 297 (22,9%) in Potgietersrus; and 2 691 (14,4%) in Waterberg. The figure for the coloured House of Representatives (HoR) seat in the area was 873 special votes (20,7%).

In the Johannesburg area, figures last Saturday revealed a combined total of 25 214 (5,7%) special votes for all three houses. Of this, 15 221 (4,9%) were for the HoA; 6 905 (8,2%) HoR; and 3 088 (10,9%) for the HoD.

In Pretoria's 17 constituencies (including one each for the HoD and HoR), 37 873 special votes (10,47%) had been cast by last Friday: HoA — 31 638 (9,7%); HoR — 4 150 (18,7%); and HoD — 2 085 (16,75%).

Last Saturday, a total of 66 419 (9,3%) special votes were counted for the greater Durban area and the North Coast: HoA — 10 365 (4,62%); HoR — 5 151 (11,45%); and HoD — 50 903 (11,45%).

In the western Cape, a combined special vote tally of 66 657 (4,86%) was chalked up by last Friday: HoA — 22 820 (4,77%); HoR — 43 261 (4,9%); and HoD — 576 (6,83%).

The eastern Cape total as at August 19 stood at 25 708 (9,3%): HoA — 17 394 (16,28%); HoR — 7 517 (7,45%); and HoD — 800 (12,16%).

Figures available for what the returning officer calls the eastern Free State showed that by last weekend 22 427 (12%-13%) special votes had been cast for the HoA, and, remarkably, only 300 (1%) for the HoR.

The new special voting arrangement, introduced when changes were made to the Electoral Act earlier this year, differs from the European or American systems. In these countries, elections are held on a single day and special (and postal) votes are accessible only to those who can satisfy a series of conditions.

In SA voters merely have to indicate — without having to give a reason — that they will be absent from their constituency on election day to be able to cast a special vote.

The new system derives from the 1988 municipal elections when prior voting was effectively extended to 13 days in order to boost the polls in black, coloured and Indian areas especially. As a result of higher polls in coloured and Indian areas, it was decided to amend the Electoral Act, extending the special arrangement to all three Houses.

The change was opposed by what is now the DP. It was considered not only to "cheapen the whole electoral process," but also to be greatly in favour of the NP, as their party machinery seemed better equipped to deal with the strain of extended campaigning and the costs involved.

When asked to comment last week, the national director of the DP, Neil Ross, stated that "the ongoing election day is putting great strain on the candidates and the party machine." ■

Unita denies declaring war again, says Pik

FW in bid to save Angola ceasefire

SOWA

STAR 25/8/89

The Angola ceasefire was in jeopardy today as Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, flew to meet President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, hoping to put it back on track.

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

Mr Botha said last night at a National Party meeting in Boksburg that just before the meeting he had been in contact with a Unita official, who assured him Unita had not declared war again — as reported.

Mr Botha said he viewed the situation as serious and hoped he and Mr de Klerk could take it up at today's meeting with President Mobutu — who has brokered the Angola peace talks — and at Monday's meeting with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda.

It is Mr de Klerk's first venture into black Africa since becoming Acting State President last week, and his second since becoming leader of the National Party earlier this year.

In July he met Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo.

Mr de Klerk and his entourage are expected back in South Africa later tonight.

Unita issued a statement yesterday in which it said "the Angola people sadly accept that the war has resumed".

Mr Botha, who has been closely involved with the Angola peace initiative, said the senior Unita official he had spoken to assured him that Unita had not opened a new offensive but had merely alerted its troops to be on the defensive.

Mr Botha said there had been reports that Unita was upset with the stand taken by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) conference in Harare on the Angolan ceasefire, and that it had opened a new offensive.

He said the Unita representative assured him these reports were not true. The representative told him Unita had merely alerted its troops to be on the defensive — apparently fearing action from MPLA troops.

Mr Botha said Unita believed a communique issued by the OAU in Harare had differed fundamentally from the original Gdabolite agreement, in terms of which a ceasefire agreement was reached and an accord to begin negotiations for national reconciliation and the control of troops was agreed on.

Unita attacked the Harare conference statement in a communique issued yesterday, saying the Angolan people were "deeply sorrowed that the war had restarted".

ANC 'desperate'

Referring to reports that President Kaunda would present Mr de Klerk with an ANC plan for a negotiated settlement in South Africa, Mr Botha said South Africa's future constitutional dispensation would be decided by South Africa itself, by leaders and organisations who were now silent.

He said ANC moves to present negotiation documents to South Africa through African leaders were a "desperation measure" as the ANC's "Russian masters" had told it that the season of violence and the time for bomb-throwing had passed.

(Report by P Fabricius, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Sowetan 25/8/89

Hopes for SA links with Soviets

SOWETAN
Foreign Service

MUNICH - The Soviet Union will have no reason not to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa once apartheid is abolished, Soviet deputy Foreign Minister Anatoly Adamishin has told *Radio Moscow*.

Adamishin, who has special responsibility for African Affairs, said a favourable settlement in Namibia - "and we are doing our best for this" - would bring about changes in the south of the continent in general and create more favourable conditions for the removal of the main cause of conflict in the south of the continent, namely the system of apartheid in South Africa.

"The possibilities of solving this problem by political means are expanding, and in keeping with this line we shall spare no effort to promote comprehensive settlement in the south of Africa".

"If apartheid in South Africa is abolished we, of course, will not have any grounds not to establish diplomatic relations with that country."

Adamishin talked about Soviet-South African contacts, which he divided into three types: "The first is our contacts with the ANC, with our friends. We maintain close contacts with them and try to co-ordinate our efforts."

The second kind of contact, he said, was with "what is usually called opposition to apartheid - liberal circles, religious leaders and the like". These contacts, Adamishin said, were becoming more frequent.

"The third group of contacts covers meetings with spokesmen of Pretoria," said Adamishin. "The first such contacts were made when the agreements on Namibian independence were being drafted, and they have been occasionally maintained since that time . . . Soviet spokesmen never avoid meeting spokesmen of South Africa."

Adamishin put the question: "What do we discuss?" and then offered the reply: "Our discussions were usually confined to such matters as settlement, action over (UN) Resolution 435, non-interference in the affairs of other states and the need to do away with apartheid".

The *Radio Moscow* interviewer said Adamishin had perhaps "shaken the stereotyped image of bloodthirsty Russians who allegedly seek to crush poor South Africa."

DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN

Testing F W's mettle

The MDM's commitment this week to escalate its defiance campaign against apartheid laws poses a major threat to acting President F W de Klerk — particularly to his efforts to project himself as a leader capable of breaking SA's political deadlock.

In particular, harsh police action against protesters and the arrest of foreign newsmen is tarnishing De Klerk's image both locally and abroad. Unless he deals with the crisis quickly and constructively, he stands to lose much of the credibility he has gained as an apparently reasonable and rational man since taking over leadership of the NP in February.

Obviously, it's no easy task. Not only is most of De Klerk's time taken up by election campaign commitments around the country, but an important aspect of his party's campaign strategy is to link the DP to the MDM. It stands to reason, therefore, that the more "radical" the MDM can be portrayed, the worse it may be for the DP. The perception among white voters that the MDM (and, by association, the DP) is a security risk, is undeniably heightened by tough, high-profile police action against protesters — regardless of whether they are peaceful or not.

The MDM has also been linked to ANC strategy. Police spokesman Leon Mellet claims the MDM received "orders from Lusaka" in June to disrupt the election and that the defiance campaign is part of this plan. A similar argument is being used by Nat candidates on the campaign trail.

The Nationalist press and the SABC are clearly preparing to make the MDM-DP link the single most important issue in the final two weeks before polling day on September 6, just as they used the "soft on security" stick to successfully beat the PFP in the final run-up to the 1987 election.

It may well work again this year, if the MDM carries out its plans to extend the defiance campaign into white schools and factories and continues with protests against "whites-only" beaches and other facilities. An increase in unrest followed by tough security force action is likely to scare a significant number of nervous white voters back into the Nationalist laager.

MDM spokesmen brush aside the charge that their campaign could undermine the reformist, or DP, vote; or that it has anything to do with muscle-flexing (which it does) at a time when negotiation, or "talks about talks", is in the air. The UDF, which has declared itself "unbanned" and "part of" the MDM, says the defiance campaign has "unleashed the creativity of our people who are building (the campaign) into their daily lives." Denying that its leaders have gone into hiding (though they won't "donate" themselves to the police), the UDF says it won't be deterred by either police action or the detention of its acting general-secretary Mohammed Valli.

This weekend, meanwhile, Cosatu and other unions plan to hold their second workers' summit to plan further action against the Labour Relations Act and to focus on "the crisis facing the country," which could imply a national strike is in the offing.

The DP's response to both the defiance campaign itself and the NP's propaganda will have to be carefully assessed to, firstly, limit potential damage and, secondly, to turn the situation to its advantage — if at all possible.

De Klerk, on the other hand, stands to gain domestically among whites in the short term if he is able to make the MDM smear stick to the DP. But he will undoubtedly lose in the long run both at home and internationally if he allows the police to continue using strong-arm tactics to, among other things, keep blacks off "white" beaches — and if he fails to deal with the current problem in the same spirit of compromise he claims will guide his approach to negotiations with black leaders on wider constitutional issues.

But, this week, he was clearly in no mood to compromise and events over the next few days will be an important test.

The western Cape appears to be the main focus of the defiance campaign at this stage, as well as of a general protest against the election. Disturbances in mainly "coloured" schools in the region have been reported for more than a month. A number of student leaders have been arrested and police have taken action against protesting pupils. There have been reports of stone-throwing incidents and barricades of burning tyres across main roads in some coloured areas. Police have also reported a significant increase in the number of unrest incidents in the region in recent days.

A number of restricted MDM leaders have deliberately broken their restriction orders to speak at rallies or lead protest actions. Some have been arrested and charged.

At the weekend, police mounted a massive operation to stop mainly black protesters swarming on to the "whites only" beach at the Strand. In effect, the beach was closed to everyone and patrolled by policemen with dogs. A small group of people who tried to get to the beach were dispersed by quirt-wielding policemen. An estimated 2 000 protesters then headed for Bloubergstrand, another "whites only" beach on the other side of the Peninsula, and surged on to the beach. Some were allegedly whipped and dispersed by riot police. The protesters included



Defying apartheid ... where will it end?



Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and restricted MDM leaders Trevor Manuel, Hilda Ndude, Christmas Tinto and Amy Thornton. A number of journalists reporting on the protests were detained, but later released. Mellet later justified the police action as having been necessary to prevent "serious conflict." Tutu argued that the police had provoked the violence by arriving with quirts, teargas and firearms to prevent people from "peacefully expressing their dissent."

An MDM rally, scheduled for Western Cape University on Sunday was banned, but moved to St George's Cathedral in the city. Earlier, an urgent court interdict was obtained by the meeting's organisers preventing police from stopping busloads of people on their way to the cathedral.

Ironically, the latest police crackdown in the region came only days after what appeared to be a significant change of police strategy in dealing with peaceful dissent. A protest march from the cathedral last week was stopped by a contingent of unarmed policewomen (who appeared more nervous than the protesters led by Tutu and other clerics). Tutu agreed to lead the march back to the cathedral on condition no one was arrested. Back inside, he said the unusual way in which the police handled the situation was a "small feather in their cap."

The hardline weekend action suggests top-level disapproval of the softer approach. De Klerk's task, it seems, is to find an acceptable balance between the two. ■

PENSIONS 300 Fmail 25/8/89

Split on divorce

The house, the children, the silver and now the pension. Under the Divorce Amendment Act (1989), which became effective on August 1, a share of a spouse's pension benefits can be claimed by a husband or wife

300 Fmail 25/8/89. 300

on divorce. The judge will apportion the precise share of the pension or retirement annuity (RA) as part of the overall division of the estate.

Pension fund administrators say the Act has shortfalls.

For a pension, the share is based on the benefit the member would have received, on the day of divorce, had he resigned. In most cases, this comprises only employee and not employer contributions. Interest at a rate determined by the pension fund is added.

The money can only be paid over when the member retires, resigns or on death. Claims on RAs are based on contributions to the date of divorce, plus interest at a rate determined by the minister of justice.

"Using these calculations, the benefit paid to a divorced spouse could be minimal," says Southern Life legal and tax senior manager Nigel Scott. "Especially if the spouse has to wait many years to get it."

Conversely, interest accumulating at a fixed rate could favour a divorced spouse, at the expense of the pension fund. If prevailing rates are high at the time of divorce, the fixed rate could exceed the fund's growth rate by the member's retirement or resignation. The fund would have to pay the amount ordered in court, prejudicing other members.

And confusion reigns as to what form payment will take. According to the Income Tax Act, only a third of a pension fund benefit can be paid in a lump sum on retirement. Will the same rule apply to a claim by a divorced person? The Department of Finance says this still has to be decided.

Pension fund administrators are also concerned by their increased administrative burden. "The onus of calculating the amount to be paid to the non-member plus interest will probably fall on us," Scott says. "Some system will have to be devised where the divorce attorney advises pension fund administrators when an award is made."

Institutions are preparing to raise reservations with the minister of justice. If he reacts, it could mean a change in the Pension Funds Act or even the Income Tax Act.

The Divorce Amendment Act excludes marriages by anti-nuptial contract after November 1984. Marriages in community of property can contract out of the pension agreement. Pension assets on a second (or subsequent) divorce will be reduced by the amount paid out in any prior claim.

SA has lagged other Western countries which have had pension sharing on divorce for some years. ■

(304A)

ELECTION SWINGS AND ROUNDABOUTS

Traditionally, SA political parties have been reluctant to split votes in constituencies where they had no chance of winning. Potchefstroom political science researcher Donald Simpson says the situation has changed as both the CP and DP strive for an election result in which the ruling Nats lose their overall majority.

Because of the nomination of a DP candidate, important constituencies which require less than a 12% swing — such as Klerksdorp, Minister Amie Venter's constituency, and Geduld, seat of Deputy Minister Sam de Beer — could go Conservative.

Law and Order Deputy Minister Leon Wessels (Krugersdorp) and Speaker Louis le Grange (Potchefstroom) could be unseated on *less* than a 2% swing to the Right.

Should an unexpected 24% swing occur to the Right, another five ministers and two deputies would lose to the CP. They are: Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbijlpark), Magnus Malan (Modderfontein), Adriaan Vlok (Verwoerdburg), Eli Louw (Namaqualand), Stoffel van der Merwe (Helderkruin), Wynand Breytenbach (Kroonstad) and Kraai van Niekerk (Prieska).

Van der Merwe's Helderkruin could fall to the DP should there be a 27% swing to the Left. An additional 3% swing would produce a bombshell — Pik Botha's Westdene would become a DP seat **(see table)**.

% SWING FROM NP TO CP

CP%	CP/HNP	2%	4%	7%	12%	13%	16%	19%	21%	24%
Randfontein	Hercules#	Krugersdorp	Fauresmith#	Gezina	-Welkom#	-Brentwood	Primrose	Algoa	Graaff-Reinet	Beaufort W.
Waterberg#	Stilfontein	Roodeplaat	Kuruman	-Ladybrand	-Alberton	De Aar	Uitenhage	Gordonia	Kimberley N.	-Verwoerdburg
Lichtenburg	Rustenburg#	Heilbron#	Maraisburg#	-Springs	-Klerksdorp	-Germiston Dis	Winburg	Bloem E.	Kroonstad	-Cradock
Ventersdorp	Parys	Innesdal#	Potchefstroom		-Nelspruit	-Kempton Park	-Boksburg#	Langlaagte	-Umfolozi	-Helderkruin
Brits	Sasolburg	-Newcastle			-Geduld	-Virginia#	-Germiston	-Pretoria C.#	Namakwaland	-Kliprivier
Standerton	-Lydenburg#	-Meyerton			Smithfield		-V.d.Bijlpark	Prieska	-Queenstown	-Modderfontein
Potgietersrus	Wonderboom#				-Vereeniging				Sundays River	Mossel Bay
Losberg	Pretoria West				-Bethlehem#				-Vryheid#	
Ermelo					-Koedoespoort					
Bethal#					Outshoorn					
Barberton					Vryburg					
-Witbank										
-Middelburg#										
Nigel#										
Pietersburg										
Overvaal										
Delmas										
Schweizer-R										
Roodepoort										
Carletonville										
-Brakpan										
Soutpansberg										
(22)	(8)	(6)	(4)	(3)	(11)	(5)	(6)	(6)	(8)	(7)



Viljoen



Vlok

H.N.P. candidate present; - Swing to CP camp.

% SWING FROM NP TO DP

NP	30%	27%	22%	20%	17%	15%	9%	8%	6%	2%	DP
Alwal	Durbanville	-Helderkruin	-Benoni	King Will/Town	Stellenbosch	-Amanzimtoti	-Pietmbrg N.	Albany	-Umhlanga	Edenvale	Berea
Bloem W	Maitland#	-East Lon. N	Newtonpark	-Waterkloof	-Bezuidenhout	-Durban Point	Walmer	-N. Rand	-Umbilo	Helderberg	Bryanston
-Humansdorp	-Westdene	East Lon. C	Umhlatuzana			-Pietmbrg S.				-Hillbrow	Claremont
-Kimberley S.		-Port Natal				-South Coast				Simonstown	Constantia
-Sunnyside										Wynberg	Durban C.
Ceres											Durban N.
-Pretoria E.											CT Gardens
-Rissik											Green Point
-Swellendam											-Greyton
-Florida											Groote Schuur
-Bloem N.											Houghton
Port El. N											Johann N
Piketberg											-Mooi River
Walvis Bay											Parktown
-Turffontein											Pinelands
-Bellville											Pinetown
-Jeppe											Port El. C.
-George											-Randburg
-Rosettenville											Sandton UNOP
-Worcester											Sea Point
-Paarl											Yeoville UNOP
-Wellington											
Vasco											
Malmesbury#											
Parow											
-De Kuilen											
-False Bay											
Tigervalley											
Cafedon											
-Johann. W.											
-Umlazi											
(31)	(3)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(5)	(21)



Botha



Vd Merwe

Computer programme: Prof J F de Beer, Computer Science, Potchefstroom University. 'Swing method': Prof Dirk Laurie, Mathematics, Potchefstoom University. - Third Party candidate, CP in potential DP gain, DP in potential CP gain. Table by Donald Simpson. Laurie Swing method: 3% = 3/100 NP voters switching to DP or CP and causing loss of X seats.

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Financial Mail



ECONOMIC POLICY

Getting it half-right — maybe

It's a relief that Barend du Plessis now admits his amazing statement, that we could happily live with 15% inflation, was just electioneering claptrap. It is also reassuring that there is no gulf between him and Chris Stals, who says on almost every opportunity that inflation has become Public Enemy No 1.

One must also sympathise with Stals when he says that other things, especially the balance of payments, have pushed the anti-inflation battle into the background in the past three years, but that now the priority has changed.

But even this smacks of ex-post justification. Undergraduates are indeed taught that allowing a currency to depreciate cures a balance of payments imbalance by making imports dearer and exports more rewarding, but in the real world it is not that simple — especially for an economy whose export prices are broadly beyond its own control.

It is quite possible to argue that, if SA needed to maximise dollar earnings in the past three years, we should have adopted a policy of maximising gold production in volume terms, by keeping mining costs down — that is, by combating inflation far more vigorously.

And no preoccupation with the balance of payments excuses the politically motivated loss of control of money supply and disastrous policy of negative interest rates.

In this context, it is less heartening to note that Stals thinks interest rates have peaked. If interest rates are not to be allowed to rise further, it's far from clear how inflation is to be fought. The fact is that, for many borrowers and lenders, though admittedly not for those (like homebuyers) who cannot offset interest charges against tax, interest rates are still significantly negative.

Moreover, Stals also says (rightly) that it is imperative to bring money creation under control, within the target range. How this can be done without allowing interest rates to fluctuate is not clear — unless we accept the prospect of direct or discriminatory controls.

The sort of thing we can do without is exemplified by the 60% import surcharge, which is selective, discriminatory and distorting. When imposed, Du Plessis said it would be most successful if it raised no revenue at all, just choked imports.

Now we learn that, on top of the R1,6bn it raised last fiscal year, it brought in R578m in the first four months of this year and, for the full year, is likely to earn much more than the budgeted R1,3bn. The distortions in spending patterns and shift of resources from the private to the public sector that this entails is no way to fight inflation in SA. ■

DP's offices attacked

By FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Staff

A FRONT window of the Democratic Party's campaign office in Main Road, Green Point, was smashed when a brick was thrown into the office early today.

The incident was reported to the police who were investigating today, said a DP official said.

This is the latest in a series of incidents, including threats and the disappearance or mutilation of election posters, in the hotly-contested Green Point constituency.

The seat, held by the Democratic Party's Mr Tian van der Merwe with a majority of only 39 votes after the 1987 election, is being contested by the National Party's Mrs Esmé Chait in a straight fight between the NP and the DP.

Both parties today condemned the incidents.

The DP's campaign organiser, Mr Vernon Bell, said the office window was found smashed when he and a campaign secretary, Miss Val Anderson, arrived about 9 am. A brick was found inside the office.

Hundreds of the party's posters have been disappearing regularly.

Mr Bell said: "It is a nightmare problem. Our posters simply disappear or get ripped off as soon as we put them up."

Mr Tian van der Merwe could not be reached for comment as he had left for Windhoek.

The DP's national director of political organisation, Mr Neil Ross, said: "We deplore this kind of vandalism. Incidents like this won't deter us from our determination to win Green Point with a vastly increased majority."

NP candidate Mrs Chait said she was shocked to hear of the brick incident at the DP office.

Mrs Chait said she had received several threats, including a telephoned death threat, during the campaign. They had been reported to the police.

She said hundreds of NP posters also had disappeared and others had been defaced. Last week, a campaign banner outside the NP office was removed.

(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Street, Cape Town.)



WELCOME TO ZAIRE: General Mobutu Sese Seko escorts Mr F W de Klerk and Mr Pik Botha at Goma airfield yesterday.

SA, Zaire form joint plan for Angolan peace

ALAN DUNN

GOMA (Zaire) — South Africa and Zaire have forged a joint emergency strategy to try to rescue the tottering Angolan peace effort.

Acting President F W de Klerk agreed with President Mobutu Sese Seko here yesterday that they should move quickly in an effort to patch up floundering attempts at peace in Angola.

The two decided in about three hours of talks how to tackle and try to smooth over differences between southern African leaders on how Angolan peace is reached.

General Mobutu, the chief mediator between the various parties involved, yesterday determined with Mr de Klerk exactly what moves to make next and who should make them.

It could start in Livingstone on Monday with Mr de Klerk and Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha meeting Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, a key figure in the present equation.

"Time is of the essence," said one South African diplomat.

If the tricky repair process does not work, and full-scale war resumes in Angola between the government and Dr Jonas Savimbi's Unita rebels, there is a fear that hostilities there may "contaminate" the peace process in Namibia.

The Angolan issue is expected, on the South African side, to dominate Mr de Klerk's talks with Dr Kaunda on Monday.

Angola and General Mobutu's role as the main conciliator apparently occupied much of the discussions yesterday. In a joint statement, both sides described the problem as "delicate".

"Views were exchanged regarding these issues which will require follow-up at appropriate levels," the communique said.

Mr de Klerk and General Mobutu agreed to remain in close contact.

In what were characterised as wide-ranging talks, Mr de Klerk gave the Ziarean leader a review of all important developments in southern Africa, stressing the importance of regional co-

TO PAGE 2.

De Klerk chews over his childhood with Pres Mobutu

ALAN DUNN 26/8/89

GOMA (Zaire) — "When I was a small boy," acting President F W de Klerk said as he set about the plate of chicken before him, "my mother told me that if I didn't mind my manners, she would take a picture of me."

President Mobutu Sese Seko chuckled at the anecdote as he tackled his lunch, enjoying the punchline even more: "Now it's coming true!" Mr de Klerk exclaimed, cameras clicking and whirring at the start of their lunch in the garden of General Mobutu's summer palace on Lake Kivu yesterday.

This was the second of Mr de Klerk's ventures into Africa, a decidely unusual one compared with his summit with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano in Maputo last month.

The Boeing 737, carrying Mr de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, officials and 51 news people, landed at 9 am, after a four-hour flight, on a bumpy runway at this town in north-eastern Zaire, bordering Ruwanda and Uganda. "We didn't invent it, we per-

TO PAGE 2.

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Sadowsky, Hill

Angola peace plan

● FROM PAGE 1.

operation.

"The two heads of state agreed that peace and stability are prerequisites for the economic development of the region," the statement said. Mr de Klerk also updated his counterpart on the Namibian independence process.

"Both leaders agreed that the discussions were positive, opportune and constructive, particularly at this critical stage of developments in Angola," the communique said.

Mr de Klerk later described yesterday's trip as a "very important" one for southern Africa.

It is understood that the so-called Harare Declaration — the statement of Dr Kaunda and an ad hoc committee of the Organisation of African Unity — had led to the Angolan ceasefire breakdown.

The declaration indicated that part of the Angolan peace deal was that Dr Savimbi would go into temporary and voluntary retirement to enable the peace process to proceed.

Sources said intense diplomatic activity at several levels could be expected next week to get the Angolan peace efforts back on track.

They said South Africa was emerging strongly as a peacemaker and role-player in disputes involving other countries.

Lakeside meeting

● FROM PAGE 1.

fected it," chirped a relieved SAA pilot at his safe landing.

Awaiting Mr de Klerk was General Mobutu in his signature leopard-skin hat, a military band playing a repetitive, Africanised march of sorts, a red carpet, and camouflage-clad soldiers with white gloves presenting arms, their bayonets fixed.

At the heavily guarded palace, which looked more like a luxury weekend getaway at the Vaal Dam, the two leaders got down to talks immediately. With them were Foreign Minister Nguza Karl-I-Bond, Foreign Affairs Director-General Neil van Heerden, and Major-General Neels van Tonder, deputy chief of military intelligence who was translating into French.

They talked for 2¼ hours as the press contingent sat at tables in the garden.

The leaders entered the house for pre-lunch drinks, and emerged 15 minutes later for a noon lunch of fish and chicken which had been grilling on the coals nearby as they talked of southern Africa's vexations.

Photographers crowded in as they sat down to record what Mr de Klerk later described in thanks as "genuine hospitality in typical African style".

Mr Mandulele Yek

Dr No gets a rousing 'yes' from Boksburg

By HERMAN JANSEN

WITH passionate fervour, Boksburg conservatives yesterday paid homage to their "beloved" Dr Andries Treurnicht — although VIPs had to fork out R40 for the honour.

Inside a blue marquee at the now all-white Boksburg lake, the Leader of the Opposition was given honorary citizenship of the "apartheid town".

The honour was previously bestowed on Presidents Marais Viljoen and P W Botha, as well as boxer Gerrie Coetzee.

The eight National Party members of the town council boycotted the occasion, but 58 mayors of CP-controlled towns in the Transvaal attended.

Mr Chris Smith, leader of the NP in the council, said: "All the VIPs had to contribute R40 towards the costs.

"I've been on the council for 16 years and I have never heard of any local government in South Africa charging for a similar ceremony.

"It gives Boksburg a cheap image, that of a town which battles financially."

Beaming, bearded Boksburg mayor Beyers de Klerk welcomed each dignitary with a firm arm grip (for the men) and a full-blooded kiss (for the women).

Gloating

All 101 CP-controlled towns in the Transvaal sent representatives, he gloated.

"We did not invite non-CP town councils. We wanted to be among our own people today — not with friends of the ANC," he said.

And among his own people the "beloved" Dr Treurnicht, as Mr De Klerk introduced him, seemed to be exactly that.

Waiting for his arrival, the 350-odd guests built up their spirits by singing folk songs.

Dr Treurnicht was greeted with a standing ovation and a rousing rendering of the song O, Boereplaas. Commemorative plates featuring a smiling Dr Treurnicht were sold by youngsters for R10 each, as were copies of one of his books.

But sales were slow.

So was business at the numerous stalls on the lakeside selling everything from braaivleis to home-made dolls.

The only non-white faces to be seen were far from the action and belonged to municipal workers waiting to clean up afterwards.

Leaders concentrate on Angolan peace efforts

SOUTH African acting State President FW de Klerk and Zaire's President Mobutu Sese Seko agreed at a meeting in Zaire on Friday to try to salvage Angola's faltering peace, a statement said.

The joint statement issued at the end of almost three hours of talks in eastern Zaire, said the two leaders held wide-ranging discussions on topics including "the recent delicate situation," in Angola.

"Views were exchanged regarding this issue which will require a follow up at the appropriate level," the statement, read by South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha, said.

The leaders, who met at Mobutu's lakeside residence in this mountain-ringed touring town, near the Rwandan border, also discussed the independence plan for Namibia and developments in Southern Africa, the statement said.

De Klerk and Sese Seko "agreed the discussions were positive, opportune and constructive".

De Klerk flew back to South Africa immediately after the talks, his first with a major black African leader since taking power from former South African State President PW Botha earlier this month. — Sapa



FW de Klerk and Zaire's Mobutu Sese Seko, pictured after the SA party's arrival.

Cont

CP poised to breach the walls of Tvl heartland

NP fights hand-to-hand on the banks of the Vaal

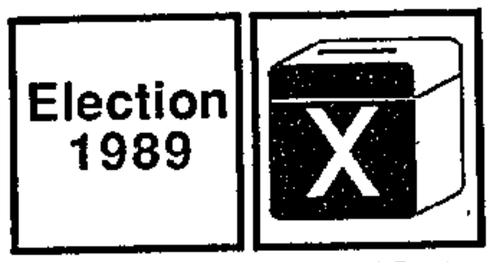
By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The National Party is fighting hand-to-hand on the banks of the Vaal to prevent the Conservative Party swarming over the river to gain a foothold in the Free State.

It's there where the CP has most chance of breaking through the important psychological and provincial Transvaal barrier and becoming a truly national party.

Though the NP still holds all 14 constituencies, the CP won 42 percent of the province's vote in 1987 — more than its 38 percent share of the vote in its Transvaal heartland.

Two of the northernmost Free State seats — Sasolburg and Parys — are easily within the CP's grasp, even without a swing away from the NP, as the combined CP/HNP polled more than the NP there in the 1987 general election — 513 more in Parys and 260 in Sasolburg.



And in a Sasolburg by-election in 1985, when the CP stood back for the HNP, it won the only seat the HNP has ever won — and the only seat the right-wing has taken outside the Transvaal.

Even distribution of the CP vote — and the failure to form a pact with the HNP — prevented a Free State breakthrough in 1987.

Majority

But that same distribution means that the CP is poised to make deep inroads — and even to capture the province if there should be a swing of as much as seven percent.

In eight Free State seats — a majority of the 14 — the CP's share of the vote is more than 43 percent, which means they will fall in a seven percent swing to the CP.

But NP acting Free State secretary Mr Pieter van der Merwe — reflecting general NP confidence — is quite adamant that the NP will "pocket all 14 constituencies. I have no doubt about it".

The NP will win even Sasolburg and Parys, he says, because it is wrong to simply add together the CP and HNP votes of 1987 to get the CP total for 1989.

Many HNP supporters will refuse to vote CP, he says, especially in Sasolburg, where they regard the former HNP MP Mr Louis Stofberg as a traitor for crossing to the CP.

This opinion is not shared by the NP MP and candidate for Sasolburg, Dr Odendaal, who says that all but a handful of the 4 661 people who voted HNP in 1987 will vote in 1989 for Mr Louis Stofberg, the former HNP MP for Sasolburg, who is now the CP candidate.

Dr Odendaal is nevertheless confident of retaining the seat with a small majority.

And even Mr Stofberg does not predict a "surge" by the CP.

A relative spectator to the Free State political fight is Mr Rhett Khan, the Democratic Party's provincial leader, who is standing in Virginia.

He says that the Nats have already written off Sasolburg, Parys and Fauresmith and are fighting dire struggles in Welkom, Bethlehem and Ladybrand.

He thinks Minister of white education Mr Piet Clase will retain Virginia.

But Mr Khan believes the DP could split the anti-right vote enough to endanger the NP's hold on Bethlehem, Welkom and Ladybrand.

The AWB is still a factor in Welkom; as it demonstated the other day by tarring-and-feathering a Welkom CP city councillor who crossed to the NP, thereby depriving the CP of its majority.

No-one is sure, though, what effect the AWB will have, whether it will vote CP or HNP.

All parties agree that the NP will coast into the three Bloemfontein seats and Kroonstad — though the CP is putting up a strong, mostly symbolic fight against Minister of Justice and NP Free State leader Mr Kobie Coetsee in Bloemfontein West.

The general issues — apart from the dirty tricks — here as elsewhere are "swaart gevaar" (black peril) and volksverarming (impoverishment of the people) and it is dificult to say which is uppermost.

The NP's Virginia chairman Mr Friedel Brumloop admits that the fight has never been so hard from both sides, especially on the economy.

On balance it seems that at least two Free State seats — and perhaps four — are likely to fall to the CP.

But if, as many pollsters predict, the CP takes 54 seats nationwide, it will win eight in the Free State — a "majority".

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg.)

Cont

STAR 28-8-89



Hard at work . . . the Conservative Party's "circus tent" at the Welkom polling station dwarfs the National Party's caravan and hut alongside.

Malan promise: No more defamation

Prètoria Correspondent

A second Cabinet Minister has undertaken not to make defamatory comments about extra-parliamentary organisations.

The Minister of Defence, General Malan, has undertaken to desist from associating the three organisations — the United Democratic Front, Jodac and the End Conscription Campaign — with internal violence.

Earlier the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, undertook not to state that Cosatu advocated or supported any specific act or acts of violence.

General Malan's undertaking followed after articles, reporting a speech he made on August 21 at the Voortrekkerhoogte Hoerskool in support of the NP candidate, Mr Pieter Smith, were published in The Star.

The organisations objected to General Malan saying internal acts of terror were not only committed by the ANC but also by internal organisations such as the MDM, UDF, Jodac, Idasa and the ECC.

General Malan has neither admitted nor denied having made the statement attributed to him in the newspaper reports.

The extra-parliamentary organisations instructed their attorneys to write to the Minister demanding that he retract the allegation and to desist from making further such statements.

The organisations' legal representatives also demanded from General Malan a statement that these organisations were not responsible for internal acts of terror and that he apologise.

Dr Herbst said that until August 19 General Malan undertook to desist from making statements about these organisations.

On August 19, however, Dr Herbst informed the lawyers that: "By direction of the Minister of Defence I wish to inform you that the Minister will not react to your communication."

The lawyers informed General Malan on August 20 that unless he assured them the report was incorrect, they intended to file an application for an inter-

Blast destroys NP poll office

By Gien Elsas,
West Rand Bureau

An explosion early yesterday morning at the Randfontein National Party polling station office, situated next to the building which houses the Regional Court, caused damage estimated at more than R25 000.

Colonel Tienie Halgryn, West Rand police liaison officer, said an explosive device was apparently put under the NP's prefab hut.

The police guard on duty was patrolling the back of the building when the device exploded at about 4.15 am, destroying the hut and its contents.

A car with its lights off was seen leaving the scene soon after the blast.

The explosion was the fifth in Randfontein this year.

SA 'passed each economic test'

STAR 28-8-89 Cont →

By Clyde Johnson,
Lowveld Bureau

NELSPRUIT — Without the correct political climate, not even the world's best economic policy will work, Finance Minister Mr Barend du Plessis said here at the weekend.

Speaking at the annual dinner of Nelspruit's Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Mr du Plessis said South Africa had, for the past two decades, been subjected to "economic strangulation".

Each time South Africans were put to the test they elected to take the punishment than allow poltical solutions to be forced on them.

"But at the end of the day every half cent became a cent until they grew into rands and now it's become the country," he said.

Mr du Plessis said it was not a matter of weak management but essentially a matter of a well devised plan specifically aimed at landing South Africa into economic chaos.

The first prize was revolution.

Over the years South Africa had successfully overcome pressures by meeting the weapons boycott, overcoming the oil boycott, counteracting the nuclear technology boycott and effectively dealing with trade sanctions.

"When in 1985 the outside world discovered they could not get us down they applied yet another measure by closing financial doors on us."

Paying tribute to South Africa's "tough entrepreneurs" and competent businessmen for the role they had played in ensuring the survival of the onslaught, Mr du Plessis said the only options available were in the short term, the reduction of imports, concentration on low-cost housing, the provision of infrastructure and other projects with low import content.

Other long-term solutions included economy deregulation to enable people to trade freely.

"If a trader wishes to slaughter an ox in the townships, sell tomatoes and vegetables in the streets or do panelbeating in his back yard, he should be allowed to operate freely without an inspector breathing down his neck."

South Africa, he said, also needed a new tax system to suit its particular situation.

One avenue already under review was aimed at elderly whites who had themselves provided for their old age.

(Report by C Johnson, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson, J M Patten and J de Villiers, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.



Dr Andries Treurnicht, leader of the Conservative Party, receives the scroll conferring on him the freedom of the town from Boksburg's mayor, Mr Beyers de Klerk, and the town clerk, Mr Johan Coetzee (centre).

"We advise that our client is a voluntary organisation that is committed to non-violence and the peaceful resolution of the problems of this country.

"As such, they deny that any 'internal acts of terror' have been committed by their organisation.

"In fact, we are instructed that our client has time and time again emphasised its commitment to peace in this country," the organisations' legal representatives said in correspondence with General Malan.

"Your reported speech at Voortrekkerhoogte is therefore incorrect and prejudicially effects the image and interests of our client(s), which rely inter alia on public support for its lawful activities and for its opposition to various aspects of the policies of your government," the letter added.

In his reply on August 17, the chief of communication officer, Dr Das Herbst, acknowledged receipt of the letters and said a written reply concerning the letters would be made no later than 12 pm on August 19.

dict on August 21.

Mr Titus Mafolo of the UDF national committee said in a statement the organisation condemned "the continuous stream of lies and half-truths that have eminated from Cabinet Ministers over the last few weeks".

MORE DIFFICULT

"What is, however, extremely disconserting is that these statements have the effect of further polarising our societies and in fact, is making the resolution of the conflict in South Africa more difficult," he said.

In a statement the ECC said: "Despite the apology by Mr Vlok and the undertaking by General Malan not to repeat defamatory statements about ECC and other organisations, we are nonetheless angry that these two Ministers appear to have embarked on reckless vote catching exercises at the expense of organisations which they themselves have sought to silence."

The ECC said it was prepared to debate the issue of conscription with General Malan.

Seek political solution, DP trio urges

Staff Reporter

The Democratic Party co-leaders yesterday expressed concern over the clash between police and political demonstrators in the Cape and called on the Government to apply a "political solution" to the problem.

In a statement issued by Dr Denis Worrall, Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan, the party called on the National Party to commit itself "irrevocably" to:

- ending the state of emergency;
- repealing apartheid laws;
- releasing Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees;
- freeing black politics and;
- setting in motion the process of negotiation for a new constitution.

Referring to recent clashes between police and political demonstrators in Cape Town, the three co-leaders said the police had a clear duty to protect life and property, and would need to do so, whatever party was in power.

It was also necessary for the police to exercise maximimum restraint.

"We regret that in some instances they seem to have fallen short of the required standard," said the leaders. "In any case, we recognise that policemen and women who have to implement bad laws, which the people perceive as unjust, are in a very difficult position and that is the case here."

The leaders said the clashes were "essentially political in their cause and origin".

They said that as white South Africans were preparing to exercise their votes, blacks were expressing their protest at their exclusion from the electoral process.

(Report by P Fray, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

STM
28-8-89

Candidates not aware of ecology

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — A detailed nationwide survey by the Wildlife Society this month reveals that many political candidates do not show much ecological awareness.

The survey, to which only six percent of the country's 752 election candidates had responded by this week, shows that many candidates rate "visiting the Kruger National Park" of more conservation importance than improving the quality of life on Earth.

The questionnaire asked them to rate, in terms of conservation priority, visiting the Kruger National Park, keeping things the way they are, improving the quality of life, far-sighted land-use planning, saving wildlife from extinction, control of littering and pollution, waste recycling, setting aside more land for national parks, and preserving beauty spots and historic buildings.

Of the 51 candidates who have responded, half of the Nationalists, nearly half of the Democratic Party candidates and a quarter of the Conservative Party candidates rated improving the quality of life as low priority.

A third of the DP and NP candidates, although none from the CP, believed of higher priority was "visiting places like the Kruger Park".

Despite SA's declining ecological state, 11 politicians across the political spectrum rated as top priority "keeping things the way they are".

(Report by J Coyningham, 65 Field Street, Durban.)

Govt opts for prosecution before banning, seizure

By Carina le Grange

The Government in July moved from administrative action against newspapers to prosecution, says the latest edition of the monthly report of the Anti-censorship Action Group (Acag).

Editors and staff of the *Sunday Times, Weekly Mail, Sowetan, South, Saamstaan* and *Vrye Weekblad* face various charges — ranging from contraventions of the emergency regulations to violations of the Prisons and Security Acts.

"It is difficult to avoid the impression that prosecution has been chosen because it seems less likely to draw international criticism than did earlier preferred methods of newspaper seizures and bannings," Acag says.

In July the attention of the authorities also turned to publishers as police raided the offices of several Johannesburg publishers, the report said.

These raids, on July 6, came only seven days after police visited the offices of Cape Town publisher, David Phillip.

The publishers raided in Johannesburg were Ad Donker, Learn and Teach Publications, Ravan Press and SA Research Services which publishes *Work in Progress.*

Police also raided a press agency, The Other Press Service (Tops).

According to publishers in Johannesburg, police produced a list of books they were looking for.

These included: "Comrade Moss" and "The Historic Speech of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela", both published by Learn and Teach, "The Land Belongs to Us" by Francis Meli and published by James Currey in London, and a Dutch publication.

From Ravan Press, police removed a copy of "SA Between Reform and Revolution" by Alex Callinicos, while letters, posters, notebooks, files and two photographs of the funeral of assassinated activist Dr David Webster were removed from the other offices.

According to Acag, police described the action as "routine investigations".

The visit to David Phillip in Cape Town was the fourth in six weeks and police sought copies of the book "Gatsha Buthelezi: Chief with a Double Agenda", a book recently declared "not undesirable" by the Directorate of Publications.

GOOD REASON

Approached for comment on the raids, the police public relations division in Pretoria said it was not prepared to comment on each and every action which they regarded as routine.

"We have a duty to maintain law and order and if any action is taken against anyone, it is because there is good reason to believe that an offence has been committed or that such visit may provide evidence which could be of assistance to the police," said a police spokesman.

Leaders urge NP commitment on five issues

DP moves to seize election initiative

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Democratic Party moved today to seize the initiative in the closing 10 days of the election campaign.

The National Party has been fighting back desperately for the past week, exploiting the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) defiance campaign while NP leader Mr F W de Klerk continued with the next stage of his African forays, meeting chairman of the Frontline States, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia.

But DP leaders say the tactics are not working and voters are not being distracted from the main issues, such as the economy.

In a joint statement, the DP's co-leaders, Dr Zach de Beer, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, challenged the National Party to commit itself on five important issues before election day to get South Africa on the road to peace and prosperity by negotiations.

The five measures to which the NP had to commit itself irrevocably were:

- End the state of emergency.
- Repeal apartheid laws.
- Release African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees.
- Free black politics, which, Dr de Beer explained, included unbanning organisations and allowing freedom of association.
- Set in motion the process of negotiation for a new constitution, preferably by releasing the Chief Justice of South Africa from other duties to devote himself to this task.

The three said: "It is our view that there are obstacles to negotiation which need to be removed by both sides in the dispute.

"We conveyed this view to President Kaunda recently and repeat it now. There needs to be talks about the removal of these obstacles.

"If the Nationalists lack the will, the creativity and the credibility to do these essential things, the DP does not.

"Unless the NP commit themselves to these actions before election day, we call upom the voters to support our candidates so that the vital process of reconciliation and negotiation can go forward."

(News by B Cameron, 85 Field Street, Durban.)

Treurnicht's final speech in Potchefstroom

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The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has cancelled his final election campaign speech in Pretoria and shifted the public meeting to Potchefstroom as political parties start the final drive for votes.

This emerged yesterday when the CP issued an urgent notice saying Dr Treurnicht would not hold more election meetings in Pretoria. He was due to speak in the City Hall tomorrow night.

The CP's secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, today denied that the switch had taken place because the party felt it had done enough in Pretoria and needed to do more in Potchefstroom to oust parliament's Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, who squeaked through in 1987 by 558 votes.

He said the decision had been made after Dr Treurnicht's highly successful rally on July 25, attended by at least 2 500 people.

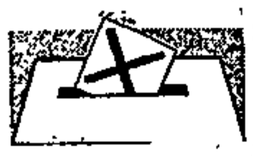
FINAL NIGHT

In the last week of campaigning the CP will not stage major meetings in the Pretoria area. On Monday, traditionally the final night of campaigning, Dr Treurnicht is to speak in Parow Civic Centre.

The National Party is expected to close with its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, speaking in Johannesburg City Hall on Monday. On Thursday, Foreign Minister Pik Botha will speaking in Pretoria City Hall.

In Pretoria the Democratic Party presents its last major speaker, co-leader Mr Wynand Malan, at the City Hall tonight. On Monday, co-leader Dr Denis Worrall will speak in Durban and the party will mount a shuttle between three meetings in Johannesburg.

(Report by A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)



De Kuilen polling booth

Political Correspondent

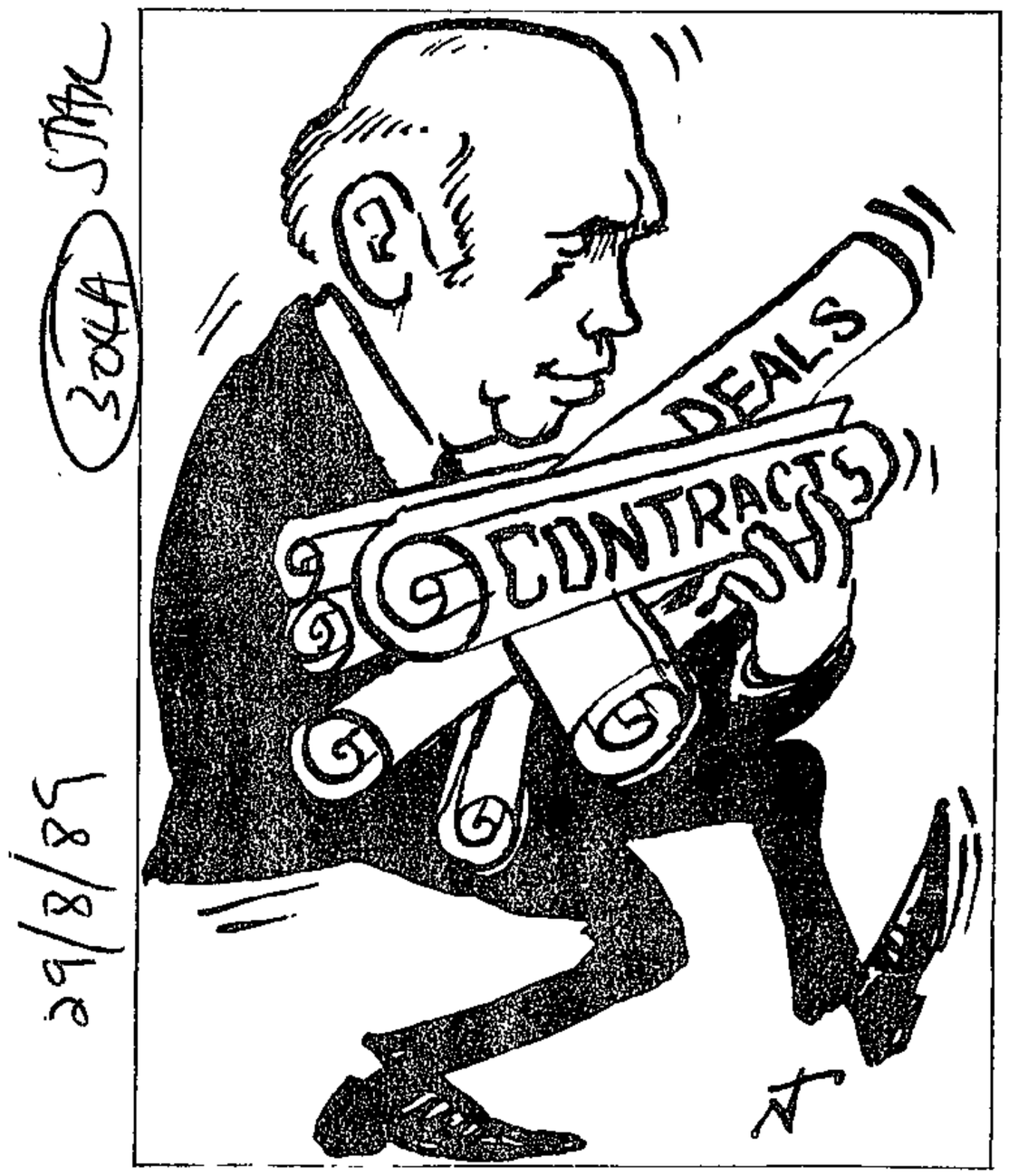
A BOOTH for special votes in the De Kuilen constituency has been opened in the Ned Geref Centre in Stellenberg. It will be open every weekday from 4 to 6.30pm.

The booth is meant to serve the areas of Eikendal, Uitsig, Ridgeworth, Stellenridge, Stellenberg, Stellenryk, Eversdal, Chantecler, Oak Glen, Belair, Vredenberg and La Rochelle, but people registered in other constituencies can also vote there.

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

De Klerk safaris aim to barter benefits for time

By GERALD L'ANGE,
Editor, The Star's Africa News Service



Like the explorers of an earlier age, the Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, takes trade goods of a sort with him when he goes into black Africa to speak to its leaders.

Rather than glass beads and axes, he offers transport services, consumer goods, technical expertise, markets for African products, investment capital and, to some extent, economic aid.

In return, he seeks trade and — above all — acceptance.

To break out of the isolation imposed by the opponents of apartheid is probably the main objective of Mr de Klerk's journeys, as it was with those of Mr P W Botha.

Not contradictory

Pretoria has made clear its belief that for South Africa the road back to international acceptance leads through Africa. It also says that South Africa's future lies in Africa.

The two propositions are not regarded as contradictory; Pretoria's strategists see South Africa retaining a leading role in a regional economic grouping even after it has used its regional good standing to regain acceptance in the West. The regional role might actually be considered the more important.

For years the price of African acceptance — the full dismantling of apartheid — was more than Pretoria was prepared to pay. In return for the partial dismantling it has got only partial acceptance.

There is growing evidence to suggest, however, that Africa's price may recently have been lowered by changed economic and political realities.

This is one of the main issues being probed by the De Klerk safaris: the extent to which black Africa may be prepared to accept the gradual, rather than the immediate, dismantling of apartheid in return for the economic benefits South Africa can offer.

Given that the present Government has no intention of precipitately abandoning apartheid — that is the hard-core elements — the African countries must either accept this or spurn the benefits of closer association with South Africa.

Pretoria appears to be banking on their doing some hard thinking and coming to the conclusion that the slow death of apartheid is easier to live with than the slow death of their own economies.

The thinking in Pretoria seems to be based largely on the belief that the industrialised nations have become disillusioned with the strategic and economic importance of Africa and are weary of aiding nations that seem chronically unable to stop their downward slide into poverty and chaos — an attitude that may harden with the emergence of the united Europe in 1992.

Dr P Smit, chairman of the Africa Institute in Pretoria, argued recently that while South Africa is the regional economic power it cannot be expected to "uplift the whole region single-handed".

Europe should recognise the crucial role of South Africa as the regional engine of growth and instead of boycotting the Republic and discouraging economic interaction between South Africa and its neighbours, the EC should encourage it.

"South African Government spokesmen have, accordingly, begun to propagate the concept of positive Western participation in the form of trilateral regional cooperation, that is, joint endeavours by European countries, South Africa and the other countries of Southern Africa in order to stabilise and develop the economies of the region."

Perhaps the best way to promote this concept is to "sell" it first to the regional states, for whom the incentives are already strong, rather than to Europe.

How strong the incentives are is illustrated by figures showing that trade between South Africa and the member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, which was set up partly to reduce their dependence on the Republic, is seven times greater than the trade between the SADCC members themselves. And the imbalance is growing rather than shrinking.

Breaking out of isolation must necessarily be a long-term goal of Mr de Klerk's ventures into Africa. More immediate goals, roughly in order of urgency, are thought to be:

ANC-OAU links

1. Getting the Angolan ceasefire back on the rails before it seriously threatens to wreck the Namibian independence exercise.
2. Countering the impression, which emerged from last week's Organisation of African Unity meeting in Harare, of solidarity between the African National Congress and the OAU on terms for negotiating with Pretoria.
3. Weakening the campaign for sanctions against South Africa.

The second objective will become increasingly important as — and if — negotiation with the ANC comes closer to reality.

South Africa has an interest in weakening the ANC's standing in the OAU because the stronger that standing is, the more difficult it will be for Pretoria to dictate the terms of the negotiations.

A great deal thus depends on how successfully Mr de Klerk can employ his trade goods.

...FF ST., KERK ST.,
...N CENTRE, FARADAY
F

FW IS RIGHT PRES KAUNDA

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

ZAMBIAN president Dr Kenneth Kaunda yesterday said that acting State President FW de KLerk was the right person to lead South Africa into meaningful dialogue towards a negotiated settlement.

A source close to De Klerk who asked not to be named and who attended the talks in Livingston on the Zambian side of the Victoria Falls, used the

● To page 2

FW is right

● From page 1

National Party's election slogan to describe Kaunda's impressions of De Klerk.

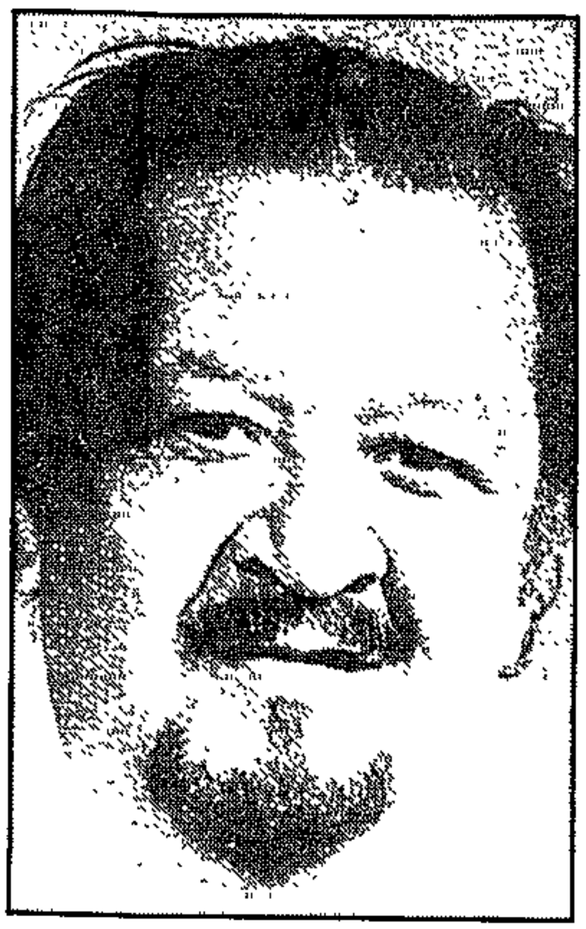
The foreign affairs source said Kaunda realised that De Klerk was "a different leader, a new man with a new style, a new look in bringing new hope to Southern Africa."

De Klerk afterwards said his visits over the past two days had nothing to do with the elections as he had gone to see Kaunda as acting State President of South Africa.

The irony is that when the meeting was planned, De Klerk was the National Party leader and he only got to become acting State Pesident because of clashes he had with P W Botha over arrangements for the meeting.

Otherwise yesterday's talks mainly centered around the resurgent war in Angola and moves towards securing the peace process in Angola.

Break chains of apartheid



Mr Allan Hendrickse . . . election of paramount importance.

By ALLAN HENDRICKSE

The election of September 6 will be remembered in South African politics as the last election in which the largest section of the South African population was not able to participate. For that reason this election has to be regarded as of paramount importance.

The Labour Party regards this election as the start of full participation of each South African in the future decision-making process of this country.

The Labour Party believes that only through solidarity among all South Africans can apartheid and the present political dispensation be destroyed. It is now the time for the voters in the so-called "coloured" community to finally give a message to the whites that apartheid is passé and that all measures have to be applied to establish a new constitutional dispensation for South Africa.

During the past five years the Labour Party has proven by means of its participation that it is the only political party at present which can prevent discriminatory legislation being put on to the statute book by the Government. The Labour Party will continue with this conduct after September 6.

The Government terms this conduct as confrontation or boycott politics. The Labour Party regards it as the only way towards peaceful negotiations. The days when the whites decided what was good for South Africa belong to the past.

By using the highest body of authority, the Labour Party has a platform by means of which we are forcing the Government to listen to us. After September 6 the Labour Party will use that platform even more effectively to force apartheid to its knees.

The message conveyed by the Labour Party to its voters is one of solidarity and to take hands against apartheid. Apartheid can only be broken if we all stand together and take one another's hands to finally break the chains.

For that reason it is important that we cast our vote against apartheid. We may not be absent from the polling booth. If we are absent, it is a vote for apartheid and suppression.

I call on voters: Come and vote for the Labour Party and finally break with the chains of apartheid in order for us to share in the wealth of South Africa as free South Africans.

Each day this week the views of political leaders on the forthcoming elections will appear on this page. Today we start with articles by the Rev Allan Hendrickse of the Labour Party and Dr J N Reddy of Solidarity.

Act wisely now – Solidarity



Dr J N Reddy . . . committed to dismantling tricameral system.

By DR J N REDDY

Seeking peace through negotiation and developing, and sharing, a common political and economic value systems where every citizen shares in its benefit and enjoys an acceptable standard of living is the ultimate goal of Solidarity.

The country must be liberated from its excessive preoccupation with ethnic and racial politics and apartheid legislation must be removed from the statute books. It is pleasing to note that the term "negotiation" is an essential part of the political vocabulary of most political parties and every leading Western nation. The attitude of the Soviet Union is also changing. Renewal politics of the National Party also offer an opportunity to break the political impasse.

Dialogue cannot take place in an atmosphere of intense bitterness and frustration which now prevails in South Africa. Solidarity urges the Government to facilitate change through releasing Nelson Mandela and other political detainess, allowing political exiles to return to the country, lifting the state of emergency to allow free dialogue and debate and lifting the ban on political organisations willing to negotiate.

Solidarity is committed to the formulation of a new constitution to accommodate the political aspirations of all people through consensus and the process of dialogue of all interested parties inside and outside South Africa, such as the ANC. The constitution must safeguard the dignity of the individual and the establishement of a judicial system.

Solidarity is also committed to the dismantling of the tricameral system. Our participation is intended to use the parliamentary process for change in the country and not for co-option into the system.

Solidarity seeks an election mandate on these proposals and will monitor the progress towards their implementation. Should no satisfactory progress be made, we will employ structural blockages to induce meaningful negotiations.

Solidarity advocates a system of limited government at the central level and we believe that South Africa's interests are best served by a greater decentralisation of political power. There is a need to establish regional governments based on appropriate geographical boundaries and supported by local governments.

South Africa is part of Africa. We must strive towards the development of a southern African economic community with all our neighbouring states and beyond and revitalise our economy through trade based on mutual needs. We must get back into the world market through Africa.

Solidarity advocates a unitary educational system that is relevant to the needs of a changing society. Education must focus inter alia on the development of youth and the protection of our environment.

Solidarity is aware that unless the Group Areas Act is abolished the housing problem will continue to plague this country. Nevertheless every attempt will be made to provide affordable housing, a task compounded in an economy that is depressed.

Solidarity seeks no other goal than the opportunity for all the people of South Africa to live in dignity and to enjoy the full social, political and economic benefits of the land of our birth.

30/8/89 304A B/day

FW is committed to apartheid — Andrew

ADELE BALETA

ACTING State President F W de Klerk was committed to the essential ingredients of apartheid ideology and he and his party would fail to bring about sucessful negotiations.



● ANDREW

This was the view of Gardens DP MP Ken Andrew speaking at a meeting in Oranjezicht, Cape Town last night.

He said the NP had failed to effectively address the critical factors required for successful negotiations,

These were that: real leaders of all significant organisations should take part; the government had to create a political climate that promoted negotiation rather than confrontation; no major participant in talks could have important non-negotiables that are unacceptable to other major participants.

Andrew challenged De Klerk to tell South Africans what his plans were after he released Nelson Mandela

Andrew believed SA would remain caught up with the "debilitating political stalemate and collapsing economy" of the past few years.

De Klerk would be unable to get credible negotiations under way and SA's position would deteriorate.

He questioned how De Klerk could claim to support a bill of rights that would outlaw discrimmination while at the same time he refused to contemplate the scrapping of the Separate Amenities and Group Areas Acts.

He also asked how the NP leader could talk about freedom of association while remaining steadfastly committed to the Population Registration Act, own affairs and legalised race classification.

Challenges

Andrew believed De Klerk's "whimsical smile" did not hide the fact he had been a conservative hardliner within a government which had an appaling record for over a decade.

In spite of De Klerk's seniority in the NP and his years of Cabinet experience, 47% of his own caucus colleagues voted against him as party leader "because they knew he was not the man to meet the challenges of the 1990s".

Report by A Baleta 11 Diagonal St, Johannesburg.

Pretoria sidelined by Dr T

CP switches 'big gun' to Potch rally

Political Staff

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has cancelled his final election campaign speech in Pretoria and shifted the public meeting to Potchefstroom as political parties start the final drive for votes before next Wednesday.

This emerged on Monday when the CP issued an urgent notice saying Dr Treurnicht would not be holding any more election meetings in Pretoria. He was due to speak at the city hall tonight.

The CP's secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, yesterday denied that the switch had taken place because the party felt it had done enough in Pretoria and needed to do more in Potchefstroom to oust Parliament's Speaker, Mr Louis le Grange, who squeaked through in 1987 by 558 votes.

He said the decision had been made after Dr Treurnicht's highly successful rally at the city hall on July 25, attended by at least 2 500 people.

In the last week of campaigning, the CP will not be staging any major public meetings in the Pretoria area. On Monday, traditionally the final night of campaigning, Dr Treurnicht is due to speak at Parow Civic Centre.

● The National Party is expected to close with its leader, Mr F W de Klerk, speaking at the Johannesburg City Hall on Monday. Tomorrow, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha will be speaking at Pretoria City Hall.

● On Monday, Democratic Party co-leader Dr Denis Worrall will be speaking in Durban, and the party will be mounting an ambitious and unprecedented shuttle between three meetings in Johannesburg.

Co-leaders Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan intend addressing three meetings starting at 7.30 pm on Monday: Mr Malan will start in Bezuidenhout and Dr de Beer in Randburg. They will speed off immediately after their speeches, cross at a public meeting in Hillbrow, and end up where the other started.

Local candidates will fill in as audiences wait for them.

(Report by A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

30/11 B/days 30/8/89

Anti-election stayaway seems inevitable, say unionists

ALAN FINE

WHILE there is still confusion about the precise nature and timing of labour action against the election and the Labour Relations Act (LRA), a number of unionists canvassed yesterday were betting on a work stayaway next Tuesday and Wednesday.

Police restrictions on, and presence at, the weekend worker summit prevented discussion of the issue. Other meetings have been prohibited, leaving the labour movement unable to discuss its plans through formal channels.

One leader of an independent union which was party to the summit said there had been a lot of speculation, but no clarity as yet.

Another unionist said there was a fair amount of agitation on buses and trains among union members, who wanted also to mark in some way the September 1 first anniversary of the coming into operation of the Labour Relations Amendment Act.

A third unionist said the authorities had been successful in frustrating discussion on a stayaway. However this had done more to polticise the LRA than any union efforts, and had cemented in workers' eyes the relationship between the Act and the election.

He said recent developments meant that if any workplace action occurred, unions would be unable to answer employer queries.

FCI manpower spokesman Gerrie Bezuidenhout said yesterday he had been inundated with calls from members wanting to know what to expect. The organisation was seeking information.

304A

Permit for blacks 'immoral'

Political Staff

Holding aloft an official permit to stage a multiracial meeting at the Pretoria City Hall, a DP candidate said he found the necessity for it humiliating and immoral.

Mr Martin Brink, who is standing for Waterkloof, said the presence of a handful of black people at last night's public meeting would not have been possible had it not been for the permit.

"Some blacks phoned today, saying they wanted to attend. They were asked: 'Do you have a Group Areas Act permit?'

"It is unbelievable," Mr Brink added. It was a slap in the face of those known as "other races" (anderskleuriges).

"It was also a blot on the National Party.

Turning to the Mass Democratic Movement, and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok's speeches against it, Mr Brink challenged Mr Vlok to use and antagonise the "Wit Wolwe" as he had the MDM.

(Report by A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Violence: both sides to blame, says Wynand

Political Staff

Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan last night blamed both the Government and the organisers of protests when violence erupted.

He told a public meeting in Pretoria that when one exercised the right to protest and knew it would be met with violence, then one was co-responsible.

Mr Malan said Archbishop Desmond Tutu had said when the Mass Democratic Movement embarked on peaceful protest, that if there was violence, it would be on the part of the Government. This argument did not hold up when one expected peaceful protest to be met by confrontation.

"Then he is blameworthy himself."

People had to exercise peaceful protest in a disciplined way to prevent outbreaks of violence. Both the police and MDM had acted with restraint in some cases but in others had gone beyond the limits of decency.

He was addressing about 175 people at the Pretoria City Hall. He said the DP condemned violence as a method to bring about political change and the police had a duty to act in such cases.

He said it was not possible to escape co-responsibility for violence when protest was organised.

"It is easy to lose control of a situation, as now seems to have happened, particularly in the western Cape. Here police action is right and ordinary citizens expect that the police must act. Street and mob violence is unacceptable."

But also unacceptable was the use of violence against people peacefully protesting beach apartheid. So was the use of teargas against Archbishop Tutu and a university principal.

While the DP rejected violence, including that from the MDM and ANC, this did not take away the right to peaceful protest.

Mr Malan said the DP recognised, however, that protest was inevitable when normal political activity was not possible and forbidden, as in the case particularly of the MDM.

Protest was in such cases the only way out. "And if you are not allowed protest, then violence is by defnition the only thing that will follow."

(Report by A Dunn, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Hillbrow 'a stinking ghetto'

By Sue Valentine

The Conservative Party candidate for Hillbrow, Mr T J Ferreira, said last night the CP planned to stop Hillbrow from remaining a "stinking, filthy Third World ghetto" by implementing a Boksburg-type solution.

"We will take one block at a time and give them 30 days notice. They must go back to where they come from. If they do not move we will evict them," he said.

Addressing about 100 people at the Johannesburg High School for Girls, Mr Ferreira slammed the efforts of the "Save Our School" (SOS) committee to have the school opened to all races.

He said if blacks were admitted "I think it will burn very nicely".

He said the 11 000 signatures collected by the committee came largely from the "rich, fat-cat, bridge-playing leftists in Sandton", who did not wish to share their suburb with black citizens.

(Report by S Valentine, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Boksburg Conservative Party councillor and CP candidate for Hillbrow, Mr T J Ferreira, at a meeting at Johannesburg High School for Girls last night. ● Picture by John Hogg.

(3044) SMM 30/8/89

Toughest election battle in decades proves exhausting for all

Politicians pull out all the stops

By Esmaré van der Merwe, Political Reporter

Politicians are feeling the strain of an exhausting four-month campaign in which all the stops have been pulled out to draw maximum support at the polls next Wednesday.

With one week to election day, voters may be forgiven for a sigh of relief as the protracted campaign reaches its end. They have been exposed to three years of canvassing, starting with the general election of 1987 and followed by last year's municipal elections.

Politicians are mustering their remaining physical reserves to secure last-minute support in what has been one of the toughest general elections in decades.

While telephone canvassing and television debates have played a hi-tech role in getting across the political message, parties have not neglected tradition as candidates stalked the streets, put up posters and addressed meetings.

The parties in the House of Assembly have addressed hundreds of meetings countrywide in the last two months, drawing crowds varying in size from 50 to almost 2 000.

Somewhat quieter were the parties in the House of Delegates and House of Representatives, which are relying strongly on the newly introduced system of special votes.

Clearly taking its toll is the pressure on Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha. On top of a heavy schedule in Westdene, he has had to accompany Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, on two African safaris in the last few days.

Leaving the country before dawn on Monday for talks with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, Mr Botha had to address a public meeting that same night in Springs.

with President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire and weekend discussions with Unita's Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Yesterday he hosted a reception for the FNB International Rugby XV in Pretoria, met a delegation of Lesotho Cabinet Ministers and then went to Durban to address a political meeting.

Of the DP's three co-leaders, Dr Denis Worrall has had the toughest travelling schedule as party organisers queued to get the charismatic former ambassador to address meetings.

But not far behind were Dr Zach de Beer and Mr Wynand Malan, who addressed meetings from Graaff-Reinet and Witbank.

The CP's 22 MPs, including its leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, have roamed the platteland and cities alike, holding up to 10 meetings an evening in the last month.

Stretched themselves

Working as hard as the parliamentary hopefuls were the extra-parliamentary organisations campaigning for a boycott of the coloured and Indian elections.

Some candidates have stretched themselves to their limits. For example, the NP's high-profile candidate in Randburg, Mr Glenn Babb, has on average addressed four house or business meetings a day, five days a week, for about two months.

His camp is confident the benefits will be reaped on election day, and many believe he could oust Mr Wynand Malan in what will be the upset of the election.

As the campaign reaches its climax, participants and spectators — not to mention the bleary-eyed journalists following the campaign trail — could well ask: "Is there life after September 6?"

(Report by E van der Merwe, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesbur)



Showing the strain . . . Foreign Minister Pik Botha at a public meeting in Springs this week where he spoke in support of the town's MP, Mr Piet Coetzer. The meeting came at the end of a day of talks with Zambian President Dr Kenneth Kaunda at Livingstone. ● Picture by John Hogg.

The other side of FW

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

WHILE Mr FW de Klerk is winning friends and influencing people in other countries his wife, Marika, is on the record as referring to so-called coloured people as non-people, Indians as a splinter group and blacks as "unable to govern themselves."

Black people, Mrs de Klerk told a group of elderly people in the Vaal in 1983, have always been ruled and their horizons have been expanded by white people since 1948

They are the biggest threat (grootste bedreiging) she said

"We should give them political rights so our own political rights are not threatened because whites remain the leaders in this country.

"Therefore, preterence should be given to whites in any solution and white rights should be considered first," she said.

After listening to a the Cape Corps orchestra in Cape Town at the time, De klerk said "my heart bleeds for them, no two of them have the same features alike At least we all look European But they. Some look Indian, some look Chinese, some look black."

Coloured

Elsewhere in the speech she said: "You know they (so-called coloureds) are a negative group The definition of a coloured in the population register is; somebody who is not black not white and not Indian, in other word they are non-people."

She said coloured people were the leftovers (oorskiet) and were scrapped from the voters roster because of "malpractice" That is why she said "separate voters rolls must be maintained"

The so-called Indians did not escape the wrath of Mrs De Klerk either "They're a splinter group of a *volk* elsewhere in Africa and must be governed. And governing is built into our system as is the *hausskap* of whites.

The incident was first reported in the Afrikaans newspaper *Vrye Weekblad* and followed up by *The Sunday Star* earlier this year.

There was no response from the office of the Acting State President by late yesterday

In another report in the *Vrye Weekblad* of February 24, Mrs de Klerk denies that she's a racist.

She said that she was quoted out of context. However there are strong rumours that the acting State President's brother, former *Beeld* editor Mr Willem de Klerk "finds her (Mrs de Klerk) racism objectionable."



Voters do not trust NP – Dr T

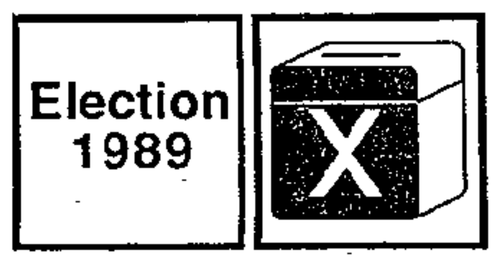
POTCHEFSTROOM — For whites in South Africa September 6 would be a day of reckoning on which they could decide to regain the right of self-determination which they lost in the 1983 referendum, the Conservative Party leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said last night.

He told a meeting in the Potchefstroom Town Hall that the National Party Government was moving in a direction that would result in whites "losing everything".

Since the introduction of the tricameral Parliament in 1984, he said, whites had lost their right of self-determination and political autonomy.

Dr Treurnicht said voters no longer trusted the NP because it recognised the right of blacks to have their own land areas but did not do the same for whites; it claimed it did not want to talk to the ANC but offered its "top man" the hospitality of Tuynhuys.

Report by K Daniels, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)



Unless otherwise stated, political comment in this issue is by H W Tyson, content approved by R G Anderson, J M Patten and J de Villiers, and political cartoons by D Anderson, all of 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Predictions about election

No possibility of hung Parliament — says Slabbert

Staff Reporter

There is no possibliity of a hung parliament resulting from next week's general election, the former leader of the Opposition, Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, said last night.

Speaking at the annual meeting of property group Stocks and Stocks Holdings Limited, Dr Slabbert predicted that the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party would win 75 seats between them in the new parliament.

"The CP will get about 45 seats and the DP between 28 and 32," he said.

Dr Slabbert said there were probably still "about 10" National Party MPs who would leave the party for the CP in the event of the CP doing well at the polls.

"But I do not believe there are enough of them to give the CP power or result in a hung parliament — because there are a number of other MPs who would then join the DP," Dr Slabbert said.

He said that as the politics of negotiation gained momentum, "the CP will become a very angry small fish in a large pond".

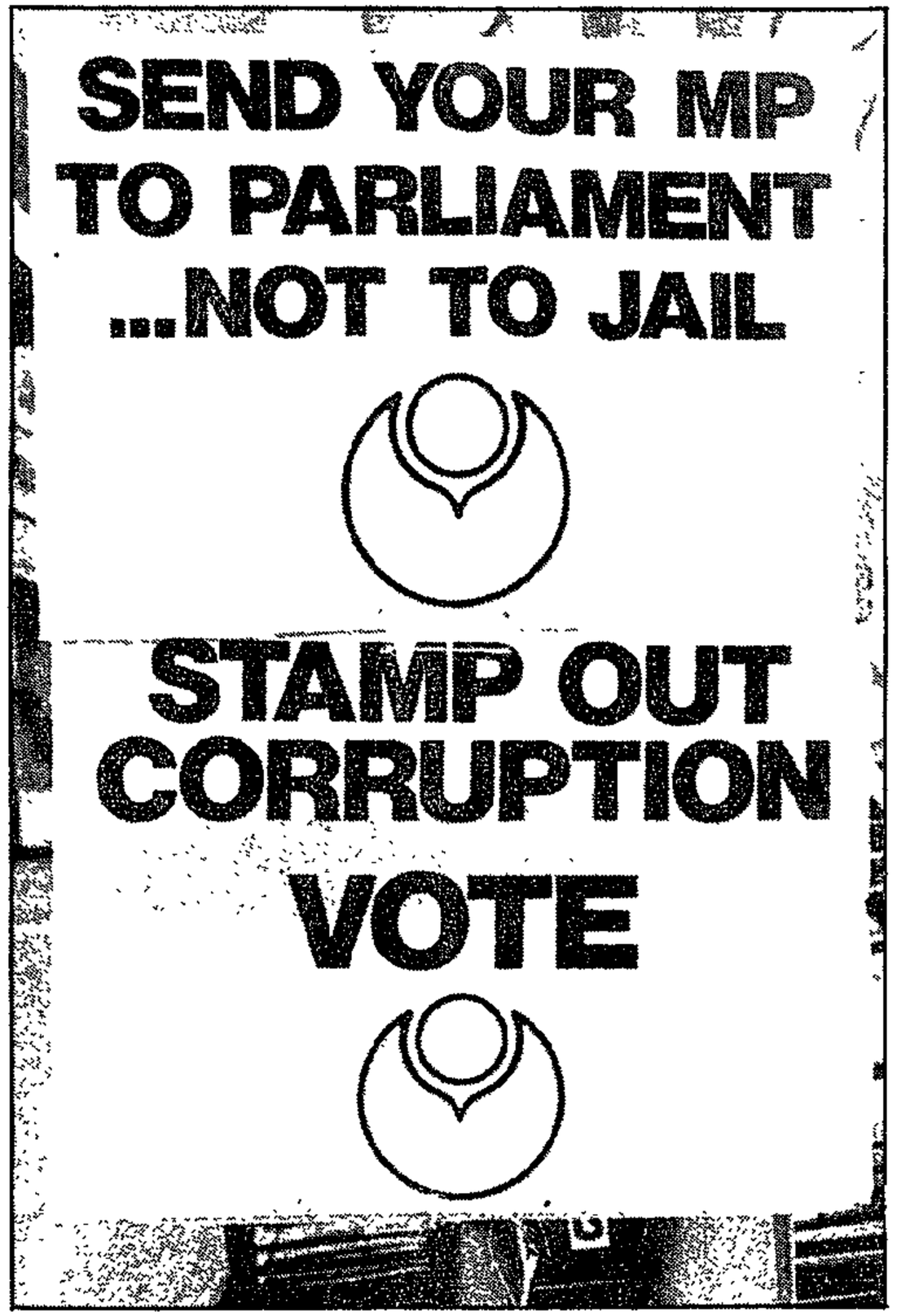
Their actions were difficult to predict, but Dr Slabbert did not rule out right-wing militancy as a response to negotiation.

Dr Slabbert said that Mr F W de Klerk would rule over a party whose base was shifting.

There was a convergence of international, regional and local pressure and Mr de Klerk had firmly made the focus of the election that of negotiation.

Dr Slabbert said there would be a period of unpredictability as South Africa moved from unilateral white domination to the challenge of finding a unique political solution.

He said there was common ground between what Mr de Klerk and his Government were saying and the position of the ANC as accepted by the Organisation of African Unity.



Challenging poster . . . put out by the Democratic Party in Hillbrow following the controversial victory of the National Party in the constituency in 1987. The DP are hoping to reverse the narrow defeat they suffered two years ago.

'Things will happen' after polls

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

WITBANK —The Government would "make things happen in southern Africa after September 6 because it was in the interest of South Africa", Acting State President Mr F W de Klerk told about 1 000 people here last night.

"Apart from internal solutions" the Government would devote itself to playing its role as a regional power. It would try to bring all southern Africa states together in a co-operative agreement through dialogue and conferences.

Mr de Klerk said there was a growing realisation in Europe and southern Africa that all the countries in southern Africa shared a common destiny. The region's economic realities were forcing other southern African countries to realise their future was bound up with SA.

They realised South Africa's infrastructure was important to the economies of all, and that only South Africa had the expertise they needed.

"They know money is not coming from Europe and the United States as it used to. There is a willingness to fund southern African projects only if they know the money will be well-spent.

"And — can you believe it — quite often their conditions are that they will seriously consider funding southern African projects, but only if the South Africans are involved in a joint venture on a regional basis. I have found in Europe a tremendous interest in the regionalisation of southern Africa and a wish for South Africa to do something about the region.

"It makes sense for us all to take hands and build a basis for co-operation — to share a central infrastructure, to use each other's harbours, railways, electricity and water. That is what is happening in southern Africa.

Though South Africa was often criticised unfairly by the international community — and would brook no interference in its internal affairs — it still had many friends. "We must strengthen their hands," the NP leader said.

(Report by P Fabricius, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Co-operation is catchword — FW

By Peter Fabricius,
Political Correspondent

The Acting State President, Mr F W de Klerk, said his recent meetings with African leaders had laid a "positive foundation on which to build further co-operation in southern Africa, especially in the economic sphere".

He was speaking after a meeting yesterday in the Union Buildings with Major- General Metsing Lekhanya, head of the Lesotho Military Council.

This was his fourth meeting with African leaders in the last few weeks.

"I was struck by one general theme and that is the realisation among leaders of southern Africa that co-operation in the region could only be to the benefit of the region and all its States," Mr de Klerk said.

General Lekhanya agreed with Mr de Klerk and said the initiatives which had been taken to involve all the region's leaders in efforts to solve problems could only bring good for all countries.

Although Mr de Klerk had no more meetings on his schedule, he said he knew quite a few African leaders were awaiting the outcome of next week's elections before meeting him.

Mr de Klerk met General Lekhanya for about 10 minutes after a two-hour meeting between the general and the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Mr Botha said after the meeting that apart from discussing the Lesotho Highlands Water Scheme agreement, he had briefed the Lesotho Military Council on Mr de Klerk's recent meetings with other African leaders.

Malan denies about-turn on violence

Restraint call to MDM and police

CAPE TIMES 31/8/89 PI 5094

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC PARTY co-leader Mr Wynand Malan said yesterday he had not done an about-turn by criticising the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) on the issue of violence as the election campaign draws to a close.

Mr Malan said he had repeated at his Pretoria meeting this week what he had been saying throughout the election campaign, that both the MDM and the police had a duty to avoid violence and could not simply blame the other whenever violence occurred.

He rejected suggestions that his criticism of the MDM was prompted by concern at the sustained NP effort to link him and the DP to the MDM, and by association to violent incidents in the anti-apartheid defiance campaign.

"The NP attack is harming me, but its effect is limited. People are starting to see the balance in the statements I have been making since the start of the election.



Mr Malan

"What I have been saying is that there is a responsibility on both the police and on organisations engaging in protest action to exercise maximum restraint.

"Protest is legitimate, especially where political activity is prohibited, as is the case with the MDM.

"But it is not enough for organisations to say their intentions are peaceful, that they know the police will move in with violence and therefore the police will be responsible for the violence."

Mr Malan said Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu was among those who had been reported as holding this view.

"That attitude is unacceptable. If there is a possibility of violence and you proceed regardless, you are co-responsible for the violence.

"Also unacceptable is the police view that there can never be protest because all protest leads to violence. But, where violence erupts, it is the duty of the police to move in and stop it."

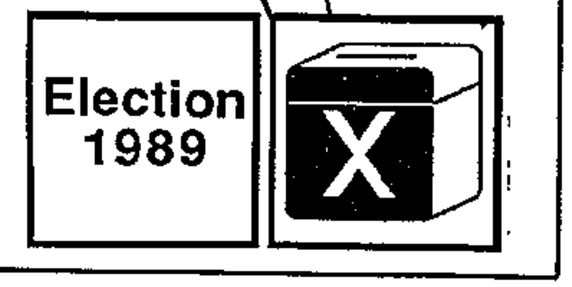
Mr Malan said there had been no change in his attitude to the MDM or to violence. He had been accused by the MDM of blaming them in advance at the start of the election campaign when he said they would be co-responsible if they pushed protest action to the stage that it "triggered the Casspirs".

There had been examples of commendable restraint by both the MDM and the police, as in the hospital protests. There had also been examples where protest had been pushed too far and, in the case of action against beach protesters, where police behaviour was unacceptable.

(Report by MP Acott, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

Elections irrelevant – MDM

Each day this week the views of political leaders on the elections will appear on this page. Today we publish articles by a member of Mass Democratic Movement and Mr Koos van der Merwe of the Conservative Party.



By a member of the Mass Democratic Movement

The Mass Democratic Movement's position on the forthcoming elections must be prefaced by a clear statement that the elections are not of major consequence to the majority of the people in our country.

This is so because the vast majority of our citizens will not be voting in these elections and we consider the parliamentary system in South Africa to be totally undemocratic and illegitimate.

Our position has been arrived at after consultation with organisations within the fold of the MDM and assessing what is best for the advancement of the struggles of the oppressed masses of our country. The organisations within the MDM have consistently maintained that the forces for change in our country lie outside the parliamentary system.

It is difficult indeed to identify even one significant repeal of apartheid legislation that was the result of a genuine desire for change on the part of the Government of this country. Every significant move away from racist legislation was forced on to Parliament by the non-violent struggles of the masses of this country through democratically elected organisations in the extra-parliamentary movement.

The Immorality Act and Mixed Marriages Act were abolished after people invalidated these racist laws by simply ignoring them. The pass laws were repealed after massive resistance from our people that left the State no option but to do away with the law.

The struggles of the workers of South Africa forced the Government to legislate changes to the labour laws. The struggles of the homeless in our country have led to the invalidation of the Group Areas Act, again forcing the National Party to institute the Free Settlement Areas Act, even though this is totally inadequate.

These are some examples of changes in legalisation forced upon the apartheid Government by the forces of change in the extra-parliamentary movement. In all these instances, the Government had no choice but to repeal or amend legislation because their racist laws were being ignored or resisted by the vast majority.

The Government had to extricate itself from the inevitable results of apartheid legislation by legalising de facto situations brought about by the struggles of the oppressed majority and all anti-apartheid people.

This justifies our assertion that the forces of genuine change lie with the extra-parliamentary movement. However, as one of the legitimate representatives of the majority in our country, it is expected of the MDM to state clearly its position vis-a-vis the elections.

We are not campaigning for a boycott by the white electorate of the elections in the House of Assembly. Having stated this, we must emphasise that we are not participating in the elections in any way and members (both black and white) of all organisations within the MDM will abide by this decision.

We also emphasise the decision by the MDM not to call for a boycott of elections for the House of Assembly does not distract from our unrelenting campaign for the ultimate dissolution of an illegitimate and undemocratic parliamentary system and its replacement by a democratically elected non-racial peoples' assembly.

We must also emphasise our total rejection of the tricameral system and thus the House of Delegates and House of Representatives.

We therefore condemn the decision of the Democratic Party to field candidates in the House of Delegates and conclude an agreement with the Labour Party. The oppressed majority has totally rejected these two Houses and the Democratic Party must thus expect vociferous opposition from constituencies campaigning against elections for these two Houses.

We believe the Democratic Party has called upon itself the opposition of the oppressed communities that have rejected a racist, ineffective and totally illegitimate system created to maintain white rule and apartheid.

We conclude by asserting that these elections are not a factor in our agenda. The MDM, representative of the oppressed majority and other anti-apartheid organisations has begun the process for the dismantling of apartheid and this process will continue.

(Submitted by C Coovadia, 76 Mint Road, Fordsburg.)

Poll has little to offer 'crowded flatland'

By HELEN GRANGE

For the residents of Hillbrow, one of the most densely populated areas in the world, Wednesday's general election matters little.

Apart from the fact that most of those living in this cosmopolitan flatland can't vote (and therefore don't care), a large percentage of those who can vote have fled to "whiter" pastures and have not been found.

Those who must live with the outcome of the Hillbrow election are mostly without a voice — blacks and immigrants without SA citizenship.

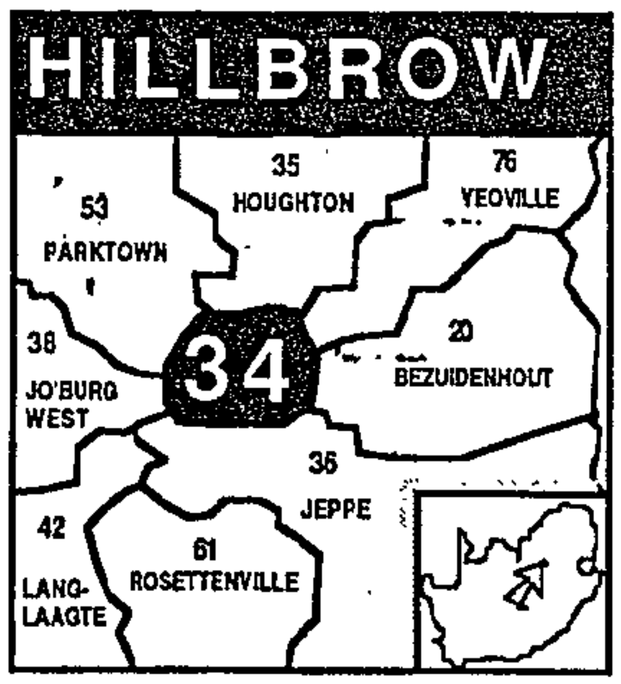
There are about 18 000 registered voters in Hillbrow, a suburb inhabited by between 50 000 and 100 000 people, according to estimates. At least half of Hillbrow's voters have moved out of the area and most remain untraced.

Nevertheless, SA's showpiece of racial integration is being hotly contested by high-profile election candidates and political observers will watch the constituency with keen interest, if only to see voters' reaction to the NP's inaction over Hillbrow's established racial mix.

The fact that Hillbrow has become South Africa's racial melting pot appears to have been accepted as a *fait accompli* by the National Party.

Ironically, this has placed the NP's candidate, Mr Tony Wasserman, on a very similar election platform as his DP opponent, Mr Lester Fuchs. Both have decided to run with the situation as it stands and concentrate on improved living standards.

Only the CP's Mr T J Ferreira has predictably focused on Hillbrow's contravention of the Group Areas Act,





T J Ferreira.



Tony Wasserman.



Lester Fuchs.

vowing to remove all "illegals" in terms of the existing laws.

For Mr Fuchs, the overriding priority in Hillbrow is to rid the area of crime and corruption.

As a resident of Berea, he says he is more aware of many problems than his counterparts.

"I intend to maintain and upgrade standards for all race groups. Hillbrow needs bobbies on the beat to fight the surging crime rate that the Nat-controlled city council has not addressed," he says.

Mr Fuchs is also determined to smoke out unscrupulous landlords who exploit "illegals" by charging exorbitant rentals while leaving their buildings to decay.

Mr Fuchs has also focused on improving Hillbrow economy, which he claims has gone down because of the NP's "wanton extravagance".

The NP's Mr Tony Wasserman, a director of companies who lives in Waverley, has similar plans for the area's upgrading, including the improvement of security and riddance of "slumlords".

However, Mr Wasserman wants clarity over Hillbrow's political status and has challenged the Government to state whether the suburb will be considered a free settlement area.

But flying in the face of Hillbrow's grey area status is the CP's Mr Ferreira, chief whip in Boksburg's CP-controlled town council. He is determined to make the suburb "safe" for whites by ensuring the mass eviction of "illegals".

Should he be elected to Parliament, Mr Ferreira says Hillbrow will be "safe" enough for him to buy a flat.

However, political observers believe the real contest in the Hillbrow constituency is between the DP and NP. The CP, it is predicted, could siphon a few votes from the NP at best — but their polling would not increase substantially since last year's municipal election, when they only kept the 1 196-strong support gained in the 1987 general election.

In 1987, the NP's Mr Leon de Beer narrowly took the Hillbrow seat from the PFP's Mr Alf Widman. But soon afterwards, Mr de Beer was found guilty of election fraud and suspended from the NP, forfeiting his seat.

The Widman-De Beer saga has become a major DP weapon against the NP in this election campaign, with Mr Fuchs claiming the episode remains fresh in the minds of voters.

Mr Fuchs is confident the DP will capture a marginal seat in Hillbrow but Mr Wasserman believes Hillbrow is still a safe NP seat and is sure of increasing the NP's majority by between 500 and 1 000 votes.

For the tens of thousands of residents who can't vote, however, the election is a non-event. Few of them are even aware of who is standing, never mind what they stand for.

(Report by H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

Under threat on all sides

SEVERAL Cabinet ministers and deputy ministers are fighting for their political lives in next week's tricameral election.

Those particularly threatened on September 6 are some of the rising stars in the National Party — Leon Wessels, Roelf Meyer, Sam de Beer and Stoffel van der Merwe.

A swing of two percent will see Wessels, deputy-minister of Law and Order, deposed in Krugersdorp. A swing of four percent will see the end of Louis le Grange, Speaker of Parliament, in Potchefstroom.

Senior Cabinet members Gerrit Viljoen, Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan will not be returning to Parliament if there is a swing to the right of 16 percent in Vanderbijlpark, and 24 percent in Verwoerdburg and Modderfontein respectively.

Nat bigwig Pik Botha, however, seems fairly safe in Westdene where the Democratic Party will require a 30 percent swing to the left to unseat him.

The DP candidate, Chris van Niekerk, is hopeful, however, that the more affluent and youthful white voters who have moved into the Westdene constituency may provide the support to cause the upset of the election.

The Conservative Party is posing a serious threat to a clutch of senior Nats — Amie Venter in Klerksdorp, Sam de Beer in Geduld, Piet Clase in Virginia and Roelf Meyer in Johannesburg-West.

The DP will require a 27 percent swing to the left to unseat Minister of Information Stoffel van der Merwe in Helderkruin.

Election expert Dirk Laurie calculates that the DP requires a two percent swing to the left to unseat Nats in Edenvale, Helderberg, Hillbrow, Simonstown and Wynberg.

Other seats within reach of the DP are Umhlanga, Umbilo, Albany, Pietermaritzburg-North and Walmer.

Other Nat seats under threat from the CP are Roodeplaat, Heilbron, Innesdal, Newscastle, Meyerton, Fauresmith, Kuruman, Maraisburg, Gezina, Ladybrand and Springs.

(Report by J Pauw, 153 Bree Street, Johannesburg.)

Oom Hansie has election blues

By PAT FAHRENFORT

OUT of curiosity, I set off in search of candidates of "colour" in this election, especially those who have missed out on the opportunities of TV debates.

My first choice was Mrs Sohier Hoosen from the Freedom Party, who is Egyptian and speaks only a little English and no Afrikaans.

And my second choice was Mr Hansie Christian, a former Labour Party candidate who promotes himself as "Oom" Hansie Christian.

So what's a nice lady like Hoosen doing in parliament?

According to her husband, Mr Raymond Mohamed, "I encouraged her to go into politics."

In fact, together they form a "his and her party". She represents the Freedom Party in the House of Representatives and he in the House of Delegates.

However, I managed to say only a few words to Hoosen as her husband decided the English press was not constructive enough to be granted an interview.

I then went to 22 Commercial Street to see how prior voting was going.

Just before entering the voting room I caught sight of two supposedly outdated signs — "blanke dames" and "blanke mans" — above the entrance to the toilets.

I expressed surprise and mentioned to the person next to me that I hadn't seen anything like that for "ages".

"Yes, one day it will be going," he said.

The response came from Mr Achmat Ismail, an Independent candidate.

On leaving the building I spotted a hand-designed poster promoting Ismail's party.

It read: "Ismail Achmat was born in District 6 and not in Egypt. Ismail has suffered under apartheid laws. Ismail knows what the community needs and feels for. Ismail has been instrumental in the dismantling of apartheid through his oil paintings. Ismail makes no false promises. Therefore vote for Ismail".

Mohamed (of the Freedom Party in the House of Delegates) made me aware of another poster which said that Ismail did oil paintings of PW.

Criticised

On to "Oom Hansie", who is renowned for his slogan "Oom Hansie is nie op vakansie".

The 66-year-old "oom", who is frequently criticised for only having completed his Std 6, has been involved in politics since the days of Tom Swartz and the Coloured Representative Council.

Instead of the jubilant character he is known to be, I found a man on the brink of despair.

I was ushered into a dimly-lit lounge cluttered with porcelain ornaments of every shape and size, depicting fowls, cats, birds and dogs.

The "oom" suddenly excused himself for a "pressing engagement" following which a boy of about seven arrived with a long leather duster to switch channels, in case I wanted to watch something else.

Fifteen minutes later, "Oom Hansie" returned and talked reluctantly about his involvement in the forthcoming election.

He is standing as an Independent after having been kicked out of the Labour Party last year for having refused to withdraw from the September municipal elections.

At this point the oom's keen sense of smell interrupted the discussion and he yelled to his cook: "Moenie pieper in my kos gooi nie, ek kan ryk".

Continuing, "Oom Hansie" said he would have withdrawn from the municipal elections had it been on a "matter of principle".

But he said it had concerned people whom he had promised to serve.

The issues he is fighting include housing, rents, evictions and "whatever serves the interests of my community".

"I have developed Ravensmead from a blikkiesdorp to what it is today," he said.

However, despite his claims of having attracted more than 2 000 votes and being way ahead of the Labour Party, the future looks as if "Oom Hansie" could truly be on "vakansie" soon.

(Report by Pat Fahrenfort, 68 Greatmore Street, Woodstock.)

Defiant poll stand

A STRONG "don't vote" call has been made by Muslim organisations countrywide.

In the Western Cape several anti-election meetings have already been held in mosques and other venues while several Mulsim organisations are planning to hold rallies in different parts of the Peninsula on Sunday.

Sheikh Nazeem Mohamed, president of the Muslim Judicial Council, the leading body for Mulsim clerics in the Western Cape, has confirmed that Friday sermons at the approximately 90 mosques in the Western Cape would be devoted to the anti-election call.

He said the elections undermined and disregarded the feelings and aspirations of the "vast majority of the oppressed people".

"In Islam there exists no place for any form of discrimination or discriminatory laws as is the case in South Africa.

"Endless suffering has been experienced by people under this vicious policy. We stand totally opposed to this dummy election which we regard as an insult to the integrity of our people."

He said tricameralism is "but a tentacle of apartheid" and must be strongly opposed.

The MJC will also issue an anti-election bulletin on Friday.

The Call of Islam said Islam "forbids voting for injustice".



"To stand for elections or to vote is prohibited (haraam)", it said.

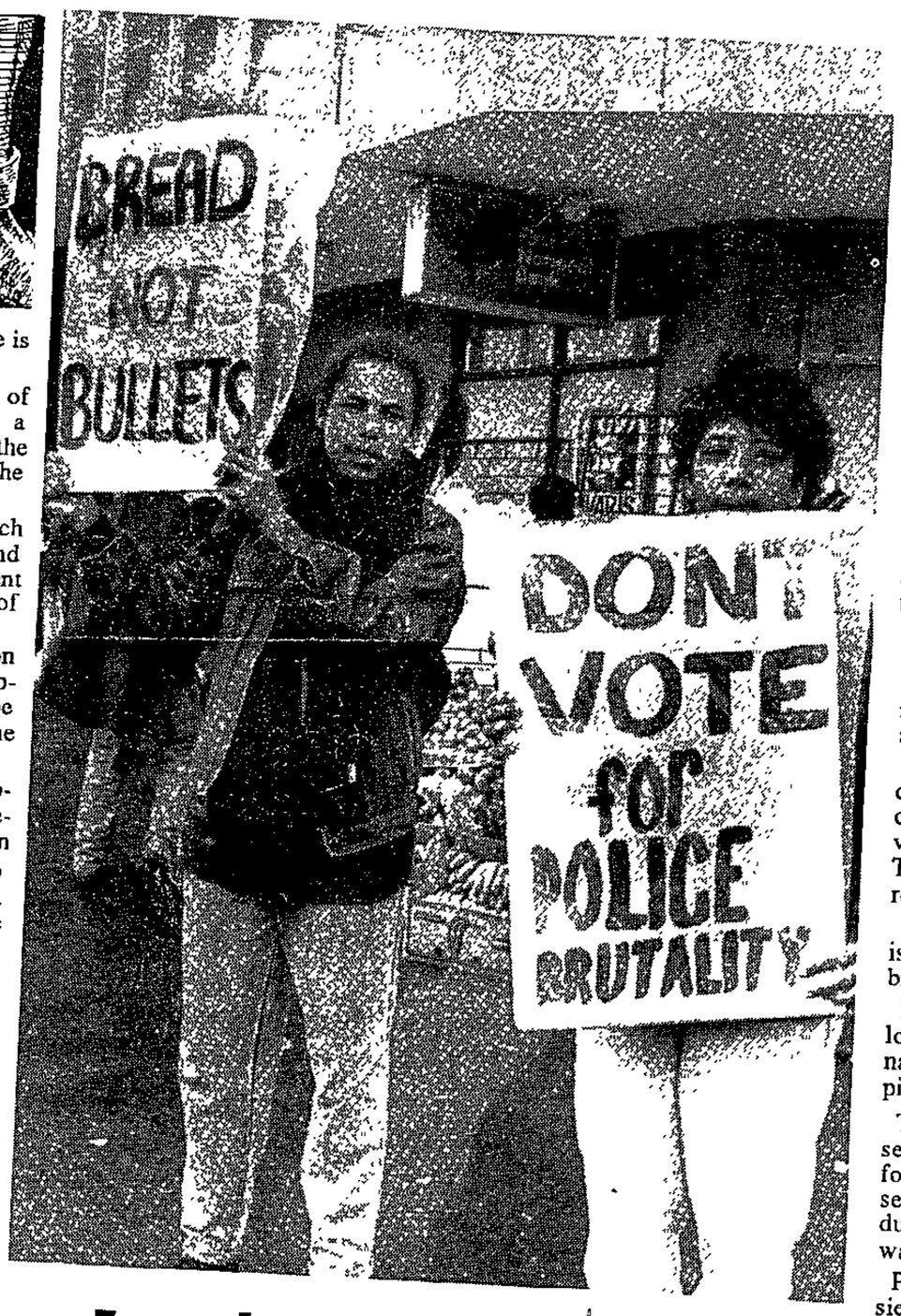
The Muslim Youth Movement of South Africa (MYM) said in a statement it endorsed the call "on the oppressed not to participate in the present elections".

"The greatest single threat which has confronted the oppressed and exploited in South Africa in recent decades has been the phenomenon of political co-option.

"On September 6 this phenomenon will once again confront the oppressed masses when they will be called on by this illegitimate regime to participate in its racist elections.

"In 1984 the oppressed unequivocally demonstrated its refusal to become partners in its own oppression by rejecting the regime's attempt to co-opt it into its tricameral system. Nothing has changed except that the regime has become more sophisticated in its oppression."

(Report by M Williams, 95 Sir Lowry Rd, Woodstock.)



DON'T VOTE: The anti-election drive in the Western Cape echoed through the streets of Cape Town this week when these women protested in Athlone

Hundreds queue to 'not vote'

By QURAISH PATEL

HUNDREDS of people are queuing at a Durban polling station, but they are not coming to vote.

Instead, they are signing pledges at a Natal Indian Congress tent saying they will not vote. This is in contrast to the trickle arriving to vote for candidates in the House of Delegates.

Dhaya Govender, chairperson of the local NIC branch, said the "don't vote" tent had proved to be a major success.

"At least 2 000 people have already signed the pledge committing themselves to a non-racial South Africa and supporting the Freedom Charter," he said.

Amid allegations that people are being lured to cast prior votes, House of Delegates candidates are facing a credibility problem.

Not one has been able to formulate any significant response to challenges by community leaders on the reason for seeking election.

The proliferation of political parties in the House of Delegates has confused even the minority who want to vote. One party is very much like the other, although some candidates appear more literate than others.

However, they are all united in their support of a House which has no influence on the country.

Some candidates, who are fighting charges of corruption in the House, are unable to explain how they intend bringing about meaningful changes.

Indeed, most candidates seem to be ignoring the lack of power enjoyed by Delegates as well as charges that the constitution is fundamentally flawed.

Allegations of corruption still remain unanswered.

National People's Party leader Amichand Rajbansi, disgraced by the James Commission which probed various allegations, is facing charges preferred recently by Natal's Attorney-General as a result of the commission's conclusions.

However, Rajbansi believes he has the necessary support in the Arena Park constituency where he lives. Like the other candidates, he has no idea of what he can do in the House of Delegates.

Taking advantage of the charges against Rajbansi are candidates, including the Solidarity Party, who promise "clean administration".

Many seeking re-election are promising to do now what they have not been able to do during the past four years in office.

NIC organisers, meanwhile, have been mustering large crowds in most of Durban's constituencies. Bolstered by the defiance campaign, the NIC has continually challenged candidates to attend its meetings.

Explaining the NIC position, secretary Dr Farouk Meer said this week that the Congress and the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) would not participate in the tricameral parliament.

"We refuse to give apartheid a new lease on life.

"There is no point in taking part in a system which is dominated by whites, emphasises group rights by way of 'own affairs' and white control over 'general affairs', and entrenches apartheid while creating the illusion of power-sharing.

"Under these conditions, even the very best participant will be attempting to drive a vehicle without an engine, and the only possible role for the junior houses is to disburse funds given to it by the Nationalists."

Analysing the election, sociology lecturer Yunus Carrim said: "The overwhelming majority of the people were not consulted in drawing up or implementing the new constitutional dispensation."

He said the structure of the tricameral parliament retained white domination.

"The House of Delegates and House of Representatives do not have the power to make any fundamental changes."

(Report by Q Patel, of Borrole Drive, Newlands, Durban.)

Three claim cure for Hillbrow's ills

EDYTH BULBRING

THE NP, CP and DP are each claiming the edge in the general election contest in Johannesburg's Hillbrow constituency.

The front-runners are the DP's Lester Fuchs and NP's Tony Wasserman.

Both are campaigning on the same issues and proposing similar remedies for Hillbrow's ills.

Hillbrow has 18 000 registered voters of which half have left the area. Eighteen months ago the DP started an intensive tracing programme and claims to have tracked several thousand absent voters.



● FUCHS

By this week the number of special and postal votes cast was 2 200.

Fuch's election agent, Paul Asherson, says the DP is confident it has 1 300 of these votes.

All three parties claim to have canvassed the entire Hillbrow area.

Hillbrow consists of four wards, two controlled by the DP, Berea and Pullingerkop, and two by the NP, Joubert Park and Hillbrow.

Fuchs, an attorney, claims his biggest support comes from Berea which has a large percentage of Jewish voters and where he is city councillor.

Very little support is coming from Joubert Park, which has strong CP support, and he puts Hillbrow ward at 50-50.

Fuchs aims to win the election on the "local boy punt".

He lives in Berea and says he is concerned about the same issues as the voters — lack of security and falling living standards.

Fuch's answer to Hillbrow's problems is to increase the police force and enforce by-laws to maintain living standards.

Both the NP's candidate and Fuchs have run aggressive advertising campaigns.

The NP's Wasserman, 33, said there was a big swing to the NP in Berea. Wasserman, like Fuchs, is Jewish.

He said Jewish voters tended to vote for a Jewish candidate, but when there were two Jewish candidates they would vote for the party.

Wasserman, a businessman, said NP calculations showedit was 500 votes ahead of the DP regarding special and postal votes. Of these, about 800 special votes came from people in residential hotels.

The NP started tracing voters two months ago, Wassermans said.

The NP had not picked up much support in Joubert Park, which had a lot of CP support, Wasserman said.

The NP was not fighting the campaign on racial iisues but on maintaining of standards and increasing the police force to stop crime.

He proposed to maintain standards by implementing the new slum regulations introduced by the city council last month.

They still have to be ratified by Transvaal Province.



● WASSERMAN

Wasserman said the regulations did not differentiate beteen race, colour or creed.

Regarding security, Wasseraman said he had contacted Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok this month regarding the crime and security situation in Hillbrow.

As a consequence, there had been a marked increase in the number of policemen on the beat in Hillbrow since last week, he said.

CP candidate, T J Ferreira, chief whip in the CP-controlled Boksburg town council, is confident of winning although he was a late starter. Ferreira's election agent, Willem Roos, said the CP was taking votes away from the NP and DP.

There were 100 people at Ferreira's public meeting on Tuesday night but Roos said this was an improvement on the municipal elections last October when the turn-out at meetings was between 30 and 40.

He said what he called the lie vote would act against the DP and NP.

"They must deduct 40%-44% of their totals and give it to the CP," he added.

Ferreira said the CP had covered the whole of Hillbrow and its returns were 100%. The CP targeted various areas and ignored others, including Joubert Park.

He said Joubert Park was "completely" black. "We are staying away from there."

He said the CP would win the election on the promise that it would do to Hillbrow what Ferreira had done in Boksburg: "We will make Hillbrow white again."

Report by E Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg

City firm backs scheme to collect funds for pensioners

ARGUS 31/8/89 300

By DAVID YUTAR, Staff Reporter

A CAPE TOWN company has responded to the plight of pensioners, highlighted in The Argus recently, by proposing a scheme to collect funds for needy pensioners.

Mr Doug Thirlwell, managing director, and Mr Patrick Geddes of International Office Supplies (Cape) have come up with a plan designed to enable their company, in conjunction with Checkers Stores, to donate food vouchers to pensioners whenever paper is bought from International Office Supplies.

The plan is that for every box of A4 paper or fax roll ordered from International Office Supplies (Cape), between September 1 and November 30, the company will donate R1 for the purchase of Checkers food vouchers to be donated to needy pensioners. Each food voucher received by a pensioner will be worth R25.

Checkers have said that they will then give a five-percent discount on all goods purchased with these vouchers.

Convert to food vouchers

In other words, if International Office Suppplies sell 20 000 boxes of paper they will donate R20 000 to be sent to Checkers which will in turn convert this to 8 000 food vouchers, each to the value of R25.

Anyone wishing to take part in the scheme by purchasing paper from International Office Supplies can telephone them at ☎ 82 4120 or ☎ 82 3433 or fax 822814 or write to PO Box 109, Kalk Bay, 7975.

It is imperative that persons placing an order should quote the number IOS7 when doing so.

All orders made to International Office Supplies will be recorded and the company will in turn send its contributions to A R P & P (Association for Retired Persons and Pensioners) which will liaise with Checkers to distribute vouchers according to need.

Mr Gerald Matchett, vice chairman of the national board of A R P & P, is enthusiastic about the scheme.

"This is not the first offer of assistance to pensioners and and I am hoping that this will be part of a broader campaign by all businessmen throughout the country. I am most grateful to all those who have become involved."

The Deputy Mayor of Cape Town, Councillor Gordon Oliver, has fully endorsed the project, speaking of "a tremendous debt of gratitude to all those who in their younger years contributed to our city to make it what it is today".

"Those of us who have not yet reached the stage of our lives where we have to retire from regular income-earning work need to bear in mind the plight of so many retired people who are hard-pressed to make ends meet."

The Argus will liaise with the parties concerned and will from time to time publish information on the number of boxes of paper sold and thus food vouchers collected for distribution to pensioners.

This is a chance to do something concrete for pensioners in need. In the words of the deputy mayor: "Let us try for a minimum of R20 000."

304A

●From PAGE 9

MOOI RIVER

Another close one with the DP's Wessel Nel just ahead. Last time Ralph Hardingham did well to make it the NRP's sole seat and with the help of the CP's Gordon MacGregor the DP should take over his mantle

NEWCASTLE

This seat should be the sole CP gain in Natal. In 1987 the combined right win vote was 1,2 percent short, and in 1989 the HNP have stayed out. The CP's Corne Aldum will win a close one, with Adriaan Blaas of the NP second and the DP's Barbara Buys a 12 percent third.

PIETERMARITZBURG NORTH

In 1987 the Nats took this seat from the PFP, but in 1989 the DP's Mike Tarr should take it back in a close race with Danie Schutte of the Nats

PIETERMARITZBURG SOUTH

Another close one with robust Rob Haswell taking it for the DP. Two years ago the Nats took it by nine percent but the efforts of MP BV Edwards will not be enough in 1989.

SOUTH COAST

A punters' guide to the elections

Two years ago the NP's Wally Thompson won it by over 12 percent from the NRP. This time round the DP have put up Major General Wally Black, whose military credentials should impress these Natalians enough to send him to parliament.

UMBILO

Piet Matthee won this seat with a five percent margin from the NRP two years ago. The DP's Carole Charlewood has charm, poise and fame on her side, and she'll be helped enough by the presence of the CP's Carl Werth to win well.

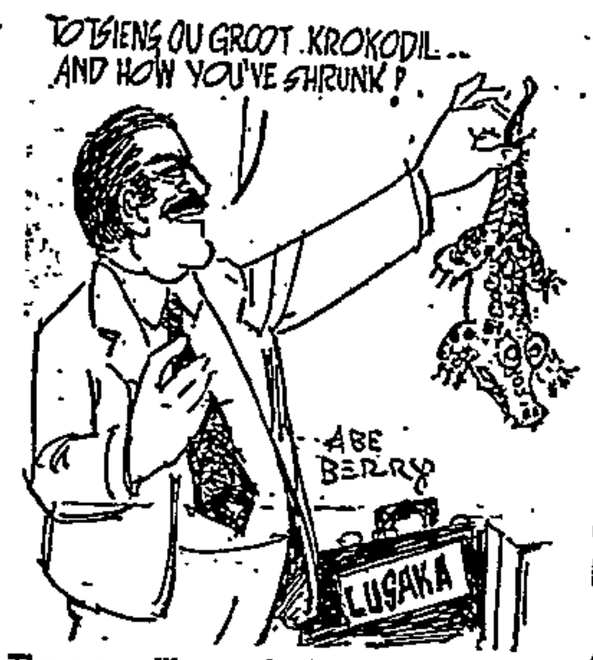
UMHLANGA

The NP's Renier Schoeman won it from the PFP by a 4,6 percent margin in 1987. This time former Heunis man Kobus Jordaan should win it without too many problems, helped along by the CP's GH Gathmann.

FREE STATE

BETHLEHEM

What may win this one for the CP



The crocodile may look harmless, but it will likely be a major factor in the election

is the presence of the DP's Casper Human. What may lose it is the HNP's JJ Ferreira. It looks to be very close. Two years ago the Nats' MP PJ Farrell won it by 16,5 percent, but this time the CP's CE Hertzog looks to have the edge.

FAURESMITH

The CP's FW Danzfuss should win this one from newcomer Innes Aucamp of the NP, despite an HNP presence. In 1987 the combined right vote was 48,2 percent and the CP have gained enough to take it.

HEILBRON

An almost certain win for the CP's CH Pienaar over sitting NP MP AW Terblanche, despite an HNP presence. In 1987 Terblanche pipped the combined right vote by one percent.

LADYBRAND

The CP should take it from NP MP AS van der Merwe without a sweat, with the DP's James Hughes putting the result beyond doubt. In 1987 Van der Merwe won it in a straight race with the CP by 7,5 percent.

PARYS

This is a cert for the CP. Last time the combined right vote passed the Nats by 4,4 percent but the CP was denied victory by an HNP presence which is absent this time round.

SASOLBURG

Four years ago Louis Stofberg won this seat for the HNP. It proved to be the first and last seat the HNP would win. In 1987 he won 31,1 percent of the vote to 19,6 percent for the CP. So the Nats sneaked home with 48,9 percent. This time it's a straight race between Stofberg and the NP's Dr WA Odendaal. Stofberg will win.

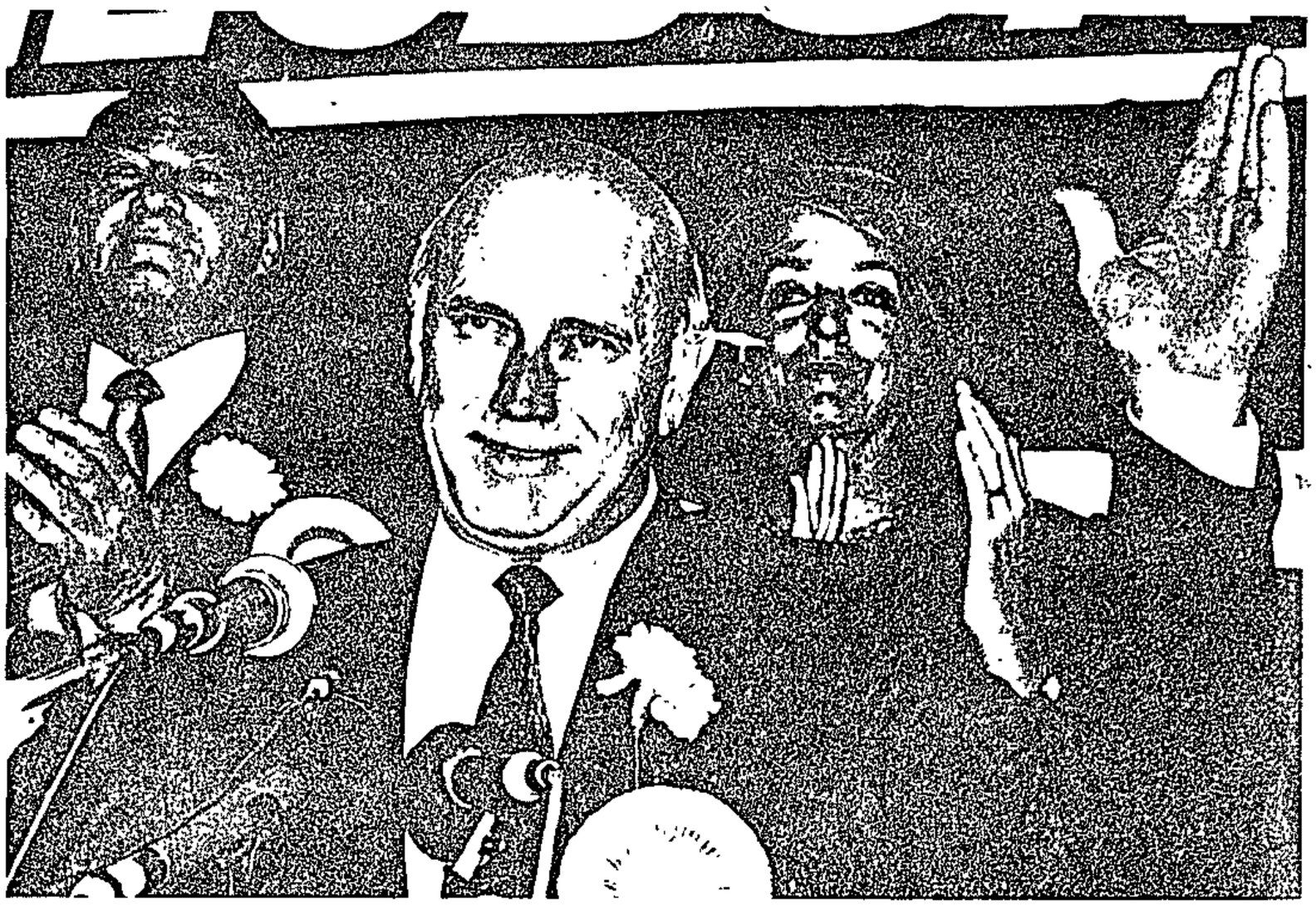
VIRGINIA

Piet Clase should just sneak home to his white education department, thanks to an HNP spoiler presence. Two years ago he beat the combined right by 15 percent. This time it will be much closer.

WELKOM

A very close one for the NP's Dr Flip Nel. In 1987 he beat the combined right by 9,2 percent. In 1989 the CP WJ Jordaan will make it a lot closer, but the HNP presence should keep the seat Nat. The DP's Dr Don Frost will do well to get 10 percent.

Report by Gavin Evans, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg



Acting state president and National Party leader F W de Klerk addressing an election meeting Picture: CEDRIC NUNN, Afraplx

The sky stays up in Boksburg

By PHIL MOLEFE

THE Conservative Party-controlled town of Boksburg had a brief encounter with integration when a multi-racial audience gathered this week at a Democratic Party election meeting.

The Boksburg Town Hall, which is reserved for whites only, did not collapse when several blacks joined about 250 people in a meeting addressed by DP co-leader Dr Dennis Worall on Monday night.

What could have been expected to be a meeting marred with confrontations and heckling, turned out to be a disciplined and peaceful occasion as speakers explained the policies of the new party.

Outlining the DP's position in relation to the other two major parties contesting the elections in the white House of Assembly, Worall said while the CP was irrelevant with regard to the future of South Africa, the National Party was holding it. And, he said, the DP was the only party that was working for the future.

"The DP says 'goodbye apartheid' and we are prepared to build a new future South Africa together with our fellow citizens," said Worall.

He said the NP government lacked the necessary credibility to bring about the changes that would restore South Africa's international standing and bring about internal peace and prosperity.

"If I believed the National Party could do it I would still be an ambassador," he said.

He said the NP had failed in the past to get the negotiation process going because it had insisted on its own government institutions. He proposed that negotiations should be held on an independent basis under the supervision of the chief justice and with constitutional lawyers and political scientists working towards formulating a draft constitution. He said everybody had to be involved in this process.

"From the Freedom Charter to Carel Boshoff's *Volkstaat* idea, all these proposals have to be put on the table to design a new South Africa. This process could take years in the same way as the national convention leading up to the Union in 1910 had taken years," he said.

The Boksburg seat is being contested by Sirk van Wyk (DP), Sakkie Blanche (CP), Dr Sias Nothnagel (NP) and Attie Treunicht for the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

Report by Phil Molefe, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

This is probably right. Last time the PFP's Pieter Schoeman came within five percent, and things have since improved The CP's Fritz Meyer will give De Waal the help he needs.

POTCHEFSTROOM

NP hardman Louis le Grange is fighting off retirement and a stiff challenge from the CP's Professor Ben van den Berg He'll probably fail In 1987 he won by four percent, and thinks he can do it again The CP, with good reason, is smiling. It will be close but expect the Nats to be looking for a new speaker of the house after September 6.

PRETORIA EAST

The DP has marked this one as a second string "possible". The party will do well but not well enough. Two years ago the NP's Theo Alant won it with 56 percent, to 25,7 percent for the combined right and 17,8 for the PFP. This time the DP's Martie Meiring is running hard and she'll come close to doubling the PF 's tally. Alant should win with 40 percent.

PRETORIA WEST

In 1987 the HNP's Attie Treurnicht secured the seat for the Nats. He scored 10,6 percent to the CP's 39,8. The Herstigtes have stayed away this time which should allow the CP's Joseph Chiole to take it by a whisker from the NP's Pieter Smith.

RANDBURG

This is the 1989 prestige race. The Nats believe that Glenn "The Reservation Man" Babb, could reduce the DP troika to two blind mice. They've wheeled in former TV fatman Tony Sanderson, a Somalian visitor and Magnus Malan. Wynand Malan has been caste in the role of the ANC's New Best Friend. And his slow campaign start hasn't helped. Last time, as an independent, he won by 18 percent but early polls showed this lead falling fast. But the best laid Nat plans will not be enough to lift this seat, and Malan will win a tight one.

ROODEPLAAT

In 1987 the Nats beat the combined right by 0,3 percent but in 1989 it's a two horse race with CP man Daan du Plessis tipped to win well.

RUSTENBURG

This one won't even be close. Last time the Nats won with 45 percent of the vote, thanks to a strong (11,6 percent) HNP showing. The Herstigtes are back and the Nats are helped by a DP stayaway but it won't be enough. Professor Willie Botha of the CP will take it with more than 50 percent.

SPRINGS

This is going to be a very close one for the NP's information man Piet Coetzer. In the last election he beat the CP by 6,5 percent of the vote. The PFP got 9,8 percent. The DP's Derry Byrne should improve on that by at least five or six percent, which should give it to the CP's GJ Parsons by a handful.

STILFONTEIN

A very easy win for the CP Last time the vote of the combined right passed that of the Nats by 8,8 percent. But the NP won it thanks to the HNP. In 1989 it's a two dog race and Pieter Groenewald will take Theo Engela of the Nats by 100 lengths.

VANDERBIJLPARK

Development Aid Minister Gerrit Viljoen is fighting for his political life and he'll probably just win it. Last time he won by 19,25 percent, and it looks like too big a gap for the CP's Caspar Pieters to close. It'll be tight but Viljoen should sneak home.

VEREENIGING

Another gain for the CP but a close one. Acting State President FW de Klerk chickened out, having won it by only 11,1 percent last time. This time the big question is who the hell is Tom Gunning other than the NP's candidate? The DP's Chris du Preez should get around 12 percent — enough to give it to Barend Keet.

WATERKLOOF

In 1987 the PFP's Abram Viljoen (twin of Constand) did exceedingly well to come within 18 percent of taking the seat from Deputy Finance Minister Org Marais. The DP's Martin Brink should improve on this but Marais should just make it.

WONDERBOOM

In 1987 the HNP saved the seat for Economic Affairs Minister Danie Steyn. In 1989 the NP's Dr Sampie Golden won't be so lucky. The HNP is back but the CP's Koos Botha will take it.

CAPE

ALBANY

This one depends on the student factor. If they turn out the DP's Errol Moorcroft will be returned as MP. In 1987 he lost the seat by 7,6 percent. In 1989 his case is not helped by the absence of the HNP. My guess is the students will vote and Natman JH van der Vyver will be out.

CLAREMONT

Erstwhile United Party stalwart Annette Reynecke is back for the Nats to challenge the DP's MDM man, Jan van Eck. But this is a seat in which VI Lenin would get elected without a sweat, and no Nat stands a chance.

DE AAR

It will be close but the Nats should make it. In 1987 they took it by 16 percent. Once again it's a straight race and the NP's JA Jooste should take the CP's Hennie Fourie by a nose.

DURBANVILLE

Last time NP MP FJ van Deventer beat the DP's Bev Roos by 34 percent, and she was probably helped by a 10,6 percent right-wing vote. This time there's no right-wing but Pieter Schoeman is the DP's man and he's looking good. He should get around 40 percent — not enough to win.

EAST LONDON CITY

In an honest world this seat wouldn't even be on the list. In 1987 Peet de Pontes, of the Nats, took it



Info man Louis Nel is hoping to bounce back

by 36,4 percent. But this isn't an honest world and De Pontes turned out to be a man skilled in unorthodox accounting practices and in meeting rather odd friends. He was hounded out of office which gives the DP's Andre de Wet more than a hope. But given the 1987 margin WH Nel of the Nats must be favoured.

EAST LONDON NORTH

Last time the Nats won this one with 64,3 percent of the vote. This time their man, WH Nel, will suffer as a result of the De Pontes fallout. The DP have a live one in Leo Bornman and they'll be helped by the presence of the CP's Daniel de Klerk. It'll be close but Nel has the edge.

GARDENS

Ken Andrew took it by only five percent last time, so the Nats think they're in with a hope. Former Foreign Affairs Deputy Ron Miller is their man, and he'll be whipped like a beach apartheid protester.

GREENPOINT

In 1987 Tlaan van der Merwe retained it by half a percent. In 1989 it's a return match with the NP's Esme Chait, but this time Van der Merwe will make it by several hundred votes

HELDERBERG

Last time Denis Worrall lost by 39 votes but did so well that he herded NP constitutional supremo Chris Heunis out of politics In 1989 it's set in a lower key. The DP's David Gant is a name in Somerset West, and the NP's Dr Francois Jacobsz doesn't have Heunis' standing. But last time Worrall was riding on the Court of St James factor, and Gant doesn't have the same gloss It will be another hairliner but the Nats have the edge

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN

The DP is seeing this one as another "could-be" but they have a 23,4 percent gap to close Former NRP MP Pat Rogers is back up against the Nats' RJ Radue, and he's looking hot, say insiders A range of local grievances are helping but it may not be enough Radue must be favoured

KURUMAN

This is the only cert for the CP in the Cape. Last time Jan Hoon came within 4,4 percent of taking it from the NP's PJ Swanepoel This time he'll pull it off with knobs on.

MAITLAND

Dr Esther Lategan is running well but probably not well enough to unseat the NP's Kent Durr who got 64 percent of the vote in 1987. She may pass 40 percent, which will make it very close, but Durr should do it.

NEWTON PARK

Kevin Wakeford started in the NP, then jumped over to Idasa, and out again, and has now settled in with the DP. Against him is Sakkie Louw, a maverick in the Nothnagel mould. He won by over 25 percent last time and should do it comfortably again.

OUDTSHOORN

A very close one for the NP. The party won it by 13,7 percent in 1987 but it will be a lot closer in 1989. AJ de Jager should squeak home against the CP's June Schoeman.

QUEENSTOWN

The DP's Dr TG Schlebusch is making a strong stand but it's been a safe Nat seat too long for it to fall this time round. The NP's Dr EA Schoeman should take it, with the CP's Dr HC Swanepoel a strong third.

SIMONSTOWN

For years the PFP tried for this one, and each time they just missed it. In 1989 the rumours around John Wiley's demise put them 1,9 percent shy of home. This time the DP's Jannie Momberg will do it in style.

STELLENBOSCH

This is a seat ripe for the DP's taking but 26-year-old national serviceman Hennie Bester might not be the man to take it. A Van Zyl Slabbert, or even an Esther Lategan (who came within 19 percent last time), would probably edge it, but without them the NP's Piet Meyer should shade it.

WALMER

Two years ago the Nats snatched this seat from the PFP with a 4,6 percent margin. In 1989 General Bob Rogers, of the DP, will have no problem in taking it back.

WYNBERG

David Graaff (Sir Div's lad) failed in five tries on UP/NRP tickets. So he switched to the Nats and took this seat by a margin of 0,9 percent. This is his return between Graaff and the DP's Robin Carlisle and the result will send David back to Dad's farm.

NATAL

DURBAN POINT

A very close one with the DP's Warwick Webber just ahead In 1987 the NP's JC Matthee won by 13,9 percent in a straight fight with the NRP The CP's Ashley Clark might just swing it for the DP this time

●To PAGE 10

THE ELECTIONS GAME ... WHO'LL WIN, WHO'LL LOSE AND WHO IS BAD-MOUTHING WHOM

A punters' guide to the sixty seats which count



The Democratic Party's Tony Leon

Okay, here's the score: 91 to the Nats, 32 to the Democrats and 43 to the CP. Labour will walk it and so will Rajbansi. That's the verdict of political reporter-cum-boxing writer **GAVIN EVANS** *put his diverse talents to work predicting who'll win and who'll take a dive*

THERE will be no "hung parliament" after September 6 but it could be very close. The Nats will snake in with 91 seats, the DP will get 32 and the CP 43.

The Labour Party will come close to a clean sweep in the House of Representatives, Amichand Rajbansi will be back in parliament, and the DP will get no more than two (and maybe less than one) seats in a Solidarity-controlled House of Delegates.

These are the some of the results of an unofficial *Weekly Mail* punters guide to the election.

The race in the House of Assembly, which is the only one that counts, can be narrowed down to around 60 of the 166 seats.

What the parties do, say or don't do in the next 12 days could determine the outcome in over half of these.

Last week's departure of the Groot Krokodil has probably hindered the Nats to the right but may have helped those to the left.

FW may convince enough reluctant Nats to give the new boy a chance, and save the NP a seat or two. But PW's barbs about Lusaka's furniture factories might also persuade some on the right that it's time to leave.

Outside of a catastrophe the results in over 100 seats are already decided more or less, and only a fool would bet against the odds. As for the rest, here's the score:

TRANSVAAL

BENONI

The DP is seeing this one as a big chance for a gain. Former TV high flyer Pat Rogers is its man, and the DP is running a vigorous campaign. Against him are some heavy odds, and a sitting MP, Johan Lemmer, who won the seat with 49 percent of the vote, compared with 28 percent for the DP and 22 percent for the CP. For the DP to win, the Nat share will need to fall by 15 percent. It should be close but Lemmer must be the favourite.

BEZUIDENHOUT

In the softest language Sam Bloomberg and his family are running a robust campaign. Using the "German factor" (to put it euphemistically) to swing Jewish voters and wheeling in the old age homes may not be everyone's idea of cleanliness, but it'll probably work. The Nats themselves wanted him out but he threatened to use the "Jewish factor" against them and they backed off. Fresh from his municipal election failure in Yeoville he beat Transvaal PFP leader Douglas Gibson by 19,6 percent in Bezuidenhout. DP's Geoff Engel, the South African born son of a political refugee from Nazism, is doing his best and he'll come close. Also on the bill is the CP's S de Jager and two independents. Johan Enslin is a free marketeer who makes Fred Hayek look like Joe Stalin, and Lionel Reichenberg is something close to a joke candidate. He was declared a "vexatious litigant" by the supreme court and is therefore standing on a scales of justice ticket. It all sounds like good fun but when the smoke clears Suicide Sam will be back.

BOKSBURG

Once again this is a four-party race, and one of the most fascinating of the election. The CP will say the HNP are the spoilers, the Nats will pass this accusation on to the DP. Last time the NP's Sakkie Blanche passed the combined right-wing vote by nearly 16 percent. This time the town's rough experience of the consequences of CP policy should keep it in Nat hands. Expect Blanche to hold it but it will be close. The DP's Sirk van Wyk should come in third with 20 percent, and the HNP's Attie Treurnicht, brother of Andries, will come fourth with five percent.

CARLETONVILLE

Once again the Nats are hoping the consumer boycott will give them a win but don't count on it. The CP's mineworkers' stalwart, Arrie Paulus, took the seat by a handful of votes in 1987 and he'll do it again. Without the HNP to mess things up he should keep yesterday's information man, Louis Nel, out of office.

EDENVALE

This is the return bout between Brian Goodall and Joan Hunter, with independent PJ Venter in the spoiler role. Last time the NP's Hunter won by one percent. But she's proved to be a not-too-sharp righty and Goodall should win well. He'll be back in parliament to secure his pension.

GEDULD

Deputy Education Minister and arch-*verligte* Sam de Beer is in big trouble here. Two years ago he retained his seat by a 12 percent margin. The NP's decline and the presence of the DP's Chris Pinto will take care of that. CP candidate Danie Marie should squeak home.

HERCULES

A strong HNP vote (26,5 percent) kept this seat from the CP in 1987, when the Nats won with 39 percent of the vote. Right-wing voters are likely to be wiser this time and the CP's SO Barnard looks set to win.

HILLBROW

Leon de Beer, the NP's youthful 1987 winner, is doing situps in a softer section of a Northern Transvaal prison, with his victory having been helped along by some out-and-out corruption. This should be the thing to give it to the DP's Lester Fuchs by a healthy margin, with the NP's Tony Wasserman second and the CP's TJ Ferreira a good third.

JOHANNESBURG WEST

If your bookie's a G-Man you should get odds in the region of 10:1 — which means its worth a small bet on the DP's Willem Hefer. Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer is one of the bright young stars of the party and defeat is not even part of his nightmares. Last time he won by 3 600 votes with 57,5 percent to 23 percent for the PFP and 18,5 percent for the HNP. He must be favoured to sneak home again but by a margin of less than a thousand. Hefer is running strong but maybe

Standing in line at the polling stations in Eersterus, near Pretoria, is better than going to the movies. **LANCE NAWA** *reports on a ferocious battle for the heart of the north-east*



Allan Hendrickse

THE electioneering game is in full swing in the sprawling "coloured" township of Eersterust, about 15km east of Pretoria.

The Labour Party's Patrick da Gama and independent candidate Paul "Manna" Williams Jacobs are contesting the 13 894 township votes. And by the time polling stations closed on Monday night 4 760 people had already voted.

Standing at the polling stations at the weekend is better than going to a movie.

The two groups' offices face each other across the street. One can hear shouts of *"Stem reg"* ("Make the right choice") from both camps as prospective voters are bused to the office.

From the one side are children dressed in the blue and white colours of Eersterust Concerned Citizens, a municipal body that supports Jacobs, marching in front of minibuses which are hooting out the tune "E-C-C".

A man watching the vehicle pass tells his friend: *"Iemand het my gevra vir watter party stem ek, toe se ek 'KP — kleurling politieke'."* (Someone asked me which party I support. Then I said 'CP — coloured politics'.) His large belly wobbled as he laughed.

Little drum majorettes give Jacobs flowers and he pecks them on the cheek, while their proud mothers stand by smiling.

Supporters explain money was raised for the campaigns through the holding of beauty contests and discos. The LP held "Miss Labour Party 1989" and "Labour Party Grandmother of the Year" contests, while the ECC is organising a "Grand Dance" to be held on September 1 at Club Bel Air.

Late in the evening a last group of voters is ferried to the office. A man stumbles to a booth as canvassers try to make sure of his vote: *"Maak die kruis bo, man. Moenie vergeet, bo!"* ("Make your X at the top, man. Don't forget, at the top.")

Just then the ECC team is busy connecting loud hailers to the top of a Sierra station wagon. It is now time for a procession to go out with *"Ayobayo* ECC", while the frenzied supporters in the next car are belting out *"Papa is vir Manna bang,"* ("Papa is afraid of Manna") as they leave the offices.

Across the street Labourites are singing "You don't have the future if you do not share my beliefs", but later they switch to shouts of *"Amandla"* and *"Wat het ons gemaak, Senzeni naa?"* ("What have we done?") to the darkening night.

But behind the noisy, cheerful lobbying are claims of voter intimidation. Residents, who asked not to be named, claim the LP canvassing team last week prevented pensioners who wanted to vote for the independent candidate from leaving the premises of an old age home

"Two weeks ago a pensioner (a woman) was locked out of the home for the night because she voted against the Labour Party," said one middle-aged woman.

The LP has denied the allegations. Executive member of the party's Transvaal region, Aubrey Appeles, said "as far as we are concerned we do not know of any incident since the polling started" while Da Gama told the *Weekly Mail*: "(Johan) Scholtemeijer (electoral officer) approached me with the allegation that my canvassing teams were using unacceptable methods to indoctrinate voters and I told him that was blue lies".

Said Jacobs: "I do not want to answer anything with regard to the pensioners' issue, even if this has been brought to my attention, because I am trying to fight a clean battle."

According to Scholtemeijer, Eersterust is one of the largest constituencies in the Transvaal for the House of Representatives and the total number of people registered to vote in the constituency, which includes areas as far as the Swaziland and Mozambique borders, is 22 958.

The LP, through interviews with newspapers, has attacked Jacobs, the local management committee (of which Jacobs is a member), and David Wathen, who is opposing the LP in the northern Transvaal. Wathen is representing the Democratic Reformed Party.

In an article published in the *Pretoria News* two weeks ago the LP accused the management committee of discriminating against Muslims practicing their faith and conducting business in Eersterust.

Jacobs challenged his opponent to a public debate. "When it comes to the claims against the management committee, I would like challenge Da Gama to a public meeting to iron out the issue," he said.

"The Muslim community knows quite well that two of my sisters are married into their faith. It is absurd to suggest that I discriminate on what ever ground.

"If I did, I shouldn't be using the motto 'Give Eersterust back to the People' in my campaign," Jacobs asserted.

Chairman of the LP's Transvaal region, Dr Willie Hoods, said: "We did not make this allegation (of Jacobs' stance on the Muslim community) ourselves. It is the Muslim community that came to us with the matter and later handed a petition to (Minister of Local Government in the House of Representatives) David Curry about the alleged discrimination."

On July 30 a Sunday newspaper quoted LP leader Allan Hendrickse warning that should Jacobs and Wathen lose the elections they will not be accepted back into their teaching posts. The two men quit their posts as principals to contest the elections.

Hendrickse was quoted as saying it was a serious time and the people who opposed the party would find doors closed to them. (*"Terwyl ons in die verlede gese het die deure en vensters is oop, wil ek nou waarsku ... Dit is 'n ernstige tyd en vir die mense wat nou teen die Party staan, wil ons se: die deure is vir julle toe!"*)

But sources within Jacobs' camp said according to the Civil Service Act 110 of 1984 a person who suspends his service to stand for election can still be allowed back to teaching even after he has lost in the election, though he may get a lower post than previously held.

Wathen's response (in *Rapport*) was that there was so much interference in *bona fide* education matters that he had decided not to return to teaching.

Similar feelings were shared by some teachers approached by the *Weekly Mail*. "We lost many good teachers in Eersterust because of Hendrikse's political interference in our schools," said one high school teacher.

Residents and some of the canvassers, however, have pointed out that there are similarities between the two candidates.

Harrison Dewrance of the LP felt that taking part in the election was like playing house. "We are wasting a lot of money and time by creating divisions — from which the government thrives — instead of creating one formidable force that will keep them uncomfortable until such time that the genuine leaders of the South African people are out of jails," he said.

Jacobs added: "My entry into the tricameral parliament is like prostituting my principles, but that is the only place at the moment where people can be represented until the bona fide leaders of our country will come and sit around the negotiation table."

Although Da Gama shared these opinions, he nevertheless warned the independents in parliament "there is no way independents can make their points in parliament because of the time allocated for debates".

Da Gama, who is the father of Moroka Swallows football star Owen da Gama, said: "Standing as a party in parliament is advantageous in that you might have, say 400 minutes during which you can put your case across. But as an independent you may be allocated five minutes per session."

But "Dempsey" Prinsloo, a management committee member and a Jacobs supporter, disagreed. "The issue is not to bring irrelevant matters to parliament."

Report by Lance Nawa, 127 Anderson Street, Johannesburg

KRUGERSDORP

Once again a straight fight between Deputy Law and Order Minister Leon Wessels and CP wacko Clive Derby-Lewis. In 1987 Wessels won by 0,38 percent. Early polls showed he had consolidated his lead, partly through the Boksburg-Carletonville fall-out. But the NP's lacklustre campaign may well have squandered that one for him. It's almost too close to call, but I'd bet on Clive.

INNESDAL

It's a good thing for maverick *verligte* Nat Albert Nothnagel that he was eased off to take up ambassadorial duties in the Netherlands. In 1987 he pipped the combined right-wing vote by a single percent. This time Dr Rina Venter won't be so lucky and the CP's Reverend Mossie van der Berg will be in parliament. The presence of the HNP's L van der Schyf will be no more than an irritant.

LYDENBERG

Last time former cabinet minister Pietie du Plessis squeezed home by 1,6 percent over the combined right. Since then he's resigned under, well, questionable circumstances. The HNP are back but the DP are also there, which all means that the CP's Dries Bruwer is white house-bound.

NIGEL

This is a seat the Nats are hoping that with a little hoopla they can lift from the CP. In 1987 the CP's Carel Schoeman took the seat by a mere four percent. This time the NP has wheeled in self-proclaimed "superspy" Big Craig Williamson to pump up the party's security image. It didn't work for him in Bryanston last time but maybe the good people of the far East Rand have more of a taste for the boot. They also hope the presence of the HNP's HE Hofmeyr will help. It won't. Count on Carel to beat the fat man like a heavy metal practice drum. But, no matter, Major Craig is back as a nominated MP.

NORTHRAND

The DP is sure that car hire magnate Louis de Waal has the stuff to lift this one from the NP's Attie Grobler.

South NEWS

Chasing the peace rainbow

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

LIVINGSTONE, ZAMBIA. — As FW de Klerk and Kenneth Kaunda stared down through the mist of the mighty Victoria Falls into the turbulent Zambezi Gorge, a brilliant rainbow appeared.

For the immediate future, the ultimate objectives that both men are hoping to achieve from their relationship are likely to remain as elusive as that rainbow.

De Klerk wants to use his relationship with president Kaunda to win acceptance for South Africa in the region and to promote trade with the Frontline States.

He also wants to project the image of Pretoria as the key to economic development and foreign investment under Pik Botha's "Marshall Plan", an ambitious scheme calling for large injections of West European aid into the region once a lasting formula for peace is found.

Economic needs

The European Community, which regards southern Africa as a diminishing trade market, has yet to approve such a plan.

De Klerk hopes that the urgent economic needs of the region, and countries such as Zambia in particular, could persuade them to lower their price of acceptance for a changing South Africa.

He will also attempt to use the economic vulnerability of the Frontline States — with the carrot of development rather than the stick of destabilisation — to weaken the links between the ANC and the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and, in particular, the Frontline States.

Kaunda's rainbow is to play a key role in the bringing together of Pretoria and the ANC and thereby to win much-needed economic spin-offs for his impoverished country.

At a superficial level, De Klerk came away from the meeting with more or less what he wanted in an immediate sense.

Kaunda, whose unpredictability makes him somewhat of an enigma to friend and foe alike, backed down on his controversial interpretation of the Angolan ceasefire which had threatened to scuttle the peace initiative.

He agreed to abide by the public declaration adopted by 14 African heads of state at Gbadolite in Zaire on June 22.

Unlike Kaunda's interpretation, it did not insist that rebel leader Jonas Savimbi must go into exile. Nor did it stipulate, as the OAU meeting in Harare did last week, that Unita must be absorbed into existing MPLA structures.



De Klerk and Kaunda return from a visit to the Victoria Falls before their discussions

Getting the Angolan initiative back on track clearly took up much of the time, leaving less time for an in-depth discussion on South Africa's internal situation.

De Klerk also got his way in that he was able to emerge from the meeting and deny that the ANC's negotiation proposals, recently adopted by the OAU, had not been raised or discussed in the meeting.

Clearly De Klerk and Pik Botha felt that the Livingstone meeting had become something of a public trial for them at the hands of the Conservative Party, only nine days before the September 6 election.

De Klerk's public statement should not be allowed to obscure the importance of the ANC factor in the De Klerk/Kaunda meeting.

Presentation of the document would have been little more than a formality, as it has been widely published in full in the South African press.

Discussion of its contents is quite possible without any reference to the ANC. De Klerk and Kaunda clearly spent some time talking about negotiations but did not get down to specifics.

Since April 1, when Kaunda first began pushing for the meeting with De Klerk, South African emissaries have been travelling between Pretoria and Lusaka laying the groundwork for the meeting with Kaunda and putting out feelers about the ANC's position.

There is already an ongoing indirect dialogue between Pretoria and the ANC over the SA Law Commission report and the process leading up to formal talks.

There were differences of opinion within the government about the wisdom of travelling the Kaunda route to negotiations with the ANC, but eventually it was decided to move cautiously in that direction. (PW Botha's obdurate stand also reflected a significant section of the security establishment.)

The most attractive element for Pretoria is that Kaunda is the African leader best placed to deliver the ANC to the negotiating table, once Pretoria moves to meet the preconditions.

But he lacks a formal mandate — either from the ANC or Pretoria — to be a mediator and, therefore, the game-plan will proceed in coded language and clandestine contacts at present.

Ideal go-between

Because of the desperate state of the Zambian economy, Kaunda is susceptible to the promise of long-term economic incentives and foreign investment.

His insistence on meeting De Klerk before the election, and thereby helping the National Party's campaign against the Democratic Party, has no simple explanation other than the need to assess De Klerk ahead of the Non-Aligned summit in Belgrade on September 6, where the ANC/OAU plan will be discussed.

From the viewpoint of London and Washington, Kaunda is the ideal go-between.

All indications are that the United States is playing a major role in trying to get De Klerk and the ANC to the negotiating table.

If De Klerk does not release Nelson Mandela within six months and move towards negotiations, the US administration will move towards tougher sanctions.

To counter this, De Klerk has created the expectation that he might go some of the way to meeting the ANC's preconditions for talks and has stressed his commitment to negotiations preceded by a period of intense dialogue.

Pressure on the ANC has been less visible but no less intense. The publication of the ANC's negotiating document last week is partly a product of that pressure.

The OAU document has put the ball back in Pretoria's court. It is now up to De Klerk to deliver on the expectations.

Widespread unrest

Birdshot, tearsmoke, rubber bullets, quirts used in Peninsula townships

Staff Reporter

HUNDREDS of black teachers who arrived by train in Cape Town today to march to the offices of the Department of Education and Training were ordered to disperse by police.

The march about 10 am was intercepted near Hertzog Boulevard. After a short consultation between spokesmen for the teachers and police, the police ordered the teachers to hand over a petition which they said they would submit on their behalf.

The teachers demanded from the police that an official from DET be brought into their presence, but this was refused and the teachers were then ordered to disperse, which they did.

A spokesman for the teachers said afterwards that their demands were:

- The immediate release of two Mbekweni teachers and students from Worcester, Paarl and the Peninsula.
- An end to alleged police brutality.
- An immediate intervention by the DET at Sebenza Senior Secondary School in the matter between Mr Coetzee and Mr Ngxobongwana and his "guards" against the pupils at the school.
- Granting of study leave to every teacher and not a selected few.
- Proper school necessities like dusters and chalk.

The teachers, the spokesman said, had decided on a march because various delegations to inspectors had been fruitless. He said they, as respected members of their communities had seriously thought about this before restored to "this peaceful non-violent march".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports, widespread unrest is continuing in the Peninsula's townships where police have used birdshot, tearsmoke, rubber bullets and quirts to disperse crowds. Unrest has also spread to Worcester, according to the latest unrest report by the police public relations division.

Barricades

The reports on yesterday's incidents says that at Riverview near Worcester incidents of stone-throwing and road barricades were reported Police used either tearsmoke, quirts, rubber bullets or birdshot to disperse mobs. No injuries were reported.

Also at Worcester a man was arrested at Roodwal after a group had erected a burning road barricade.

At Kleinvlei, Kuils River, a number of incidents, mainly stone-throwing, were reported. The main targets were police vehicles. In one incident, a policeman was slightly injured. Police used tearsmoke and rubber bullets to disperse mobs A bus was damaged when a group of men attacked it with axes. No injuries were reported.

In another incident, a man was shot and wounded when he attempted to throw a petrol bomb at police. He was arrested after birdshot was used in this incident.

Mitchell's Plain

At Mitchell's Plain a group of pupils threw petrol bombs and stones at a private vehicle. Police used tearsmoke and birdshot to disperse them. A man was wounded and he and two youths were arrested

In another incident in the area, a group of pupils from a senior secondary school stoned and damaged a police vehicle. Police dispersed them with two rounds of birdshot. One of the youths was slightly wounded and arrested.

At Hanover Park a man was injured when a group of youths stoned a private vehicle. Police used tearsmoke to disperse them.

At Guguletu a private vehicle was stoned and damaged.

At Scottsville, Kraaifontein, police used tearsmoke and/or birdshot to disperse three groups of youths who threw stones at police vehicles. No injuries were reported.

At Soweto near Johannesburg a private house was extensively damaged when a

(Turn to page 3,col 8)

EMERGENCY UPDATE

Police smash big ANC anti-poll network

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Police have smashed an extensive African National Congress network of armed fighters sent to South Africa to specifically disrupt the elections, acting-President F W de Klerk said today.

So far they have rounded up nine alleged trained fighters and 10 alleged collaborators, he added.

Detectives are investigating whether the network was involved in terror attacks.

AK-47 RIFLES

A spokesman said the police had also seized a "vast quantity of arms and ammunition" — limpet mines, hand-grenades and AK-47 rifles.

The arrests were made last week in the wake of an announcement by the ANC in London that they had people in South Africa who would disrupt the election.

Speaking at the Police College, Mr De Klerk said information indicated that some of those arrested had been sent to South Africa specifically to disrupt the election.

(Report by C Kotze, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Press curbs

In terms of the emergency regulations reports, comment and pictures may be restricted.



The Burg St demo — page 27.

EMERGENCY UPDATE

(Cont from page 1)

group of youths hurled petrol bombs at it.

In another incident in the area, a second private house was damaged when a group of youths threw petrol bombs and stones at it Police used tearsmoke to disperse the mob and arrested 102 people. No injuries were reported.

At Inanda in Durban a private vehicle was extensively damaged when it was set alight by a group of people. They then set fire to three private houses causing serious damage to property

In another incident in the area, a group of men set fire to a private house. A two-year-old baby burnt to death and a man and a woman were injured. The house was badly damaged.

At Ndaleni near Richmond in Natal a group of people abducted two men and then killed them.

At Mpumalanga near Hammarsdale a private dwelling was damaged when a group of youths attacked it with petrol bombs and stones. No injuries were reported.

CONSTITUTIONAL NEGOTIATION

Narrowing the gap

A leading observer of SA affairs suggests a route to dialogue and compromise

Once the election is out of the way, attention will home in on the real issue on the country's political agenda — negotiations aimed at a lasting constitutional settlement.

For the moment, and until September 6, neither side — the National Party (NP) and the ANC/Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) — will give away much. Rather like the opening demands and counter-offers at the start of wage negotiations, the parties are sticking to maximal positions.

In an informal sense, negotiations have already begun. This is symbolised by Nelson Mandela's meeting with President P W Botha at Tuynhuys on July 5. And preparing the groundwork has been under way for a while now — for example, at those international conferences where an ANC representative and someone from Pretoria both present addresses.

There is a palpable feeling of excitement and anticipation in MDM ranks that "freedom is not far away," to quote a speaker at the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) constitutional consultative conference last Sunday. This has to mean compromise.

From his prison villa, Mandela sent a message to the TIC conference signalling his position that he is "proud that you too have joined the massive process of discussion and debate of the ANC's constitutional guidelines as well as giving serious consideration to the crucial question of a negotiated settlement in SA."

The real significance of Mandela's statement is that it firmly embraces the concept of talks, implying an end to the armed struggle. But how to get there?

A bold way forward has been suggested in a paper, which its author (a leading leftwing opposition figure and former finance minister in a neighbouring country) has sent to both the NP and the ANC. While the *FM* does not necessarily agree with all it says, it does provide food for thought.

The paper — *Negotiations, Apartheid and Group 'Safeguards'* — states that talks between the NP, the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations are bound to get nowhere until:

☐ Pretoria has given evidence beyond doubt that it agrees to the total abolition of apartheid; and

☐ The ANC/MDM agrees to some form or other of group or minority safeguards or protection.



De Klerk

The writer argues that there can be no question of "reforming" apartheid and that any attempt at moving away from it through regional reforms or legislatures (such as the non-independent homelands) is bound to fail. The six principles enunciated by Lord Carrington in opening the 1979 Lancaster House talks over Zimbabwe's independence are instructive: "That the principle of majority rule must be maintained and guaranteed; that there must be guarantees against retrospective amendments to the constitution; that there should be immediate improvement in the political status of the African population; that racial discrimination is unacceptable; that we must ensure that, regardless of race, there is no oppression of majority by minority or of minority by majority; and that what is agreed must be shown to be acceptable to the population of Rhodesia."



Mandela

Ending apartheid will have to include scrapping the Population Registration, Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts, "own affairs" policy in its present form and homelands policy. It will require the right of every adult South African to vote by secret ballot; and to campaign and stand for election in a genuinely pluralistic, democratic majority rule system.

While various government ministers, including F W de Klerk, have spoken about the need to scrap apartheid, the author observes, there has been no definite undertaking to ditch those specific Acts. Further, the ANC should bear in mind that there seem to be major differences in attitude and emphasis among leading Nats; uncertainty as to which faction will control the Nat caucus after the election; and how the security establishment might react to any clear undertaking to ditch apartheid entirely.

In its *Constitutional Guidelines for a Democratic SA*, issued last year, the ANC forcefully rejected the notion of "constitutional protection for group rights" because it said this would "perpetuate the status quo" and "would mean that the mass of people continue to be constitutionally trapped in poverty."

However, the author (who is of a minority group in a multiracial country) argues that "protection" for group or minority rights "need not at all simply perpetuate the status quo and ... need not have anything to do with the amount of protection for property to be constitutionally provided."

The question of minority safeguards, it is observed, takes us back to the complex and sometimes tragic reality and experience of countries like Lebanon, Cyprus, Belgium, the Soviet Union, India, Fiji, Mauritius, Ethiopia and Sri Lanka (the list is long).

"The fact is that in most cases the struggle for minority rights has been a *progressive* and positive fight against oppression and discrimination, as has been the case, for example, with the Armenians, Tamils of Sri Lanka, Harijans of India, blacks and Indians of the US, (and) the Eritreans."

In the case of SA, we have a white minority ruling over a black majority. It is emphasised that whatever minority safeguards and veto powers are provided for the white minority, it should not allow for apartheid to survive in a "reformed" state, or for majority rule to be denied or flouted. Once the ANC agrees to some form of minority safeguards, the details would have to be negotiated.

Under the heading of "Group institutions and the double majority or concurrent majorities principle," the case of Belgium is examined. In that country, 30% of the population are French-speaking Walloons, 60% Flemings and 10% Bruxellois. The 1977 Pacte Communautaire provided for: a national parliament consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives with full control over foreign affairs, defence, justice, fiscal and macro-economic policy; the House to be the main legislative organ; and the Senate, consisting of the regional councillors of the three main regions of the country, to concentrate on regional and constitutional matters.

The system works on the double-majority principle — that is, a majority is required in each group as well as in the Senate as a whole. The elected regional councils elect

their own executives and have clearly defined powers in all matters concerning their region. There are community councils with wide powers in areas like education, health and culture; and an arbitration court settles conflicts between the regions, councils and parliament.

The NP has considered a system of "concurrent majorities," the author notes, adding: "The different racial groups would elect separate representative bodies and decisions would be taken only if the majority in each group endorsed it. At other times, different forms of 'own affairs' institutions have been hinted at or referred to without details being provided as to their respective funding and powers. Among others, the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba proposed veto powers for a 'group represented' second chamber and for the setting up of cultural and other councils."

The ANC guidelines propose "one central legislature" in a one-person, one-vote electoral system, without giving details.

It has been argued that the Westminster "first past the post" system is particularly unsuited to multi-ethnic countries. In Malaysia, for instance, it has allowed for gerrymandering at the expense of the Chinese minority. Moreover, in several multi-ethnic or multi-cultural countries, the author points out, separate electoral rolls and reserved seats have been provided for. India reserves 15% of the seats in the national and State assemblies for "scheduled castes." Pakistan reserves seats for four Hindus, one Ahmedi, four Christians and a Parsee — besides 207 Muslims. Zimbabwe provided reserved seats for whites for its first 10 years of independence.

While the ANC guidelines propose a "unitary" state, they also suggest that provision should be made "for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for the purpose of more efficient administration and democratic participation."

The author maintains that it is only *after* the SA government has given evidence beyond doubt of its intention to scrap apartheid totally, that negotiations on minority safeguards in a post-apartheid SA would get anywhere.

A workable compromise, while referring to constitutional arrangements elsewhere, will have to be a South African one — the result of "really imaginative thinking and fearlessness," as De Klerk himself put it in a speech to parliament earlier this year.

It is suggested that general guidelines for such a compromise might include:

☐ A semi-presidential regime (resembling Finland's), with a president who sees to it that the constitution is respected, supervises the administration of the State and relations with foreign powers;

☐ A Cabinet which exercises executive power and is presided over by a prime minister who commands the support of the members of a House of Representatives. The president and his deputy could be elected by a Senate which might consist of an equal number of representatives of each electoral group, with the proviso that legislation affecting the rights of any group would have to be approved by a majority of its representatives, and

☐ A House of Representatives elected by universal adult suffrage with two-thirds of the members representing constituencies and one-third drawn from parties on a proportional basis in a constituency/party list system resembling the West German model and an additional number of "best-losers" for under-represented electoral groups.

There are various other suggestions for accommodating minority interests.

Of course, the problem with acknowledging and thus providing for minority protection in a constitution, is that the very idea of "group rights" has been so tarnished by the NP's version. And most whites, it would seem, do not place much faith in having their individual rights written into a Bill of Rights. Constitutional guarantees may be another matter and, conceivably, a way forward.

While the ANC and MDM remain opposed to the idea of minority rights, who knows what they might concede round the negotiating table? Particularly if the writer's first condition — the elimination of apartheid in all its forms — is met? That would be, as they say, a very different ball game. ■